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# JOURNAL

OF THE

~~A330~~  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

24546

CHARLES C. TORREY, AND HANNS OERTEL

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn

Professor in Yale University,  
New Haven, Conn.

THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

MCMXIII.



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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS  
MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PA.

1913

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fifth occasion of its assembling, was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at the University of Pennsylvania, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, March 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1913.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Adler, C.	Ellis	Keiser	Poebel
Arnold	Ember	Kent, R. G.	Price
Barret	Gottheil	Kupfer	Reider
Barton	Grant, E.	Kyle	Rosengarten
Bates, Mrs.	Grieve, Miss	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Bender	Groton	Lyman	Schoff
Bloomfield	Haas	Malter	Scott, Mrs.
Bolling	Haupt	Margolis, M. L.	Steele
Brockwell	Hirth	Michelson	Sulzberger
Burlingame	Hock	Montgomery	Torrey
Carus	Hopkins	Moore, G. F.	Vanderburgh
Clay	Jackson	Müller	Ward, W. H.
Cunningham	Jackson, Mrs.	Nies, J. B.	Ylvisaker
Edgerton	Jastrow	Nies, W. E.	Yohannan

TOTAL: 56.

The first session was held in Room 205, College Hall, on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:15 p. m., the President Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

(77)

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in New York, April 9th, 10th and 11th, 1912, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the Journal (vol. 32, part 4, p. i-xi).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Jastrow, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at a quarter before three, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members on Tuesday evening; that the members of the Society were invited by Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, and his colleagues to a luncheon at the College on Wednesday at one o'clock; and that the Oriental Club of Philadelphia would, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation, entertain the men of the Society at dinner at the Franklin Inn Club on Wednesday evening at seven o'clock, while the visiting ladies were invited to be the guests of Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson at dinner at her home at the same hour.

#### REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The correspondence of the Society has been constantly increasing, and during the past year the Secretary has interchanged letters with a large number of Oriental scholars in Europe and Asia, as well as with members in this country. As directed at the last meeting, the Secretary sent a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, which met at Athens at the same time, and transmitted the good wishes of the Society to a number of the members longest on the roll. Replies have come in acknowledgment of these greetings, and the newly elected members have sent letters of acceptance and appreciation.

Among the correspondence with foreign members may be specially mentioned an interesting letter from Mr. Ely Bannister Soane, written at Chia Surkh in Southern Kurdistan and dated May 26, 1912, in which he makes some noteworthy remarks regarding the sect of the Ali Illahi and their possible connection with the Yezidis, numbers of whom are scattered through Kurdistan. He writes:

'They are just as secretive as the Yezidis, and though the religious chief, Sayid Rustam, is a close personal friend of mine, I have never got much out of him; but I find that in Kerind, which is a stronghold of the Ali Illahis, there is the same aversion to any mention of Satan, who is also called Malek Taus (see Layard), and the same secret meetings take place. This seems rather interesting and looks as if they and the Yezidis are two branches, from a common origin, which have

developed along different lines — the Ali Illahi, or Persian section, adopting Muhammadan outward semblance as a self-protective measure. Their initiation ceremony is also called *Jaoz*. Do you think this is any relic of the Avestic *Yaozhdāh*, the modern ritual also being one of purification?

It is a sad duty to record the loss of several valued members by death during the past year.

Professor Willis J. Beecher, D. D., of the Theological Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., whose work along theological lines is well known, died May 10, 1912. He had been a member of the Society for twelve years.

Rev. Dr. David Blaustein, who became a member of the Society in 1891, died in the summer of 1912. He will be long remembered for his ability and noble character, no less than for his educational and humanitarian work.

Rev. Dr. Arthur W. Ewing, of Philadelphia, President of the Christian College at Allahabad, India, died September 20, 1912, at Allahabad. Dr. Ewing had devoted himself for years to philanthropic and educational work among the Hindus, but had found time also for the pursuit of Oriental studies. A number of years ago he published in the *Journal* a valuable article entitled 'The Hindu conception of the functions of breath' (*JAOS.* 22 [1901], p. 249—308).

Professor William Watson Goodwin, the distinguished Greek scholar of Harvard, has likewise died since the last meeting. He was one of the oldest members of the Society, having joined in 1857, and he always attended some of the sessions when the meetings took place in Boston or Cambridge. After the meeting last year the Secretary sent Professor Goodwin a hearty letter of greetings from the Society, as instructed, and received from him a cordial response expressing his appreciation of the remembrance.

Professor Alfred Ludwig, of the University of Prague, Bohemia, who had been an honorary member of the Society since 1898, died June 15, 1912. The work of this noted scholar, especially in the line of Vedic criticism, is too well known to require any record here. His learning was profound and his scholarship broad and varied, including not only researches in various branches of linguistics, but likewise investigations in Homeric studies, in Hebrew, and even in Finnish literature.

In concluding this report the Secretary wishes to express once again his appreciation of the continued co-operation of those who are associated with him in the work of the Society.

Professor Lanman spoke briefly on the character and achievements of Professor Goodwin; Professor Bloomfield, on Professor Ludwig; Professor Barton, on Dr. Blaustein.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL  
SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1912.

*Receipts.*

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1911 . . . . .		\$ 1358.73
Annual dues . . . . .	\$ 1305.20	
Life membership . . . . .	75.00	
Contribution for the Library . . . . .	100.00	
Sales of the Journal . . . . .	345.36	
State National Bank dividends . . . . .	128.14	
Coupons from bonds . . . . .	50.00	
Sale of 13 shares of National Bank stock . . . . .	2600.00	
Withdrawn from Savings Bank . . . . .	1017.08	5620.78
		<u>\$ 6979.51</u>

*Expenditures.*

Printing of the Journal, Volume 32 . . . . .	\$ 1208.21	
Sundry printing and addressing . . . . .	57.34	
Freight and mailing . . . . .	21.76	
Library Fund (deposited in Savings Bank) . . . . .	200.00	
Editor's honorarium . . . . .	200.00	
Postage of the Treasurer, 2 years . . . . .	21.30	
Subvention to Dictionary of Islam, 3 years . . . . .	150.50	
Investments in bonds . . . . .	3842.91	5702.02
Balance to new account . . . . .		1277.49
		<u>\$ 6979.51</u>

STATEMENT.

	1911	1912
Bradley Type Fund . . . . .	\$ 3052.29	\$ 3178.21
Cotheal Fund . . . . .	1000.00	1000.00
State National Bank shares (sold 1912) . . . . .	1950.00	
National Savings Bank deposit . . . . .	20.76	225.51
Interest, Cotheal Fund . . . . .	330.05	380.38
2 Ch., R. I. & Pacific Ry. bonds (bought 1912) . . . . .		1787.50
1 Virginian Railway bond (bought 1912) . . . . .		990.00
	<u>\$ 6353.10</u>	<u>\$ 7561.60</u>

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., March 17, 1913. CHARLES C. TORREY }  
HANNS OERTEL } *Auditors.*

## REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report:

During the past year much has been done in classifying the books of the Library. Under my predecessor the serial publications were classified and given their own shelf number. Since then many new serials have been added to the Library, but they have been placed on the shelves without any attempt at cataloguing. This year we have made an inventory of all these publications, some 200 titles, with a view to cataloguing them and completing the classification. We have also some 244 volumes ready for binding, which will represent an outlay of about \$200. This has been provided for by the appropriation made one year ago. The catalogues of manuscripts were also catalogued under my predecessor, as well as the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but the work has not been kept up to date. This is now being done. In addition we have commenced to make a classified arrangement of the other accessions.

In order to make the work permanent in character and make the Library really accessible to the members of the Society, it is planned to prepare: (1) an author catalogue; (2) a scheme of classification adapted to the needs of an Oriental library; (3) a shelf-list, in which the cards are arranged in the order of the books on the shelves. The shelf-list will in reality be an inventory of the Library and should always be complete.

With the assistance of a trained librarian who is giving partial time to the work, we hope to accomplish these things in about two years, after which it will not require much time to take care of the accessions and keep everything up-to-date.

I might add that among the book accessions we frequently receive books for review. These have heretofore been acknowledged in the same way as other books, but with the consent of the Editors of the Journal acknowledgment of these will hereafter be made in the columns of the Journal.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, as follows:

In spite of a slight increase over last year's bill, the cost of printing the last volume of the Journal was well within the limits of our budget. The delay in issuing the last parts of last year's volume and of the first parts of the current volume was due to the tardiness of the contributors in sending in copy. The Editors hope that the remaining numbers of the current volume will be issued at the regular quarterly dates.

## ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):



## CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Eckley B. Coxe, Jr.	Dr. Felix Freiherr von Oefele
Mr. Edward T. Curran	Mr. T. Ramakrishna
Rev. Dr. C. E. Keiser	Dr. Joseph Reider
Dr. G. I. Kheiralla	Mr. J. G. Rosengarten
Mr. Walter S. Kupfer	Prof. William C. Thayer
Rev. Dr. David Levy	Rev. Dr. Royden K. Yerkes
Prof. Henry Malter	Dr. S. C. Ylvisaker
Rev. John Meighan	

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1913-1914.

The committee appointed at New York to nominate officers for the year 1913—1914, consisting of Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret, reported through the chairman, Professor Montgomery, and nominated the following, who were thereupon duly elected:

*President*—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia; Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; and Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr, Pa.

*Corresponding Secretary*—Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York.

*Recording Secretary*—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.

*Treasurer*—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

*Librarian*—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven."

*Directors*—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George F. Moore, of Cambridge; Robert Francis Harper, of Chicago; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

Professor Jastrow announced that Provost Edgar F. Smith was unfortunately prevented from being present and welcoming the members to the University.

After a recess of ten minutes, the President delivered the annual address, the subject being 'Babism and Bahaim.' The Society thereupon adjourned for the day, at 5:10 p. m.

## SECOND SESSION.

The members reassembled on Wednesday morning at 9:35 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. After the election of a corporate member (included in the list above), the Society proceeded to the hearing of communications, as follows:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: Kugler's criterion for determining the order of the months in the earliest Babylonian calendar. — Remarks and a question by Professor Jastrow and reply by the author.

Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa: Dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian. — Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Professor G. M. BOLLING, of the Catholic University of America: The Śantikalpa of the Atharva-Veda.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: A possible metrical original of the Lord's Prayer. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: A preliminary exploration of the Reverse Vedic Concordance. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of greetings from Professor Toy, and was instructed to send a message to him and to some of the members longest on the roll. After a recess of ten minutes at eleven o'clock, the reading of papers was resumed, as follows:

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: Identifications of South Indian place-names mentioned in the Periplus. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins, Professor Jackson, and Professor Moore.

Professor C. A. B. BROCKWELL, of McGill University: The couvade in Israel. — Remarks by Dr. Michelson, Professor Max Müller, and Professor Montgomery.

Professor Max Müller made a few remarks, presenting a specimen of the Kunjāra language of Dār Fūr in Arabic script.

At noon the Society took a recess until a quarter before three o'clock.

### THIRD SESSION.

The afternoon session was opened at 2:55 p. m. in the large lecture-room at the Dropsie College, President Moore being in the chair.

President Cyrus Adler, of the Dropsie College, made a brief address explaining the foundation and purposes of the College. Professor Bezold, who was present at the meeting, was invited to say a few words regarding a new projected Assyrian dictionary.

After the election of an additional corporate member (included in the list above), the reading of papers was resumed, in the following order:

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: Buddhagosa's Dhammapada Commentary. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Mr. F. A. CUNNINGHAM, of Merchantville, N. J.: The identity of Phul with Tiglath-Pileser II.

Dr. A. POEBEL, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian noun. — Remarks by Professor Jastrow and Professor Arnold.

Mr. W. S. KUPFER, of New York: On some modern vernacular folk-songs of India. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: Some Egyptian and Coptic etymologies.

Dr. F. EDGERTON, of Johns Hopkins University: Pañcadivyaḍhivāsa, choosing a king by divine ordeal.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: Two poems of Haggai in the Book of Zechariah. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. HAUPT: The fifth Sumerian family law. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor P. HAUPT: A new Assyrian verb. (Presented in abstract.)

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: On some fragments of Persian poetry.

Rev. Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn, N. Y.: The Sumerian signs Tūr, Gam, Allu, Mešu. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: The Peshitta text of Genesis 32. 25.

Dr. A. YOHANNAN, of Columbia University: On the date of composition of Nizāmī's five romantic poems according to different Persian manuscripts.

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Classical parallels to a Sanskrit proverb. — Remarks by Dr. Yohannan.

Professor I. M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The animal DUN in Sumerian inscriptions. — Remarks by Dr. J. B. Nies.

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of Dropsie College: Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Rev. Dr. F. A. VANDERBURGH, of Columbia University: A deed of sale in the reign of Nabopolassar.

At 5:40 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

#### FOURTH SESSION.

The Society met for the fourth session at 9:40 a. m. on Thursday morning in Room 205, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, the President, Professor Moore, being in the chair.

The President reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Cambridge and Boston, Mass., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1914. He reported further that the Directors had reappointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

*Committee of Arrangements for 1914:* Professors Lanman and Lyon, and the Corresponding Secretary.

*Committee on Nominations:* Professors Hopkins, Kent, and Ropes.

*Auditors:* Professors Oertel and Torrey.

The President announced that, because of the large number of technical papers and the brief time available at the meetings, one half-day session at the next meeting would be held in two sections, for special Indo-Germanic and Semitic communications respectively.

On motion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their hospitable welcome, to the President of the Dropsie College and his colleagues for the entertainment so generously provided, to the members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia and to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson for their gracious hospitality, to the University Club, the College Club, and the Lenape Club for courtesies extended, and to the Committee of Arrangements for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Modern frauds in Ancient Palestine. — Remarks by Dr. Ward and Professor Jastrow.

Professor P. HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: The Maccabean prototype of Luther's 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.' Remarks by Dr. Michelson.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The Lokapālas, or world-protecting gods. — Remarks by Professor Lanman and Dr. Edgerton; additional statement by the author.

Professor M. JASTROW, Jr, of the University of Pennsylvania: Wine in the Pentateuchal codes. — Remarks by Professors Jackson, Haupt, Moore, Brockwell, Arnold, Max Müller, and Montgomery.

Mrs. S. B. SCOTT, of Philadelphia: Notes on Mohammedanism in Borneo. — Remarks by Professor Gottheil, Dr. Yohannan, Mr. Ellis, Professor Barret, Professor Jastrow, and Dr. Michelson.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: Symbolism in India. — Remarks by Professor Hopkins and Miss Grieve.

Dr. T. MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On various attempts to connect the language of American Indians with the languages of the Old World. — Remarks by Professors Jastrow, Max Müller, and Moore.

Professor J. A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Mandaic inscription on a lead tablet. — Remarks by Professors Max Müller, Gottheil, and Barton.

Mr. William T. Ellis exhibited a vase from Korea, Grecian in form, inscribed in ancient Chinese characters, for the inspection of the members. Professors Haupt and Brockwell made some remarks regarding it.

The following communication was then presented:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: The names of two kings of Adab. (Presented in abstract.)

The Society adjourned at 12:27 p. m., to meet at Cambridge and Boston on April 16, 1914.

The following communications were presented by title:

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: A Syriac grammatical manuscript of the fifteenth century.

Dr. F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The expression of indefinite pronominal ideas in Hebrew; (b) Some peculiar Philippine constructions.

Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, of the University of Pennsylvania: *Dukkham ariyasaccam* quoted in Bidpai's fables.

Professor C. E. CONANT, of the University of Chattanooga: Notes on the phonology of the Tirurai language (Philippines).

Dr. F. EDGERTON, of Johns Hopkins University: The verses of the Vikramacarita.

Dr. A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: The origin of the pronominal suffix of the third person masculine singular, in Egyptian.

Professor I. FRIEDLAENDER, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: (a) Gnostic elements in heterodox Islam; (b) The rebirth of the Hebrew language in Palestine.

Dr. L. H. GRAY, of Newark, N. J.: Iranian Miscellanies.

Dr. G. C. O. HAAS, of the College of the City of New York: The *Tapatisamvarana*, a drama by Kulaśekhara Varman, translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Professor E. W. HOPKINS, of Yale University: The epic Nārada.

Dr. Mary I. HUSSEY, of Cambridge, Mass.: A deed of land dated in the reign of Ellil-bāni.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: On some words in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions.

Mr. Charles JOHNSTON, of New York: A catechism of the Vedānta.

Professor R. G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: The chronology of certain Indo-Iranian sound-changes.

Dr. T. MICHELSON, of the Bureau of American Ethnology: On Vedic archaisms in Epic Sanskrit.

Dr. A. POEBEL, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Nisan; (b) Gold and silver in Babylonia in the third millennium B. C.; (c) A new Creation and Deluge text.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: (a) An unread Babylonian ideogram; (b) A Tammuz incantation.

Mr. G. P. QUACKENBOS, of the College of the City of New York: A study of Bāṇa's Caṇḍisataka.

**Rev. Dr. W. ROSENAU**, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Some psychological terms in the Hebrew text of Maimonides; (b) The Strack edition of the Talmud.

**Mr. G. V. SCHICK**, of Johns Hopkins University: Some unpublished cuneiform fragments in the British Museum.

**Mr. W. H. SCHOFF**, of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia: (a) Some features of the Kushan coinage; (b) A note on the name of the Erythrean Sea.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll. Poona, India 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- CANON SAMUEL R. DRIVER, Oxford, England. 1909.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Utca 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat. Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris. France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.



EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I<sup>er</sup>, Paris, France. 1908.

Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.

Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstrasse 18a.) 1902.

Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstrasse 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

## II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.

Mrs JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.

Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.

Prof. FELIX ADLER, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.

RONALD C. ALLEN, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.

F. STURGES ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.

Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, Northampton, Mass. 1906.

Rev. Dr. FLOYD APPLETON, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.

Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, (Harvard Univ.), 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.

Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.

HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. LEROY CARE BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.

Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.

Mrs. DANIEL BATES, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.

Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 418 West 20th St., New York. 1894.

Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 1906.

Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, New Brunswick, 5 Seminary Place, N. J. 1893.

Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.

Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.

Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Dr. GEORGE F. BLACK, Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York, N. Y., 1907.

Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. PHILIP BLANC, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Mass. 1907.

Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Protestant Syrian College, Beirut Syrian. 1898.

FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.

Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.  
Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1896.  
Rev. Dr. DAN FREEMAN BRADLEY, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.  
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.  
Prof. C. A. BRODIE BROCKWELL, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.  
Pres. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.  
Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1909.  
Prof. RUDOLPH E. BRÜNNOW (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.  
Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
HAMMOND H. BUCK, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.  
ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.  
Dr. EUGENE WATSON BURLINGAME, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.  
GRANVILLE BURRUS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Md. 1912.  
Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.  
Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.  
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL. D., Williamstown, Mass.  
Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.  
Dr. I. M. CASANOVICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.  
Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, Southern India. 1899.  
Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.  
Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.  
WALTER E. CLARK, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.  
Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.) 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.  
\*ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, New York 16 E. 41 st. Street. 1908.  
\*GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.  
Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.  
Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, 5423 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1905.  
ECKLEY B. COXE, Jr., 1604 Locust st., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM GRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.  
FRANCIS A. CUNNINGHAM, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. Y. 1912.  
EDWARD T. CURRAN, 346 State St., Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.  
Dr. HAROLD S. DAVIDSON, 1700 North Paysan St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.  
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton. N. J. 1888.  
Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, Madison, Wis. 1900.  
JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.  
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York. N. Y. 1867.  
Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.  
Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.  
Dr. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.

- Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.  
 WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.  
 Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, (Amherst Collage), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.  
 Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.  
 Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 606 W. 122d, St., New York, N. Y. 1901.  
 Prof. EDWIN WHITEFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.  
 Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.  
 Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.  
 Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. FONCK, Instituto Biblico Pontifico, Via del Archelto, Roma, Italia. 1913.  
 Rev. THEODORE FOOTE, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.  
 Prof. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. LEO J. FRACHTENBERG, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JAS EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.  
 Dr. CARL FRANK, 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.  
 Dr. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 356 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
 ROBERT GARRET, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.  
 Miss MARIE GELBACH, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.  
 EUGENE A. GELLOT 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.  
 Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.  
 Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.  
 Prof. ELIHU GRANT Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.  
 Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.  
 Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.  
 Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.  
 Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O., 1890.  
 Rev. Dr. W. M. GROTON, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.  
 \*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
 Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.  
 Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.  
 NEWTON H. HARDING, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.  
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.  
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.). 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, München, Leopoldstr. 1887.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM J. HINKE, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.  
Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.  
Prof. CHARLES F. HOCK (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.  
\*Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.  
Rev. Dr. HUGO W. HOFFMANN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.  
\*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.  
WILSON S. HOWELL, Box 437, Pleasantville Station, N. Y. 1911.  
HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.  
Miss SARAH FENTON HOYT, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.  
Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.  
Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.  
Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
S. T. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
Miss MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1913.  
\*JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.  
Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.  
Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.  
Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.  
Prof. MORRIS JASTROW (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.  
Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.  
Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.  
Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.  
Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, (Yale Univ.) 233 Chapel St., New Haven, Conn. 1913.  
ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.  
Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.  
Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.  
Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.  
Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
Dr. G. D. KHEIRALLA, Rapid City, S. Dak. 1913.  
Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.  
RICHARD LEE KORTKAMP, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.  
WALTER S. KUPFER, Leonia, N. Y. 1913.  
Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.  
M. A. LANE, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.  
\*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.

- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Dr. OTTO LICHTI, 146 Tremont St., Ansonia, Conn. 1912.
- H. LINFIELD, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Lindsley Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- Dr. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, Urbana, Ill. 1909.
- \*BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTTHOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- C. V. McLEAN, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. HENRY MALTER, Dropsie College, Broad & York St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINRED ROBERT MARTIN, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
- C. O. SYLVESTER MAWSON, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.
- Rev. JOHN MEIGHAN, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- J. RENWICK METHENY, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- \*Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER, 4308 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. JAS. B. NIES, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Rev. WILLIAM E. NIES, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX. Freihert von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St. New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.

- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.  
Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.  
Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Penn. 1906.  
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.  
Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.  
\*ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.  
Rev. Dr. CHARLES RAY PALMER, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.  
Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, 405 Nevada st., Northfield, Minn. 1903.  
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.  
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.  
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.  
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.  
WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.  
Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.  
Dr. ARNO POEBEL, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.  
Dr. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.  
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.  
GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.  
RAMAKIRMA, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.  
Dr. CAROLINE L. RANSOM, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.  
G. A. REICHLING, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.  
BERNARD REVEL, 2113 North Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.  
Prof. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.  
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.  
J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Canada. 1913.  
EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Rev. Dr. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.  
HON. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1880.  
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.  
Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.  
J. J. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.  
Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 2098 East 100th St., Cleveland, O. 1894.

- Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.  
 Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.  
 Pres. FRANK K. SANDERS, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.  
 JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.  
 GEORGE V. SCHICK, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1909.  
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.  
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.  
 MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER Jr., Department of State, Washington D. C. 1913.  
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.  
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.  
 \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Rev. JOHN L. SCULLY, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 110 East Twenty-fifth St., Baltimore Md. 1902.  
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.  
 \*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.  
 Major C. C. SMITH, Fourth Cavalry, Nogales, Arizona. 1907.  
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.  
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 ELY BANNISTER SOANE, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W., England. 1911.  
 Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.  
 MARTIN SPRENGLING, care of Prof. R. F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.  
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.  
 MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Prof. GEORGE SYERDRUP, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.  
 Prof. WM. C. THAYER, 59 Market St. Bethlehem, Pa. 1913.  
 DAVID E. THOMAS, 6407 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.  
 EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.  
 Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.  
 OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1906.  
 \*Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.  
 Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.  
 Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.  
 Rev. HERVEY BOARDMAN VANDERBOGART, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.  
 Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.

*List of Members.*

xxi

- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.  
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark,  
N. J. 1874.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.  
Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline,  
Mass. 1877.  
Rev. LE ROY WATERMAN, Meadville Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1912.  
Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.  
Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt.,  
Bangkok, Siam. 1903.  
ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.  
Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.  
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge,  
Mass. 1877.  
JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.  
\*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.  
Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.  
Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New  
Haven, Conn. 1895.  
Dr. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.  
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.  
Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, So. Pasadena, California. 1911.  
HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.  
Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1620 Madison St., Madison, Wis. 1904.  
Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.  
WILLIAM W. WOOD, Shirley Lane, Baltimore, Md. 1900.  
Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.  
Dr. WILLIAM H. WORRELL, Hosmer Hall, Hartford, Conn. 1910.  
Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.  
Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, S. J., Niederwallstrasse 8—9, Berlin, SW. 19,  
Germany. 1911.  
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CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Museum of Natural History.  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.  
Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penn.  
WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.  
Bureau of American Ethnology.  
WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
K. u. K. Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek (Josephs-  
platz 1.)  
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.  
PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.  
FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)  
Bibliothèque Nationale.  
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)  
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.  
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)  
GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Bibliothek.  
Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughause 1.)  
DARMSTADT: Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.  
GÖTTINGEN: Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
(Friedrichstrasse 50.)  
LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)  
MUNICH: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.  
TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.  
GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ire-  
land. (22 Albemarle St., W.)  
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S.W.)  
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell  
St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)  
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall,  
3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N.W.)  
ITALY, BOLOGNA: Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.  
FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.  
ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.  
THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en  
Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.  
LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.  
RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno Ougrienne.  
ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.  
Archeologiji Institut.  
SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

### III. ASIA.

- CHINA SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
TONKIN: l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.  
INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)  
BENARES: Benares Sanskrit Coll. "The Pandit."  
CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)  
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)  
Home Dept., Government of India.  
LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.  
SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Benmore,  
Simla, Punjab.)  
CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.  
JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.  
KOREA: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.  
NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.  
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Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.  
A-Machriq, Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria.

### IV. AFRIKA.

- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

### V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

- The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).  
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder,  
Rothenthurmstr. 15, Vienna, Austria).  
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn,  
3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria),  
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E.  
Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).  
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. D. Karl  
Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).  
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C.  
Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer-str., Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 438 East 57th St., Chicago, Ill.

Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. F. G. Moore, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.).

Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Upsala, Sweden).

Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari, Asram, (Allahabad) Bahadurgany (India).

## VI. LIBRARIES.

The Editors request the Librarians of any Institution or Libraries, not mentioned below, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify them of the fact. It is the intention of the Editors to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Mass.

Boston Public Library.

Brown University Library.

University of California Library, Berkeley, Cal.

Chicago University Library.

Columbia University Library.

Connemara Public Library, Madras, India,

Cornell University Library.

Harvard University Library.

Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, Md.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Minneapolis Athenaeum, Minneapolis, Minn.

New York Public Library.

Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester N. Y.

Yale University Library.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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With Amendments of April, 1897.

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CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be: —

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidades for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors,

may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

#### BY—LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and

shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS.

##### I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.



*Recent Researches in the Sumerian Calendar.* — By  
GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

There are many unsolved problems in Sumerology, and one of these is the arrangement and development of the calendar. For the period of the dynasty of Ur the area of uncertainty has been for Lagash and Nippur reduced to narrow limits, but for the earlier period there is as yet no agreement. The uncertainty is well illustrated by the fact that Genouillac in 1909 arranged the names of the months in a certain order for the period of Urkagina, beginning the year with the month Ezen-Bau at the vernal equinox;<sup>1</sup> the present writer in 1910 found thirty six month-names for the same period, which applied to thirteen months, (one of them being the intercalary month), which he believed represented a year beginning at the autumnal equinox;<sup>2</sup> in the same year Myhrman compiled four lists of months which were in use during the period of Ur, one of which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD, and two with the month GAN-MAŠ.<sup>3</sup> He was influenced in the arrangement of these last mentioned lists by an old theory of his friend Radau, who had contended that the calendar began with that month. Finally Langdon 1911, arranged for the Urkagina period a calendar of twelve months. He ignored may the variant names. He began the year with the month August-September.<sup>4</sup> Each of the three investigators who treats the calendar of Urkagina has arranged the months in a different order and would begin the year at a different period. Langdon endeavors to connect the calendar of the Urkagina period with that of the Ur period, and believes that he has discovered a law

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<sup>1</sup> *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques* p. xvii ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOS*, XXXI, 251 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. III, 45 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, Paris, Geuthner, 1911, p. 5 ff.  
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by which the months were gradually shifted. If one could accept his system and believe that his knowledge of the Babylonian seasons and harvests is accurate, Langdon would persuade him that the Sumerian calendar was invented 2100 years before the Ur dynasty or about 4400 — 4500 B. C. Such wide differences of opinion serve to show that we are all in a good degree groping in the dark.

Meantime Thureau-Dangin has collected from unpublished tablets the names and order of the months as he believes they were arranged in the calendars of Umma and Jôkha. While these calendars belong to the Ur period and the arrangements proposed rest in many instances on doubtful data, their variations in one or two clearly established points from calendars previously known throw light on a number of problems. They also make it clear there was no such thing as a uniform Sumerian Calendar for the whole of Babylonia.

It is the fashion among some Sumerologists to assume that all who engage in Sumerian studies except one's self and one's teacher or pupil, are ignorant of the first principles of the science, and accordingly each scholar fiercely asserts the correctness of his own opinions. So long as this is the case, and so long as the results obtained differ as widely as those referred to above, the general public cannot be blamed for thinking that Sumerology is not yet a science, but belongs to the realm of imaginative fiction.

It is not in this spirit that the writer approaches the study. He readily acknowledges his own humble position among the devotees of the craft, and is eager to learn from any and every quarter. So long as we are dealing with a matter which strives to escape from imaginative literature and to find standing room in the realm of science, it is quite right to test each theory by such facts as can be ascertained, and in this testing the humblest workers may find a place. It is with this purpose that the following criticisms are offered.

Myhrman, followed by Langdon, gives two lists of months of a year beginning with a month GAN-MAŠ. There is really no decisive evidence offered in support of such a year. It is true that in the great grain account published in CT, III, (Nr. 18343), the accounts run from GAN-MAŠ to ŠE-IL-LA, but that does not prove that the year began with GAN-MAŠ, but only that at the beginning of that month was

the new grain ready to be put into circulation. A modern firm might for economic causes run their fiscal year from Feb. 1st to Jan. 31st, but this would not imply that the calendar of the time did not begin its year with Jan. 1st. That the year of the authors of this tablet began with ŠE-IL-LA is shown by the fact that the intercalary month was DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD (cf. col. x, 48, xii, 40, and xiii, 9). If the year had begun with GAN-MAŠ, the intercalary month should have been a second ŠE-IL-LA. The lists which begin with GAN-MAŠ may, therefore, be disregarded.

On the other hand a tablet published by Radau, EBH, 299, (viz: EAH, 134), testifies to a year which began with ŠE-KIN-KUD and concluded with EZIN-MI-KI-GAL. This list which simply couples the names of certain officials with the different months, clearly arranges them in their calendar order. This is confirmed by a tablet recently published from Drehem.<sup>1</sup> Clearly, then, there were places in the Ur period where the calendar began with the month with which in other places it ended. Langdon<sup>2</sup> has rightly pointed out that in the tablets from Drehem published by him one can see the year shifting from one system to the other, sometimes DIR-EZEN-MI-KI-GAL<sup>3</sup> being the intercalary month, and sometimes DIR-ŠE-KIN-KUD.<sup>4</sup> As ŠE-KIN-KUD is a name which signifies the "grain" or "barley-harvest" and as that harvest begins now about the middle of April,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that originally that month came a month later than in the calendar of the time of Ur at Telloh. For some reason, probably because intercalary months were not appointed often enough, it had been drawn back one place in the calendar. At Drehem we see the change in progress.

The recognition of this fact solves a difficulty which I felt when writing on the calendar two years ago;<sup>5</sup> but the right solution of which I did not then find. It accordingly necessitates a slight modification of my arrangement of the months, as will be pointed out below.

Langdon's inference that this process had been going on for such a length of time that the calendar had been drawn five

<sup>1</sup> *La trouvaille de Dréhem*, par H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1911, Nr. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Nr. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Nr. 2.

<sup>5</sup> JAOS, XXXI, 259, n. 1.

months out of its original position, is based upon a number of misconceptions. One of the most fundamental of these is the notion that the barley harvest ever came as late as July-August, and that the date harvest came in July. These are simple facts which can be ascertained from modern conditions without a knowledge of Sumerian. Barley harvest began in the latter part of March and extended into April.<sup>1</sup> The wheat harvest followed on after it. The date harvest at Buṣrah, which is farther south than Telloh, begins now about the middle of September<sup>2</sup> and lasts for six or eight weeks. Langon has also overlooked the fact that as early as the time of Urkagina the appointment of an intercalary month was in use.<sup>3</sup> It is inconceivable that a people who had invented an intercalary month to keep their agriculturally named months in coincidence with the agricultural seasons, should permit it to be drawn absolutely out of touch with them at a time when the agricultural names were fully understood. Indeed, on Langon's theory the month names must have become fixed about 4400 B. C. and the process of dislocation must have been far advanced by 3000—2800 B. C., where we must place Urkagina. The month names of the time of Urkagina make such a theory wholly untenable. They are not only in a thoroughly fluid state, some months being named from any one of several agricultural processes which took place in it, but the names themselves occur in their fullest forms. They are still whole sentences, which have definite agricultural meanings. They are not the mere meaningless fragments which some of them had become by the Ur Period. Such changes as are traceable in the Sumerian calendar before the Ur period occurred in the space of 500] years and not 2100 years.

Langdon rightly begins the year toward the autumn. He makes the first month Aug.-Sept., instead of Sept.-Oct. In the present state of our knowledge this is not a serious divergence, though his reason for choosing it, viz: —that ŠE-KIN-KUD and ŠU-NUMUN originally belonged five months from the time where we later find them, is a misconception of the

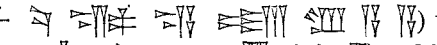
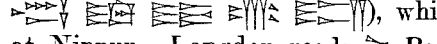

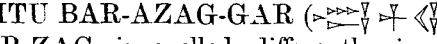
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<sup>1</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 259, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Zwemer, *Arabia the Cradle of Islam*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> DP, Nr. 99.

Babylonian seasons. That the year began in the autumn as late as the time of Gudea<sup>1</sup>, is a fact to which attention has previously been called.<sup>2</sup> The change from this to a year which began with the vernal equinox was an innovation introduced between the time of Gudea, therefore, and the dynasty of Ur. What was the cause of the change, we can only conjecture, and conjecture in the absence of facts is futile. But all the information points to the theory that a definite change to a year beginning in the spring, had been made at Telloh within the comparatively short period between Gudea and the dynasty of Ur.

Langdon equates the stellar month-name of the period of Urkagina, viz: —ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A, (i. e. ) with ITU BAR-ZAG (i. e. ) which occurs in the Ur period at Nippur. Langdon reads  Bar instead of BABBAR, which is, of course, possible. He then takes BAR-SAG as the name of the star, instead of interpreting SAG in the sense of "front" or "leadership" as I would do,<sup>3</sup> and takes the reading BAR-ZAG as another spelling for this. There is hardly a possibility that this is right, since in EAH 134 it is spelled ITU BAR-AZAG-GAR (). Though the BAR-ZAG is spelled differently in the two texts the presence of the GAR or GA-RA in both the Ur names introduces an element which is not in the earlier name, and the identification of either with the earlier name is extremely improbable. Langdon thinks that its use as a month name arose from the acronic setting of some unidentified star, though he admits that this is the opposite of the usage of the Persian period. The view formerly expressed by me,<sup>4</sup> that the star is Sirius, that the reference is to its heliac rising, and that the month is identical with the month LIK (month of the dog), once called LIK-BAD (month the dog dies), though conjectural, is still the most probable conjecture.

In this connection the date of DP 99 should be discussed. When writing two years ago, I recognized it as an intercalary month, though a part of the name was not then clear

<sup>1</sup> Stat. E, v, 1—2; stat. G, iii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JAOS, XXXI, 255, and the references there given.

<sup>3</sup> JAOS, XXXI, 266.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 266 f.

to me. The month name is written (turning the signs into Assyrian script),  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$ . The  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$  is very puzzling, and two years ago I was inclined to regard it as "day 2" inserted in a peculiar way. Analogy of later texts proves, however, that that is impossible. Hammurapi, for example, (King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, pl. 14, l. 6), says, in appointing an intercalary month ITU KIN-<sup>d</sup> NANA II <sup>kam</sup> li-iš-ša-ṭe-ir, "a second Ululu let it be registered".<sup>1</sup> We thus learn that an intercalary month could be called the "second" of the preceding month. Applying this to the  $\text{𒌷} \text{𒌷}$  of this old month name, we should render it, "Second Babbar, appointed". The inference lies close at hand, that BABBAR is an abbreviation for ITU-MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A. If this was the case, this astral month was the closing month of the year, and not the first month, as Langdon supposes.<sup>2</sup>

Kugler<sup>3</sup> has made an interesting suggestion concerning another month name, Antasurra. A longer form of it occurs, though mutilated by the breaking of the tablet, in DP 116. It is ITU<sup>d</sup>-NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA-SUR-RA, "Month when the god Ningirsu pours out fire from heaven". Kugler interprets it as a reference to a shower of meteors. Kugler shows that about 2700 B. C. the Leonid meteors which now come about the middle of Nov. fell about July 14th. According to the data given by him, the Persid meteors, which now fall in August, then fell about June 25. At that time, accordingly, the month, June-July, would include both these showers, and a month might well be named for them. Langdon objects to this interpretation of the name (op. cit. p. 13, n. 5), on the ground that Antasurra was a part of the temple of

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Bu 88—5—12, 12 (CT, VIII, 3) is dated in ITU KIN-NANA II <sup>kam</sup>, and Bu 91—5—9, 320 (CT, VIII, 27) is dated ITU BAR-ZAG-GAR II <sup>kam</sup>. These are other instances of the practice in question, and the last example shows that in the reign of Abishu Nisan was used as an intercalary month.

<sup>2</sup> That GAL-LA-A is to be taken in the sense of *sakānu*, "appoint", (Br. 2253), is shown by CT, III, 18343 *passim*, where, whenever an intercalary month occurred in the year, we read ITU DIR Ia-an ŠABA-NI-GAL, "One additional month in (it) was appointed"; cf. iii, 35, 45, vii, 40, ix, 12, 22, 32, 41, 48. xvi. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, 174 ff. and ZA, XXV, 278. In my former article I read the name Antagarra, but this is incorrect.

Ningirsu (SAK, 243), and that it was also a proper name of men. Kugler's interpretation is plausible and attractive, though as yet uncertain.

Of the reconstruction of the calendars of Umma and Jôkha by Thureau-Dangin one feels some doubt. For example, it is assumed from the statement of a text, that "From the month ŠE-KIN-KUD to the month Dumuzi was twelve months", that the year began with the month ŠE-KIN-KUD. While the fact that at Drehem ŠE-KIN-KUD began the year establishes a presumption that the same was the case at Umma, the statement itself does not prove it any more than the statement that from December to November is twelve months would prove that our year begins with December.

The statement does prove that at Umma, (and the same seems to have been true for Jôkha), the Feast of Amaraasi was called the feast of Tammuz. A deity sufficiently akin to Tammuz to be identified with him, seems to have been especially honored in the winter time.

Taking into account the new information which has come to light, the table of months published in vol. XXXI should be corrected as in the following list. The position of those preceded by an interrogation is still in doubt: The position assigned to those preceded by two question marks is wholly conjectural.

The exact date of the new year cannot as yet be accurately ascertained. Probably it was not accurately determined astronomically, but came somewhere near the date harvest. It may have ranged from the end of August to the end of September.

#### Tentative List of Months.

First month,	ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> BA-U
Second month,	{ ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	{ ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÛ- <sup>a</sup> NINA
	{ ITU EZIN-AB-UD-DU
	{ ITU GAR-KA-ID-KA
Third month, (??)	ITU ŠI-GAR-MA
Fourth month, (??)	ITU UZ-NE-GU-RA-A

Fifth month, (??)	ITU GAL-ŠAG-GA <sup>1</sup>
Sixth month,	{ ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA ITU AMAR-A-A-SI-DA ITU AMA-UDU-TUK
Seventh month,	{ ITU ŠE-KIN-KUD ITU MAL-UDU-UR ITU MAL-UR ITU*SIG-BA ITU SIG- <sup>a</sup> BA-U-E-TA-GAR- RA-A
Eighth month,	{ ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-IL- <sup>a</sup> NINA ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A-KU ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>a</sup> NIN- GIR-SU ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU ITU KARU-DUB-BA-A ITU KARU-IMI-A-TA ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA- DUR-BA-A ITU-KARU-IMI-DU-A <sup>2</sup>
Ninth month,	{ ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A <sup>3</sup> ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A- <sup>a</sup> NINA
Tenth month,	{ ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> NE-ŠU (?) ITU- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL- AN-TA-SUR-RA (?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA-A

<sup>1</sup> This conjecture is based upon the fact that at Umma and Jôkha the feast of Tammuz came in the winter. As there is some probability that this was a feast of Tammuz, (cf. JAOS, XXXI, 268), I place it tentatively here.

<sup>2</sup> This name, which occurs in DP, 114, was overlooked by me when writing my former article. It means "Month when the storehouse tablets are sealed".

<sup>3</sup> I regret that in my former article (JAOS, 263, n. 1), I misunderstood Thureau-Dangin's position as to the reading of this name. It is not certain that GUD should be read HAR, but Thureau-Dangin still holds that opinion.

Eleventh month,	{	ITU EZIN-BULUK-KÙ- <sup>a</sup> NIN-
		GIR-SU
		ITU EZIN-ŠE-KÙ- <sup>a</sup> NIN-GIR-
Twelfth month,	{	SU
		ITU EZIN-DIM-KÙ
		(??) ITU EZIN- <sup>a</sup> LUGAL-ERIM
		(??) ITU GAL-UNUG <sup>ki</sup> -GA
Intercalary month,	{	(?) ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-
		TA-ŠUB-A-A
		ITU BABBAR-MIN-GÀL-LA-A



*A Political Hymn to Shamash.* — By J. DYNELEY  
PRINCE, Ph. D., Professor in Columbia University,  
New York City.

This hymn of *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, the rebellious viceroy and brother of the last great Assyrian king *Ašur-bâni-pal*, is of peculiar interest, because it is more than the ordinary invocation of a king to a god. After the usual praises of the divine power of the sun-god, *Šamaš-šum-ukîn* says, in line 9: "a mighty one as a partner thou givest me", a clear allusion to his imperious brother *Ašur-bâni-pal*. The hymn continues significantly in line 13: "the unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimest", implying that an unknown, but glorious future awaits the king. Most significant of all, *Samaš-šu-mukîn* prays in line 27: "my partner may I overcome", and in line 30: "may I change my command"; viz., release himself from the Assyrian overlordship, plainly showing that, at the time when this hymn was composed, the rupture between *Ašur-bâni-pal* and *Samaš-šum-ukîn* was contemplated, even if it had not become a fact.

The Semitic-Babylonian cuneiform text is published by David H. Myhrman in *Babylonian Hymns and Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1911), Plates 22—23, without photographic reproduction. The plates, although mutilated here and there, are plain enough to indicate the nature of the inscription, which is couched in fine style, characterized by an abundance of epithet, giving a literary merit to the production far above that of the ordinary conventional prayer. The whole hymn breathes a sincerity entirely natural in view of the special purpose and earnest desire of the suppliant.

**Obverse.**

1 (ra)-bu-u git-ma-lu a-pil ili ina arxi il Babbar-ra

Great one; perfect one; son of the god in the month of  
Šamaš;

- 2 . . . . -tu šu-u pi-tu-u pa-an kalam-me mu-kal-lim nûra  
 . . . . he who opens the face of the lands; who reveals light;
- 3 (muš)- te-šir ina šarru-ti-ma UB-KAL mimma šum-šu  
 Who rules aright in my kingdom, the mighty ruler of  
 everything;
- 4 . . dannu il Šamaš (d U-tu) ša-ru-ur matâti  
 . . powerful one, Šamaš, glory of the lands.
- 5 (UD-KIB)-NUN-KI cu-lul E-Babbar-ra  
 Sippar, the shadow of the Temple of Šamaš
- 6 . . . . ina il Marduk tuk-lat Babili (KA-DINGIR-RA-KI)  
 . . . . by means of Marduk the help of Babylon
- 7 . . . . (eli?) bi-ti-ka u-taq-qu-u il Annunaki il Igigi  
 . . . . (upon?) thy house the Annunaki (and) Igigi pour  
 out (bounteously).
- 8 il Me um-me cal-mat qaqqa-du i-tal-la-la mēšara-ka  
 The goddess Me, mother of the black-headed, justifies thy  
 righteousness.
- 9 danna ina tap-pa-a tu-šar-ši  
 A mighty one as a partner thou givest (me).
- 10 ana la i-ša-ru ta-nam-din ap-lu  
 To him who is unworthy thou givest a son.
- 11 da-(al)-ti sik-kur šam-e tu-pat-ti  
 The door (and) the bolt of heaven thou openest.
- 12 ana la na-ti-lu ta-šak-kan nûra  
 For him who seeth not thou makest light.
- 13 duppi tanadâtia (UB-MU) la pi-ta-a tu-ša-as-si  
 The unopened documents of my glory thou proclaimest.
- 14 ina libbi immere tu-šat-tar šira  
 Among the lambs thou makest plenteous the meat.
- 15 daiân (DI-KUD) il Annunaki bēl il Igigi  
 Judge of the Annunaki, lord of the Igigi;
- 16 il Šamaš bēlia dūr ši-ma-a-ti at-ta-ma  
 Šamaš, my lord, wall of my fate art thou.
- 17 ana-ku m; il Šamaš-šum-ukîn mâr ili-šu  
 I Šamaš-šum-ukîn the son of his god, (thee)
- 18 ina xul-lu-pa-ni dub-lu giš da-(al-tu) giš as-ma-ru-u  
 For our protection a foundation, door (?), lance;
- 19 lu šal-ma iccur nûri (XU-CAB) giš narkabat ci-(mit-tim)  
 še-ma

Verily propitious, bird of light, to the chariot of my span  
favorable

20 *pal-xa-ku ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku*

I reverence, I fear and I am greatly in awe (of thee)

21 *(mu)-tīb-bi ia-ši u bitia* (E-MU)

who makest glad myself and my house.

22 *(at-taz-) kar ab* (A-A) *amēli abu* (A-A) *-ku-nu ab* (A-A)  
*mât ili . . . .*

I proclaim the father of mankind, your father, father of  
the land of . . .

23 *(na-piš)-tu ši-i-mu a-lak-ti dum-mi-iq*

(my life) do thou order; my going do thou favor.

24 *(tu-šar)-ši ra-i-ma luš-tu-u-a*

Do thou grant mercy; may I drink

25 *ni-me-qa šuttu iamu-u-a* (ME-U-A)

wisdom; in dreams where am I?

26 *šuttu aṭ-tu lu ana damiq-tim šuk-na*

O turn the black dream to favor!

#### Reverse

27 *i-ša-riš lul-lik tap-pa-a lu-uk-šu-ud*

Righteously may I walk; my partner may I overcome!

28 *ina u* (UD)-*mi-ia lu-rak damiqtam*

In my days may I prolong (thy) favor!

29 . . . *šu . . . . -ma-ka ša damiqtim*

. . . . . thy . . of favor.

30 *daiân* (DI-KUD) *lu-(nak)-kir qa-bu-ua*

O judge, let me change my command!

31 . . . . . *ri-ša-a-tu bīt biltuia* (BIL-TU-MU)

. . . . . (may he fill?) with joy the house of my  
tribute!

32 *il Me ri- . . . . . li-iz-ziz ina xegallia* (KAN-MU)

Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my plenty!

33 *il Me ma- . . . . . li-iz-ziz ina damiqtia*

Goddess Me . . . . . may she be strong for my  
favor!

34 *šêp tal-lak-(ti lu)-šal-li-mu ina idia*

The foot of my progress may she make perfect for my power!

35 A-A . . . . . *pa-(ká)-di ina arkia*

. . . . . to preserve behind me!

36 *li* . . . . . *il Bu-ne-ne rubu-ka damiq-tim*

(May) the goddess Bunene (endow) thy prince with favor!

37 *il A-(A)* . . . . . *ta(?)* . . . . . *ši xul-qu-ma*

May the goddess A-A . . . . . they are destroyed.

38 *il Šamaš abu (A-A)* . . . . . *at-(ta) ri-ša-a ri-e-mu*

Šamaš, father (?) . . . . . do thou grant mercy!

39 *il Šam-ši alu(?) -ka* . . . . .

O Šamaš, thy city . . . . .

40 *il Me* . . . . . *ru-bu-ka*

Goddess Me . . . . . thy prince

41 *il Me* . . . . . *-ka li-tib-bu*

Goddess . . . . . may thy . . be sweet!

42 KA-KA(?) -MA(?) . . . GA(?) -TU-LAL *il Sam-še*

a prayer . . . . . a complete one to Šamaš.

### Grammatical Commentary

1. *ina arxi Babbar-ra* 'in the month of Šamaš' = the seventh month, *Tašrītum* = *Tišri*, which was dedicated to the sun-god. The form *Babbar* is a reduplication of Sum. *bar*, the primary meaning of which is 'divide, penetrate' (see my MSL., 53 and cf. below on line 4). The reduplication has its counterpart in Sum. *tattab* from *tab* 'two'.

It is probable that this line is not the first line of the inscription, as the epithets herein contained apply rather to the king than to the god. The expression "son of the god" implies always a pious person (cf. line 17) and could only have been used of Šamaš-šum-ukîn, whose name probably precedes this first line. The following epithets in lines 2—3 ff. are undoubtedly descriptive of the god himself.

3. UB-KAL is clearly a combination of UB = *na'âdu*, Br. 5783 and *tanattu*, Br. 5784 respectively = 'be lofty' and 'glory'. KAL = *kal* and *lig* = *dannu* 'mighty'. The familiar *abkallu* 'leader' in Semitic, from Sum. *ab-kal*, is probably a

variant of this *ub-kal*, as AB = Sem. *nasîku* 'prince, prominent person' and appears also as a prefix in Sum. *ab-xal* 'seer'.

4. *Šamaš* is here called *il U-tu*, which I interpret to mean the god of the setting sun; viz., *u-* is the abstract prefix so common in Sumerian, + *tu* = *erēbu* 'enter, set', said of the sun. *U-tu* is, therefore, the epithet of the setting *Šamaš*, while *Babbar* = UD is the sun-god in his noonday glory. I am not inclined to connect *u-tu* with UD = *ud* etymologically, as I did in MSL. 355, although there was, no doubt, a paronomastic suggestion between the two forms.

5. *Samaš-šum-ukîn* restored Sippar; cf. Lehmann, *Šam.* II., 9, 24 ff.

7. *Utaqqû* is the *Iftaal* of 𐎶𐎶𐎵; an unusual form. *Šamaš* is the god of plenty here, as in line 14.

8. *il Me* is evidently a variant of the reduplicated *il Meme*, a secondary name of the goddess *Gula*, who seems to figure here as the consort of *Šamaš*. The form *il Me* appears in this inscription in lines 32; 32; 40; 41.

9. *Ina tappâ* 'as a companion'; *ina* = 'for'; we should expect *ana*. *Tappû* 'partner' is probably a Sumerian loanword from Sum. *tab* 'two, another', and is not from Sem. 𐤕𐤁; Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, s. v. *tappû*.

10; 12. Note in these lines the characteristic Babylonian disregard for the case-endings, an indication that these suffixes probably ceased to be pronounced at a comparatively early date.

14. The sun-god appears here as the god of plenty, as in line 7.

18. *Ina xullupani dublu* 'a foundation to protect us'; a difficult phrase. *Xullupu* = 'cover'; hence 'protect' and *dublu* = *išdu* 'foundation', II. R. 35, 43 cf. The *-ni* is probably the 1 p. pl. suffix. The metaphor is plainly that of a fortification. The sun-god is called here "the door" (*daltu*) evidently of safety for his worshippers, and also "the lance" (*asmarû*, from the same stem as Ar. *musmâr* 'nail'), because of his penetrating power. He is therefore a weapon of defence.

19. XU-CAB = *iccur nûri* 'bird of light', because of his flight across the heavens. Note that the storm-god *Zû* is also pictured as a bird.

22. This A-A here = *abu* 'father', as in line 38, and is not the goddess *Ā*, seen in line 37.

26. *At-tu*, an unusual feminine adjective from עמך 'be dark, cloudy'.

36. *il Bu-ne-ne* was the consort of *Malik* with whom she attended the sun-god.

37. Clearly the goddess *Â* here, the consort of *Šamaš*.

38. Here again A-A = *abu* 'father', as in line 22.

42. KA-KA-MA = Sum. *inim-inim-ma* = Sem. *šiptu* 'incantation, exorcism'. We expect rather Sum. *a-ra-zu* = *teslîtu* 'prayer', as this hymn is an invocation. GA-ṬU-LAL is composed of the elements GA-ṬU = *malû* 'be full' + redundant LAL = *lû*; also = *malû*.

*Some Notes on the So-called Hieroglyphic-Tablet.* — By  
ELLEN SETON OGDEN, Ph. D. Albany, N. Y.

The following notes are an attempt to read the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet published in T. S. B. A. Vol. VI, p. 454 ff. Menant<sup>1</sup>, Houghton<sup>2</sup> and Delitzsch<sup>3</sup> have each discussed it wholly or in part, and for their suggestions grateful acknowledgment is here made.

The tablet is clearly a sign list. The characters at the right hand of each column correspond to those on the kudurrus of the Cassite and Pashe dynasties, differing from those of Hammurabi's time on the one hand and from the archaic forms of Nebuchadnezzar II on the other.<sup>4</sup> The signs on the left, except a few obviously late ones, are seemingly older and show little more than a passing resemblance to Babylonian traditions of writing.

Two problems are therefore to be solved:

1. The general plan and interpretation of the sign list.
2. The identification as to origin and date of the archaic characters at the left.

The association of several words under one sign seems to have been determined partly by unity of idea and partly by similarity of sound. In some groups a clue was found in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Leçons d'épigraphie Assyrienne* (Paris, 1873), p. 51 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, Vol. VI p. 454 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 199 ff.

<sup>4</sup> My attention was first called to this fact by Dr. Geo. A. Barton of Bryn Mawr.

chief syllabic value, which under varying transcriptions stood for other more or less closely related words. Elsewhere, with several syllabic values, the divergence is greater. Generally the meanings given to the signs at the left fall within those listed by Brünnow and Meissner under the case-sign, but this has not been held to rigidly, because the present knowledge of lexicographical material is still far from complete. Of course the equations assigned these unknown characters and couched in the phraseology of Babylonian signs hold only as far as the *idea*, if the theory of a non-Babylonian origin is accepted.

As to the identification of the archaic signs three theories are tenable: —

a) That they are Babylonian, of a date and locality as yet unknown.

b) That they are foreign to Babylonian life and writing.

c) That they are Babylonian, but strongly under some foreign influence. In favor of the first view is the resemblance of certain of the characters to Babylonian signs, but at best this evidence is slight. A more clearly defined similarity exists between them and the proto-Elamitic, and if the parallel tablet in C. T. V., 81—7—27, 49<sup>1</sup> and 50, be collated together with this one, it makes a total of thirty-one signs in which this similarity challenges attention. What really results therefore is a triangular relationship between the three, the Babylonian, proto-Elamitic and these characters. Whether this is due to coincidence or to common origin with subsequent independent development, only future research can answer.

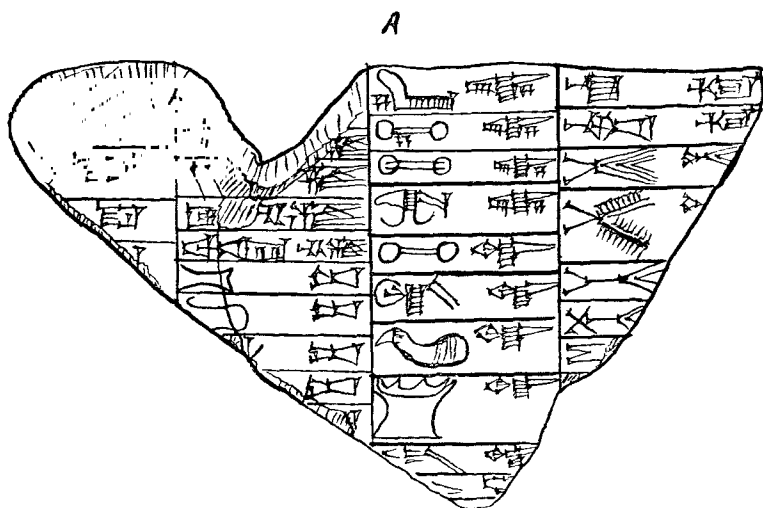
Meanwhile the writer would suggest the following as a possible solution, though one as yet unproved.

If, as has been thought by some, the Cassites were an Elamitic people, it is likely that they used or were familiar with the early Elamitic writing now known as proto-Elamitic, and also with its later forms. As part of their very strong influence upon Babylonian affairs, may not these Cassites have made some attempts to equate their own older signs with those of the language about them? If so, something like the present sign-list would have resulted.

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
<sup>1</sup> See J. A. O. S. Vol. 32.  
VOL. XXXIII. Part I.









Col. I. Cases 1, 2. The case sign is RA (Hinke 113).<sup>1</sup>



Col. II. Cases 3, 4. The case sign is NAM (Hinke 37).

3)  = ? ?

4)  = ? ?

Cases 5, 6. The case sign is AB, ÊŠ (Hinke 77).

5)  = , AB, (Rec. 344, 550 bis),<sup>2</sup> *abu*, father; *nasîku*, prince; *sîbu*, old man. Allied with this sign is AB = , *littu*, offspring; *mîru*, the young of an animal; *banû*, *ša alâdi*.

6)  = , AB (Rec. 345) *tâmtu*, sea; *aptu* enclosure; (*aral*) *Tebîtu*, the month of floods; (*amelu*) *irrešu*, irrigator. Allied with this sign is ÊŠ = house, inclosure.

Col. III. Cases 1—4. The case sign is AZA, AZ, AS. (Hinke 206).

The sign is a compound of PIRIḪ = lion, and ZA = stone, jewel. In the early archaic inscriptions it appears only in the place name AZ (*kî*). Later it is equated with

a) (*iš*) *šigaru*, some means or implement of restraint.

b) *asu*, physician, or according to Langdon<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hinke, *Selections from the Kutturru Inscriptions*.

<sup>2</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1908).

<sup>3</sup> *Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Paris, 1911), p. 204.

"An ointment or paste used in medicine."




The use of AZ = *šigaru* in the sense of 'chain' or 'fetter' is indicated by the combination in which the sign occurs.




AZ. BAL = *êrinnu*, *nābaru*, cage.




AZ. GU = (*iš*) *šigaru*, *ša kišadi*, chain for neck.




AZ. LAL = (*iš*) *šigaru*, *ša kalbi*, harness or leash for a dog. (LAL = *kasû*, *kamu*, *rakâšu*, to bind, and *samâdu*, to yoke).

AZ. BAL. LAL. E = (*iš*) *êrinnu*, cage, but used also as a synonym of *šigaru*. There is probably a connection between this *šigaru* = (*iš*) SI. GAR and *iškaru* = (*iš*) GAR or KAR, fetter or chain, if they are not the same word differently transcribed.

1)  =  (?) + , UR (?) + ZA (Rec. 438, 9), stone lion colossus. UR. MAH is the usual transcription for *nergallu*, the stone bas-relief of a lion placed at the entrance of palace or temple to ward off the evil power of Nergal the "destroyer". Rec. 439, as yet unidentified, resembles this present sign more closely than Rec. 438, but may be only a variant. UR. MAH is also the usual form for *nêšu*, lion, whereas *ûmu*, *labbu*, and (*ilu*) *Nergul* as the lion-god are transcribed by PIRIK.

2)  =  + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec. 282, suppl. 480), (*aban*) *êrimmatu*, necklace, or chain in the sense of fetter; cf. DAK. NUNUZ. GU = *nîru*, yoke (Br. 8182).<sup>1</sup> Is this the same as *êrinnu* above? The pictograph represents a link-chain plus the sign for stone.









3)  =  + , NUNUZ + ZA (Rec. 283, suppl. 480), (*iš*) *šigaru*, chain or fetter.

4)  =  + , AZA (Rec. 185, suppl. 518), *asu*, physician. The pictograph is difficult to explain, unless by an association of both form and idea with GIR below, which see.









Cases 5—8. The case sign is GIR, NÊ, PIRIK, UG, (Hinke 202). Primarily this is GIR the sign for sandal,

<sup>1</sup> Brûnnow, *A Classified List of All Simple and Compound-Ideographs* (Leyden, 1899).

foot, but through similarity of form, there have been confused with it three other signs, as follows.<sup>1</sup>

- a)  =  = KIS̄ (*ki*).  
 b)  =  = GIR, sandal, foot.  
 c)  =  = ANŠU, ass.  
 d)  =  = PIRIK, UG, lion.

Even the inscriptions of the archaic period show interchange of usage, a process heightened by time and growing complexity of the language. This interchange accounts for some of the parallelism between the groups above and this.

- 5)  =  (Rec. 283, suppl. 480) *kurzu*, "Fußfessel" (H. W. B. p. 355). This is the same sign, without ZA, as in cases 2, 3 of the AZ group.  
 6)  = , GIR (Rec. 224, 226, suppl. 224),<sup>2</sup> *šēpu*, foot; *kibšu*, step; *gašru*, powerful. Without syllabic value it equals *tallaktu*, *padānu*, *urhu*. The pictograph represents a sandal with thongs. The expression GIR or GIR NITAḪ = *šakkanakku* and the association with *emūku* suggests that this form of sandal was one of the insignia of power.  
 7)  = ? = NÊ (?), *namru*, bright, *nūru*, light. The pictograph represents a lamp in the form of a bird, such as appears on the seal-cylinders and kudurrus as the emblem of the fire-god Gibil-Nusku.<sup>3</sup> Its presence here is accounted for by the confusion between NÊ =  and NÊ = , fire.  
 8)  = ? = NÊ (?), GUNNI (?) (Cf. Br. 9703) *kinunu*, brazier. For pictograph see Rec. 176 and the discussion under ID below.



Col. IV, Cases 1, 2. The case sign is DAR, SI, SU, UGUN



<sup>1</sup> For fuller discussion of this group, see E. S. Ogden, *The Origin of the Gunu-Signs in Babylonian*, Leipzig, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> See also Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 272.



<sup>3</sup> Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910).



(Hinke 267 and Clay, *Marushu*, 28).<sup>1</sup> Two signs, SI-GUNU and TARRU, have coalesced under this sign.<sup>2</sup>


1)  = , DAR (Rec. 34) *tarru*, bird, or SI, SU (Rec. 48)

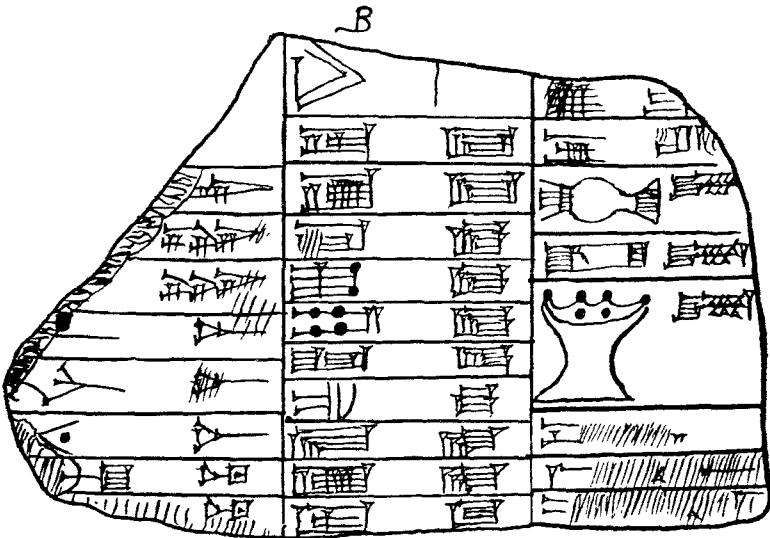
2)  = ? ? The sign seems to be composed of AŠ + ŠA + GA. For a possible connection compare  = *kalû* (Br. 3486) and II. Rawlinson 37, 45 e, f, where this is equated with *libbi*.

Cases 3, 4. The case sign is SUM, ŠU, RIG (Hinke 172), *kîlûtu*, burning, *šassûru*, uterus (or foetus?); *arkâtu*, back, behind; *baltu* fullness, pudendum feminae; *mašâdu*, to press. The pictograph equals SAL + SU (Rec. 190), the latter in the sense of *mašku*, skin; *šîru*, *zumru*, body; *ruddu*, to increase; *erêbu*, to enter.

3)  = , ŠU (Rec. 330) *šassûru*, uterus.

4)  = , SUM (Rec. 59), *dašâdu*. be plentiful. The pictograph represents two crossed palm branches.







Case 5. The case sign is broken, but in C. T. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50 and J. A. O. S. Vol. 32, the sign at the left of this case is equated with , DU, be plentiful.



<sup>1</sup> *List of Signs Found on Tablets of the Cassite and Neo-Babylonian Periods.*

<sup>2</sup> See E. S. Ogden, *Origin of the Gunu-Signs in Babylonian*, p. 26 ff.









Col. I. Cases 4—6. The case sign is ŠAL, SAL, MURUBT (Hinke 167), *zinništu*, woman; *urû*, pudendum feminae; *rapâšu*, to extend.

- 4)  = ? (broken).  
 5)  = , SAL, Rec. 327) *zinništu*, woman.  
 6)  =  , MURUB (Rec. 231), *hizbu*, fullness; *pû*, mouth; *urû*, pudendum feminae (Br. 10962—4). For the pictograph, cf. Prince, M. S. L. p. 217.











Cases 7, 8. The case sign is SAL + KU = NIN (Hinke 170) *beltu*, lady, mistress.

- 7)  =  , NIN (Rec. 335) *beltu*, lady.




Col. II. Cases 2, 3. The case sign is GE, KIT, SAḪ, LIL (Hinke 136) *kîtu*, structure (?) (Prince, M. S. L. p. 131); *lîlu*, storm-demon; *šâru*, *zakîkku*. wind.

- 2)  =  , LÊL, (Rec. 415) *kisallu*, a spacious place.  
 3)  =   (?) E. LIL (?) Cf.   Ê. LIL. LAL (Br. 6249, M. 3799),<sup>1</sup> *bît iršiti*; *bît šêri*; *bît zakîki*.

Cases 4—7. The case sign is BAR, DAG (Br. 5528) BAR = *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out, DAG = *rapâdu*, to spread out; *naḵâru* and *nagâšu*, to destroy.

- 4)  = ? BAR (?) (M. 3869) *šubtu*, dwelling.<sup>2</sup>  
 5)  =  , BAR, (Rec. 426) *parru*, net; *šuparruru*, to spread out.  
 6)  =  , DAK (?), I, NA, ŠI, ZA (Rec. 322) *abnu*, stone or jewel. The sign was originally NI + UD = "shining light", "full of light". The present pictograph is analogous, NI + ZA, "full of brightness", or a "shining stone".  
 7)  =  , GUG, GUK (Rec. 463), *kukku* (?).






Cases 8. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 133) *kibû*, to speak; *ikû*, canal.

- 8)  =  , Ê (Rec. 109), *kibû*, to speak; *ikû*, canal.



Cases 9, 10. The case sign is Ê (Hinke 252), *bîtu*, house.

<sup>1</sup> Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1909).

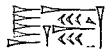






<sup>2</sup> Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 263.

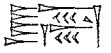

- 9)  = , Ê (Rec. 423) *bitu*, house.  
 10)  =  (?) , E. LIL, Cf.  , E. LIL.  
 LAL = *bît irsiti*; *bît gêri* (Br. 6249, M. 3799).

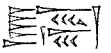

Case 11. The case sign is KU, DUR (Hinke 258).

- 11)  = , UDU (Rec. 456, Clay, *Murashu*, 219) = *immeru*, lamb.

Col. III, Cases 3—5. The case sign is ID, I, A, (Hinke 146). The original pictograph represents a forearm and hand. The meanings overlap those of DA = *idu*, hand or side, and of ZAG = *idu*, side, and it is evident that the three signs were more or less exchanged.

- 3)  = , NÊ or , GIBIL (Rec. 82—5), burning torch. For a possible channel of connection compare  . GIBIL (Br. 9702) *kilûtu*, torch; (sign name KI-IZAKKU) and  , AZAG (Br. 6592) *asakku*, sickness? demon? It is possible that this is an allusion to the torch burned at the exorcism of demons of sickness.

- 4)  =  ID (Rec. 115) *idu*, hand; *êmuķu*, power. It requires very little conventionalizing to reduce the pictograph of a hand and forearm to this character, which differs in outline from the Cassite sign to the right only by the grouping of the so-called *gunu* wedges.

- 5)  = , ZAG (Rec. 176) *idu*, *pâtu*, hand, side; *êmuķu*, power. Also *ašru*, *êšrêtu*, shrine. The pictograph represents an hour-glass shaped altar such as appears on the seals.<sup>1</sup> In support of this compare ZAG-AN (*usug*) = *êšrêtu* (Br. 6499); (LU) U. SUG, GA, and (LU) U. SAG, GA = *usukku*, temple devotee.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *op. cit.* p. 361—7.

<sup>2</sup> Gudea, B. 3, 15; A, 13, 14.

*Three Babylonian Tablets, Prince Collection, Columbia University.* — By Rev. FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Three light dull-red baked clay-tablets, each five and a quarter centimeters long by three and a half in breadth and two in thickness; corners and edges rounded.

Nr. 1.

Memoranda for the month of *Simānu* of food consumed by messengers going to *Anšān*, *Sabūm* and *Šimāš*; also of those returning from *Susa*, *Huhunuri* and *Adamdun*. The temple in which the memoranda were made and the approximate date can only be conjectured. Perhaps the capital city at this time was *Ur*. The obverse contains eleven lines and the reverse nine. The signs are all legible.

Obverse

BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*  
Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,  
*ia ka zid kaskal-šù*  
five *ka* of meal on the journey,  
*i-me-ta šukkal*  
for *Imeta* the messenger,  
*an-šá-an-ki-šù gin-ni*  
on going to *Anšān*.  
5 BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*  
Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,  
*ia ka zid kaskal-šù*  
five *ka* of meal on the journey,  
*lù-na-ba-a gîn-giš*  
for *Lunabā* the weigh-master,

*sa-bu-um-ki-šù gin-ni*

on going to *Sabûm*.

*ia ka zid lugal-má-gur-ri šukkal*

Five *ka* of meal for *Lugalmagurri* the messenger,

10 *nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*

coming from *Susa*.

BAR *zid ud-min-kam šà-uru*

Ten (*ka*) of meal for two days in the city,

### Reverse

*ia ka zid kaskal-šù*

five *ka* of meal on the journey,

*i-ti-da šukkal*

for *Itida* the messenger,

*ši-ma-úš-ki-šù gin-ni*

on going to *Šimāš*.

15 *ia ka zid dingir-ra-ne šukkal*

Five *ka* of meal for *Dingirrane* the messenger,

*hu-hu-nu-ri-ta gin-ni*

coming from *Huhunuri*.

*ia ka zid à-ne-ni šukkal*

Five *ka* of meal for *Aneni* the messenger,

*a-dam-dun-ki-ta gin-ni*

coming from *Adamdun*.

*itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar*

The month of *Simanu*.

The first two signs are BAR and KU. BAR with *ka* equals 'ten', otherwise BAR equals 'one half'. Here *ka* must be understood with BAR, whose value when standing for 'ten' was probably *u*; we know it to be *maš* when standing for 'half'. KU as 'meal' or 'flour' has the value *zid* = Assyrian *kêmu*. One *ka* is approximately equal to one liter. The duties of a *šukkal* (LAH), equal to *sukallu*, also called *luh*, were more than those of merely bearing a message; they were doubtless administrative and representative. This is confirmed by such expressions as the following which



is taken from a brick of *Temti-agun*: "*Temti-agun* the *šukkal* of *Susa* for his life a *zî-anam* to *İsmekarab* has built". *te-im-ti-a-gu-un šukkal šu-si-im a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu zi-i-a-nam a-na iš-me-ka-ra-ab i-pu-uš*.<sup>1</sup> In a brick by *Temti-ḫalki*, *Temti-ḫalki* is called the *šukkal-mah* of *Elam* (and) *Šimaš*. *arah* *simâni* is the third month of the year — May-June; the ideogram *itu gud-du-ne-sar-sar* given in the tablet is old Babylonian; the Assyrian ideogram is *itu šeg-ga*.

## Nr. 2.

Memoranda for the month of *Airu* of wine consumed by messengers returning from *Susa* and also *Sabûm*, as well as those journeying to *Anšân*. The nature of the mission of these messengers is not divulged. Their names are given and in some cases their occupation, or the fact that they are officials. The obverse contains thirteen lines and the reverse nine, including the date, which, however, forms a line separated from the rest of the composition by the space of a centimeter. One sign was almost wholly erased by the pressure of a finger before the tablet was baked. The characters are clear, although made with a fine stylus.

## Obverse

*ia ka kaš*

Five *ka* of wine,

*šu-dingir-nin-šul šukkal*

for *Šu-ninšul* the messenger,

*ia ka kaš ur-dingir-igi-ši gîn-giš gal*

five *ka* of wine for *Ur-igiši* the chief weigh-master,

*nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*

coming from *Susa*.

5 BAR *kaš šû-uru*

Ten (*ka*) of wine while in the city,

*âš kaš u-sa kaskal-šu*

one (*ka*) of wine of the *sa*-plant on the journey,

*la-ni-a lû-giš-ku gu-la*

for *Lania* the chief spearsman,

<sup>1</sup> Scheil, *Textes Élamites-sémitiques première et troisième Série*, Pl. 7; 15; 20; 74.

*ia ka kaš i-šiš-ki-ni šukkal*  
 five *ka* of wine for *Išiškini* the messenger,  
*ia ka kaš zib-iš-ni-šu dumu nu-banda*  
 five *ka* of wine for *Zibišnišu* the junior overseer,

- 10 *sa-bu-um-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coming from *Sabûm*.

*BAR kaš ud-min-kam ša-uru*  
 Ten (*ka*) of wine for two days in the city,  
*ûš kaš ú-sa kaskal-šû*  
 one (*ka*) of wine of the *sa*-plant on the journey,  
*šû-dingir-en-lil šukkal*  
 for *Šu-enlil* the messenger,

#### Reverse

- DIŠ kaš ša-uru*  
 sixty (?) (*ka*) of wine while in the city,  
 15 *DIŠ-AŠ kaš kaskal-šû*  
 ninety (?) (*ka*) of wine on the journey,  
*nim an-šá-an-ki-me*  
 for the ruler of the *Anšânites*,  
*gir šû-dingir-en-lil šukkal*  
 for the *gir Šu-enlil* the messenger,  
*an-šû-an-ki-šû gin-ni*  
 going to *Anšân*.  
*ia ka kaš i-sar-ba-kal šukkal*  
 Five *ka* of wine for *Isarbakal* the messenger,  
 20 *ia ka kaš ba-ba-a dumu nu-banda*  
 five *ka* of wine for *Babâ* the junior overseer,  
*nanâ-erin-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coming from *Susa*.  
*itu gan-maš*  
 The month of *Aîru*.

1. *ka* is a measure for liquids as well as for dry material, with the same capacity in either instance.

3. *gîn* (𒂍)-*giš* (UŠ) = 'weighing-man'; here we have *gîn-giš gal*; in Tablet Nr. 1 simply *gîn-giš*.

6. There are two kinds of wine mentioned in this Tablet. One is plain *kaš* (BI); the other is *kaš* (BI) -*û-sa*. The ordinary Assyrian word for *kaš* is *šikaru* 'strong drink', also 'date-wine', the verb being *šakâru* 'be drunk'. The *sa*-plant, from which the other wine is made, may be the same as the *sa*-tree which had a strong fibre with which ropes were made, the word being connected with *sa* used for 'net'.

7. *lû-giš* (IZ) -*ku* = 'man of wooden weapon'; the value of KU in this connection, I must say, is not determined. In the expression 'chief helper', or 'chief spearsman', 'chief' is expressed by *gu-la* 'great'; in line three, where we have the expression 'chief weighmaster', 'chief' is expressed by *gal*.

14. If the sign DIŠ stands for 'one', it should probably have the value *áš*; if it stands for 'sixty', *giš* should doubtless be the value.

16. *nim an-šû-an-ki me* = 'ruler of the *Ansanites*'. *nim* = *šaku* 'high', i. e., a ruler or minister like a secretary of state. *me* at the end of the line may be the sign of the plural, a shortened form of *meš*.

17. *gir* = *šêpu* 'foot'; also *emûku* 'power'; then an official, for whom we have no Assyrian equivalent; this officer seems to have charge over other officials, particularly with reference to food supply.

20. *nu* (= *lû*) -*bandá* (TUR) = *labuttu* 'official'. perhaps 'overseer', and *dumu* (TUR) = a 'youth of (attending upon) a *nu-banda*'.

22. The month of *Airu*, second month, April-May, written in the Tablet *itu gan-maš* 'fields in blossom'. This is old Babylonian. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gud-si-di* 'directing bull'.

### Nr. 3.

Memoranda for the month of *Kisilimu* of wine, food, meat oil and also of women laborers for the officials of *Adamdun* and *Susa*. The obverse contains nine lines and the reverse twelve. The colophon, giving the date, is inscribed along the left side.

### Obverse

DIŠ *kaš du lugal*

Sixty (?) (*ka*) of best common wine,

DIŠ *gar lugal* DIŠ *udu*  
 sixty (?) (*ka*) of best food, sixty (?) sheep,

*ù-ba-apa-te-si a-dam-dun-ki*  
 for Ubâ patesi of *Adamdun*,

*a-dam-dun-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coming from *Adamdun*.

5 PA *kaš BAR-min ka zid*  
 Twenty (*ka*) of wine, twelve *ka* of flour,

*limu (ZA) à-gam ni ud-limu-kam*  
 four vessels of oil for four days,

*šú-ka-rti lù-giš-ku gu-la*  
 for *Šukarti* the chief helper,

*má-id-ta è-é-ne zid-a*  
 who goes out on the river-boat for meal.

*ia ka kaš eš ka gar*  
 Five *ka* of wine, three *ka* of food.

#### Reverse

10 D IŠ *à-gam ni šà-uru*  
 sixty (?) vessels of oil in the city,

*aš kaš ú-sa ia ka gar*  
 one (*ka*) of wine of the sa-plant, five *ka* of food,

*kaskal-šù*  
 on the journey,

*dingir-ma-su šukkal*  
 for *Dingirmasu* the messenger,

*nanâ-erin-ki-šù gin-ni*  
 going to *Susa*.

15 *eš ka kaš min ka gar*  
 Three *ka* of wine, two *ka* of food,

DIŠ *a-gam ni-giš*  
 sixty (?) vessels of oil,

*iš-me-a lù-kabar*  
 for *Išmea* an official;

*ešu geme eš ka zid-še ia gîn ni-giš-ta*  
 thirty women (each one) three *ka* of wheat-flour  
 (and) five measures of oil (*per diem*),

*ne-ra úš ag hu-hu-nu-ri-ki me*  
 for which they make an agreement,  
 viz., they of *Huḫunuri*,

20 *lù iš-me-a lù-kabar*  
 for *Išmea* an official,

*hu-hu-nu-ri-ki-ta gin-ni*  
 coming from *Huḫunuri*.

*itu ezin dingir-ba-u*  
 Month of *Kisilimu*.

5. The decimal system seems to be represented in two ways in these Tablets. 'Ten', 'twenty' and 'thirty' are represented by the use of the upright and one, two or three horizontals respectively; thus, BAR = 'ten', = val. *u*; PA = 'twenty', = val. *niš*; and AŠ = 'thirty' = val. *ešu*. Down below, line 18, the corner wedge system is used; EŠ = 'thirty' = val. *ešu*.

6. à (ID) -*gam* = 'vessel' of some sort, *gam* itself being equal to *kipattu*.

8. *má-id* (A. ṬÙ) -*ta* 'boat-river-from'. *é* (UD. DU) -*ne* = 'his going out'. *zid* (KU)-*a*: whether KU-*a* stands for *ašābu* or *kēmu* is not quite clear; possibly the sign may not be KU.

16. *ni-giš* = 'oil of wood'. In lines six and ten *giš* is omitted.

19. In *ne-ra*, *ne* must be a pronoun and *ra* a postposition, *úš* a noun = *ēdu* 'one', *barāmu* 'seal', *magāru* 'favor', *mitharu* 'agree' and other words of similar meaning, and *ag* a verb equal to *ēpēšu* 'make' and *banû* 'build'. *me* at the end of the line is the sign of the plural.

21. *hu-hu-nu-ri-ki-ta* 'from the place *Huḫunuri*'; *ki*, however, might be omitted; see Tablet 1, line 16.

22. Month of *Kisilimu*, ninth month, November-December, written in the Tablet *itu ezin* (SAR) *dingir-ba-u*, month of the festival of *Bau* who was the goddess of agriculture. The Assyrian ideogram is *itu gan-gan-na*.

*Cities mentioned in the Tablets*

*Anšân*, mentioned by Nabonidus in the *Abu-Habba* Cylinder<sup>1</sup> as a province of which Cyrus was king, must have been a very ancient center. In a list of dates given by *Dungi*<sup>2</sup> one date reads thus: *mu dumu-sal lugal pa-te-si an-ša-an-ki-ge ba-tug*, rather doubtfully translated by Scheil as 'the year when the daughter of the king became *patesi* of *Anšân*'. Gudea in Statue B<sup>3</sup> also gives an interesting fact about *Anšân*. He says that he thrust down the weapons of the city of *Anšân* in Elam: *giš-ku uru-an-ša-an nim-ki mu-sig*.

*Sabûm*. On a door-socket, in which *Adad-nannar* memorializes the dedication of a temple built in *Gir-su* by *Gimil-Sin*, king of *Ur*, *Sabûm* is placed in the same list of cities as *Lagaš*. *Adad-nannar*, the chief minister calls himself *patesi* of *Lagaš*, *Gubelum*, *Hamaši*, *Ganhar* and *Sabûm*.<sup>4</sup>

*Susa*, mentioned in the book of Esther: 'Given in Shushan the palace'; 'the city of Shushan was perplexed'. In our Tablet we have the Sumerian name for *Susa*: *nanâ-erin-ki* 'place of the goddess among cedars, plainly indicating the existence of a sacred grove'. In *Dungi*'s Brick C, we are told that he built a temple to the god of *Susa*; from other sources we learn that this divinity was *Šušinak*.<sup>5</sup>

*Šimaš*. This was an old Babylonian city existing at a time when its ruler was a *šukkal* or a *šukkal-mah*.<sup>5</sup>

*Huḫunuri* was a city flourishing in the dynasti of *Ur*, destroyed by *Bur-sin*.

*Adamdun*. From certain tablets we learn that *Adamdun* was a city governed by *patesi* and flourishing in the same period as the city of *Huḫunuri*.

*Date of the Tablets*

The nomenclature for the months would place the Tablets not later than the third or fourth Dynasty of *Ur*. The second month was written in the time of Sargon I: *ezin gan-maš*,

<sup>1</sup> *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. V, Plate 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Plate 125.

<sup>3</sup> Price's *Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea*.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie* VI, S. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Scheil, *Textes Élamites-sémitiques première et troisième Série*, Pl. 7; 15; 20; 74.

instead of simply *gan-maš*, and the third month: *ezin gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, and not simply *gud-du-ne-sar-sar*, as in the Dynasties of *Ur*. The name of the ninth month was written *ezin dingir ba-u* both in the time of Sargon I and of Dungi I. II and III. The six cities named in the Tablets, some of them Elamitic cities, are all mentioned in texts written concerning rulers of cities when *Dungi*, or *Bur-sin*, or *Gimil-sin* were supreme at *Ur*.

*The Oath in Cuneiform Inscriptions.* — By SAMUEL  
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I. The Oath in Sumerian Inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

Sumerian literature in its original form is well represented by commercial and historical documents. We have, however, no original Sumerian religious composition, but of late copies of such literature we possess an abundance, as Langdon's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* well demonstrate. In this later class of Sumerian literature no indication of the taking of an oath has thus far been found, and even if there should be found such an indication it would not help us in the study of the growth of oath-taking, since obviously the same reference may have in mind different incidents. We shall, therefore, confine our study to oaths found in commercial and historical inscriptions.

While our contract tablets are primarily commercial documents, yet they are often found very useful for historical research, since most of them mention contemporary rulers either in their date formula, or as parties interested in the transaction. Those documents which are primarily historical we shall study later, but shall now confine our attention to contract or commercial literature.

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<sup>1</sup> *Abbreviations not explained in the text:* **Gen. Dréh.** H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, Paris 1911. — **Gen. Dréh. C. B. H.** de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Dréhem, étude avec un choix de textes de Constantinople et Bruxelles*, Paris, 1911. — **ITT.** *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, Tome I et II, par F. Thureau-Dangin et H. de Genouillac, Paris, 1910. — **Myhr.** D. W. Myhrman, *Sumerian Administrative Documents from the Second Dynasty of Ur*, BE, Series A, Vol. III<sup>1</sup>. — **Nik.** *Drevnosti Vostochnyya*, redaktsiei M. B. Nikolski, Tome III<sup>2</sup>, S. Petersbourg, 1908. — **RA.** *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Oppert, Ledrain, et Heuzey, Paris. — **RTC.** *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, par F. Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 1903. — **ZA.** *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, herausg. von C. Bezold, Straßburg.




The very earliest known Sumerian contract tablets (c. 4000 B. C.) such, for example, as AO 2753 which was published, transliterated and translated by F. Thureau-Dangin, RA VI, Nr. 4 p. 143, "Contrats archaïques", Nr. I, contain no oath nor any indication that would lead us to think that an oath was taken. Yet the argument *e silentio* may not have much real force here in considering the custom of oath-taking of this early period, since our records are so scanty.<sup>1</sup>

After about five or six hundred years, when we approach the period immediately preceding the time of the Ur-Ninan dynasty, i. e. c. 3500—3400 B. C., we meet with what seems to be a real development in the direction of that oath-taking custom which became so common in later times, especially during the great legal period of the Hammurabi dynasty. Thureau-Dangin has published, in his RTC, and transliterated and translated in RA VI, 4, p. 146 ff., "Contrats archaïques", four business contracts, RTC 12—15.<sup>2</sup> from Tello, belonging to this Pre-Ur-Ninan period which contain no mention of an oath, but which contain the names of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim*<sup>3</sup>) to the contract. In the case of Nr. 12, which is a document about a donation, the transaction seems to have taken place in the temple (*ki-nad Di-abzu-a*, "in the resting-room — lit., "place of rest" — of *Di-abzu-a*", i. e. a definite room, as it seems, in the temple where the transaction took place). Nos. 13 and 14 which are contracts of sale have, besides the witnesses, the name of the official scribe (*dub-sar*, "writer of tablets"), while Nos. 14 and 15 have the *dub-sar-gan*, "the scribe of the field" (the land-surveyor) which is sold.

From the dynasty of Ur-Nina and the reign of Entemena of Lagash (Tello) we have one business document, RTC 16,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See S. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 6 ff. for a full list of Sumerian literature.

<sup>2</sup> The others belonging to this period, namely RTC 1—11, contain no mention of witnesses.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to notice that the chief part of this compound , *galu*, contains within itself a religious idea, since it denotes a prostrate man in the act of adoration. This would teach us that the early idea underlying the action of a witness was a religious one. The witnesses at this early stage might well have been considered a sufficient guarantee of truthfulness without the taking of an oath.

<sup>4</sup> Transliterated and translated by S. Langdon in ZA XXV, 1—2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts", p. 205 ff.

which also contains evidence of the presence of witnesses (*galu-ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) and a scribe (*dub-šar*) but has no formal oath; and a similar one, RTC 17<sup>1</sup>, from the reign of Enlitarzi of Lagash in which the wife of Enlitarzi himself appears in the contract which is signed before witnesses among whom are scribes. There is an interesting statement at the end of this contract; it reads *dū-bi zag-gi bi-ag* "each of them thereunto put his right hand". As we know from Babylonian and Assyrian Literature the hand<sup>2</sup> played an important part in the ritual of an oath, and since the Arabic *يمين* means *oath* as well as *right-hand* we are perhaps right in seeing in this expression an indication that an oath was actually taken. In this same dynasty the reign of Lugalanda is represented by one contract, Nik. 17, where witnesses (*galu ki-enim-ma-bi-me*) occur. These three tablets also come from Tello.

On the famous Obelisk of Maništusu<sup>3</sup> King of Kiš, contemporaneous with Lugalanda of Lagash, we have commercial transactions which were ratified in the temple before certain specified persons, although there is no mention of an oath. Face A Col. 8 l. 19, for example, shows us that the transaction took place before (*pān*) *La-mu-um* priest of *Za-Mal-Mal* who was god of Kiš, which would be in the temple of that god; a scribe (*dub-šar*) was always present, cf. Col. 16 l. 7 of Face A, and Face D Col. 12 l. 13 *pān ilu Nin-kar*, "before the god *Nin-kar*". Here the scribe is mentioned in Col. 14 l. 16 of Face D.

The legal form used in these tablets which was the form used up to and including the period of the dynasties of Ur-Nina and Kiš is not very different from that employed during later periods. As a rule, the names of the interested persons are first given, then follow the object and nature of the transaction, then the mention of any extra incidents connected with it, then the witnesses and other officials, then sometimes the place where the transaction took place is mentioned, and, finally, the date. There is, however, no oath. Our conclusions are

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34. n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare for an interesting parallel Ezra 10. 19, and many other such examples in the Old Testament.

<sup>3</sup> Published, transliterated, and translated by V. Scheil in *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires, Tome II, Textes Élamites-Sémitiques, Première Série* p. 6 ff. Of early Semitic record this is perhaps the most important.

naturally limited as our records are few and all come from Lagash with the exception of the Obelisk of Maništusu which was found at Susa.

It is not till we reach the dynasty of Ur (c. 2295 B.C.) that we meet with contracts which contain a direct oath. Here again many documents are found which contain no such oath but which were witnessed before certain persons whose names are often given. Further, there are other contracts that are merely sealed, while still others are drawn up in the temple of a deity (e. g. RA VIII, Nr. 1, in the temple of *Nin-mar-ki, E. d.-Nin-mar-ki-ka*). As such contracts are many I shall not deem it necessary to name them, but shall confine my study to those which contain a direct expression of an oath. Up to the dynasty of Ur, as we have seen, no contract has been found which contains any such expression of an oath. This does not mean that the custom of oath-taking may not have existed during that period, since an oath may actually have been taken before the custom of recording it in set terms arose; but so far as our inscriptions go we have no evidence that such an oath was recorded till the time of this dynasty.

Following are all the Sumerian contract documents which contain an oath. All of them with a few exceptions, which will be noted as we meet them, come from Tello. It is also to be noted that they all belong to the dynasty of Ur. This is perhaps due to the fact that most all of our tablets come from the same place. There are a few whose dates either are not given or are defaced, but we are pretty certain that they belong to the same dynasty since they were found in the same place and bear the same marks of composition and arrangement as those that are dated. The dynasty of Ur, according to Hilprecht's Chronological list of the Kings of Ur and Nisin, began in 2295 and lasted till 2178 B. C. The rulers were Ur-Gur 2295—2278, Dungi 2277—2219, Bur-Sin 2218—2210, Gimil-Sin 2209—2203, and Ibi-Sin 2202—2178. Many of the contracts belonging to this dynasty mention the fact that an oath was taken without stating whether any person or thing was invoked, others state that the oath was taken by invoking the name of the king. This is interesting for later, e. g. during the Hammurabi dynasty, the king is specifically named and as a rule one or more deities are invoked at the same time. During this early period such a form never occurs—either

there is no invocation at all, or merely the name of the king is invoked.

# I. Those contracts which contain an oath but no invocation.

## *Reign of Dungi 2277—2219 B. C.*

1. ITT 923\*.<sup>1</sup> This is a tablet containing an account of five different transactions: 1. A confirmation of the sale of a slave, which is sworn to (*nam-erim-am*<sup>2</sup>, "an oath there is") in the presence of the assessor (*maškim*<sup>3</sup>). The name of the swearer, as a rule, as here, comes before the oath. 2. <sup>4</sup>Ninnika is accused of stealing a cow, but swears (*nam-erim-am*) not guilty in the presence of the assessor. 3. An act of repudiation on the taking of an oath (*nam-erim-am*), before the assessor. 4. Lugal-gi-na is accused of theft, but swears (*nam-erim-nam*) not guilty before an assessor. 5. A suit about a garment. The case is not very clear as the tablet is much broken. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is sworn in the presence of the assessor. Then follows the name of the patesi (*Ur-a Lama pa-te-si*) who seems to have acted as judge<sup>4</sup> for the above five suits. Then comes, as is usual, the date.

In addition to what has been said about the word *nam-erim* in my Inaugural Dissertation already referred to in the footnote it may be well to note here the depth of meaning underlying it. As *nam* = *šimtu* = destiny, and *erim* = hostile it is evident that this word was originally connected with the idea of malediction<sup>5</sup> or curse and, when used in the oath formula, indicated that curse which would fall upon the per-

<sup>1</sup> Those thus\* marked have been transliterated and translated by H. de Genouillac in RA VIII, 1—2 p. 1 ff., "Textes juridiques de l'époque d'Ur".

<sup>2</sup> For a technical discussion of this word see my Inaugural Dissertation, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Munich 1911, p. 26 f., which will soon be published by P. Geuthner, Paris, with an Appendix by F. Hommel.

<sup>3</sup> See, for a full discussion of this term. *Babyloniaca* III, 2 p. 88. "*Sá-tilla*, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our", by F. Pélagaud. For the rendering "Assessor". see de Genouillac, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Although the word for judge does not occur here, as it does in many cases, yet the patesi's name occupies the same place in this tablet as the judge does in many others.

<sup>5</sup> In its Assyrian form it appears as *mamîtu*, ban. curse. oath. In later Babylonian and Assyrian literature the curse almost completely replaced the oath in legal proceedings.

jurer. Therefore, in essence the oath was a conditional curse, and was expected to have the power of drawing forth from the contestants in a dispute the truth under penalty of malediction<sup>1</sup>, and when the name of the king was invoked it was done with the purpose of making the oath more solemn and binding, and, learning from experience that oaths were sometimes broken, to guarantee its preservation.

The legal literary form used in these tablets is so similar in every case that it may be well to give an analysis of the form which it takes in order to avoid unnecessary detail and repetition in our discussion of the other documents of this period. It will be seen that this form differs only in the oath formula from that of the earlier tablets. First, the names of the parties to the contract are given; secondly, the object and nature of the transaction are noted; thirdly, the mention of any extra incidents connected with the transactions; fourthly, the oath; fifthly, the name of the witness or witnesses, though not always given, and that of the assessor and judge or judges; and lastly, the date, often giving the day or year when some important event happened.

2. ITT 936\*. Here are two transactions; the first dealing with a robbery the details of which are not given, but an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessor; the second is a note of adoption of a female slave probably by her father. In this last case no oath is taken. The matter is confirmed (*ba-na[gi-in]*) before an assessor. The word *ba-na-gi-in* is interesting because its chief element *gin* = to establish. It cannot, however, be said to be a substitute for an oath because in RTC 291 we have the same word in a contract where a formal oath occurs. The judge in both cases seems to be Ur<sup>d</sup>-Lama the patesi. Then follows the date as usual.

3. ITT 948\*. This is a case of repudiation. The husband seemingly without definite cause repudiates his wife before consummation of marriage. The oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before the assessors, Ur<sup>d</sup>-Lama the patesi being judge.

#### *Reign of Bur-Sin.*

1. RTC 291†.<sup>2</sup> Galu-duga fails to pay Atud for a slave

<sup>1</sup> Compare the interesting place in Neh. 10, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Those marked thus † have been transliterated and translated by F. Pélagaud, "*Sá-tilla*, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Our", *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.

which he has received from him, but Atud receives in compensation one of Galu-duga's own slaves. Alla son of Galu-duga and another person take an oath (*nam-erim-am*) evidently that the slave for compensation would be given to Atud. The oath is taken before the assessor and the judge is Ur <sup>d</sup>Lama the patesi. The date is that of the year when Bur-Sin became king, hence the same patesi as in the preceding reign.

2. Pél. XVIII (Pl. III)§<sup>1</sup>. In the exchange of a house it is complained that the manager Nagu did not confirm the transaction. An oath is taken (*nam-erim*) to that effect. A second oath (*nam-erim*) is recorded, but it is not certain that it has anything to do with the same exchange. The assessor is present, and there are two names Ur-ka-silim and Gudea which are probably those of the judges.

3. ITT 752\*. This tablet contains a collection of different transactions. The first has to do with inheritance. The next two seem to be related, the one dealing with the incapacity of an architect, and the other with a man who has also lost the confidence of his master. In the first transaction an oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken, and also in the first of the last two (*nam-erim-am*), which on account of their seeming inter-relation may be considered as having applied to both cases. In any case we learn that the three proceedings took place before an assessor, Ur <sup>d</sup>Lama the patesi being judge.

4. ITT 830\*. Here we have the confirmation of the sale of a girl by her father where, as in a regular law-suit, an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi ba-tar*<sup>2</sup>) by interested parties, before an assessor. No judge is present.

5. ITT. 963\*. Here are three law-suits about contested property. The tablet has been broken at the end of the first transaction but we can be tolerably sure that an oath was taken as in the other two, each of which has *nam-erim-am* before the assessor. It is interesting to note that the judge (*di-kud*) in this last case who seems to be the same man as

<sup>1</sup> Those marked thus § have been published, transliterated and translated by Pélagaud in *Babyloniaca* III, 2, p. 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Or *nam-erim-bi in-tar* or *nam-erim-bi in-kud*. *Tar* is a better rendering than *kud*, compare *tar-ru-da*, shortened to *tar-da*. In any case the rendering would be "his oath he has taken".

the assessor in the other transaction, namely Ur-<sup>a</sup>Ka-di, is associated in his capacity as judge with another man, namely Gudea, who is called the elder of the city (*ab-ba-uru*).<sup>1</sup>

6. ITT 3516. This is a case of seizure. The matter is taken to court and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and the sentence is confirmed.

*Reign of Gimil-Sin.*

1. Pél. VIII (Pl. III)§. A certain man gave his son a house and a slave. The gift is ratified by oath (*nam-erim-am*) which is taken by three free-men and a slave to insure the constancy of the gift. No assessor, no witnesses, and no judge is present.

2. Pél. XI (Pl. V)§. Sale of a female slave. The witnesses whose names are recorded take an oath (*nam-erim-b[i i]n-tar*) before the assessor. Two judges are present.

3. RTC 295†. An oath taken (*nam-erim tar-a-bar*) in a previous transaction is protested and claimed irregular by a certain woman Sig-tur-tur and her son Gud-a-gir. The case is brought before judges and an assessor and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*).

4. ITT 744\*. A document concerning a dispute between a master and his slave, the details of which are very uncertain. An oath (*nam-erim-am*) is taken before an assessor and a judge.

5. ITT 746\*. A contested slave-sale in which the witnesses are relatives of the contending parties. The testimony, as it seems, is contested, but the purchaser on presenting a superior testimony takes an oath (*nam-erim-am*) before an assessor and two judges and the case is ended.

6. ITT 733\*. A dispute about a cloak in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) by the slave that he did not give the cloak to the man who stole it. It is interesting to note that the oath was taken in the temple of Ninmarki (*E-d. Nin-mar-ki-ka*) before an assessor. Relatives of the interested parties are mentioned as being present, perhaps as wit-

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the same office in the Hammurabi dynasty; also Ruth 4, 2. Compare E. Cuq, "L'organisation judiciaire de la Chaldée à l'époque de la prem. dynastie", RA VII, 2, p. 65 ff.

nesses. A certain Gudea an elder of the city<sup>1</sup> acts as assessor, and there are three judges. Notice the interesting phrase *ki-di-dur-ba u nam-erim-tar-a-ba*, "at the place where the seat of justice is and where the oath is pronounced".<sup>2</sup>

7. ITT 929\*. A dispute between a buyer and setter of plants in which the oath (*nam-erim-am*) settles the matter. Witnesses, an assessor, and two judges are present.

8. ITT 2802. Here we have a purchase contract which is badly broken. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses.

9. ITT 3542. Another badly broken purchase contract which contains an oath ([*n*]am-erim-bi i[n-t]ar) and witnesses.

### *Reign of Ibi-Sin.*

1. ITT 920\*. A house was given to Ud-id-da by the patesi which he gives away by contract. Ud-id-da desires it back, arguing that he had no right to give away such a gift. A magistrate takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi in-tar*) that Ud-id-da had given away the house. The man who received the house together with a witness also takes an oath (*nam-erim-bi ib-tar*). Ud-id-da loses the case. There were two assessors, three judges, and three personally named witnesses.

### *Undated.*

1. ITT 924\*. The text of the tablet is in a poor condition. It seems that there are disputes about four accounts which are regulated by judicial authority and an oath (*nam-erim-am*) was taken in each case. No officials are mentioned but we find the interesting expression *ne Ur-ama-mu-dib u Ur<sup>d</sup>. Al-la dub-sar ud-na in-gi-ni-eš* "by authority of Ur-ama-mu-dib and of Ur<sup>d</sup>. Al-la the scribe they will now keep their engagements", which shows that the transactions were carried on in an official way and perhaps a direct oath was taken. It is further interesting to note that one of the debtors was a priest (*sangu*).

2. RTC 294†. This tablet contains a sworn receipt for the payment of a slave. An oath was taken (*nam-erim-bi tar-dam*) that the slave was received. Witnesses are mentioned by name,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 40 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ITT 960\* p. 47.



and an assessor. There is an additional affair on the same tablet but no oath is taken.

3. Pél. XV (Pl. VI)§. A mutilated document concerning a slave sale in which an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*). There are present witnesses, an assessor, and two judges.

4. Viroll. *Compt.* XVI.<sup>1</sup> A mutilated business document in which nine different persons take an oath. The varying forms of the expression of swearing are: *nam-ne-ru-am* (twice), and *nam-ne-ru* (seven times).

5. ITT 1010\*. A very imperfectly preserved text. It seems that a previous judicial decision is changed by the authority of a patesi, Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lama. An oath is taken (*nam-erim-bi in-[tar]*), and witnesses are present. Although there is no evidence of a definite date, the fact that the patesi is Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lama would lead one, unless there was more than one patesi by that name, to conclude that it was in the reign of Dungi or his successor Bur-Sin.<sup>2</sup>

## II. Those contracts in which the name of the king is invoked.

### *Reign of Dungi.*

1. RTC 289†. A case of repudiation of a female slave who presents her case in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). Two interested persons, perhaps the witnesses, take an oath (*nam-erim-am*), but it is not at all sure that the swearer invoked the name of the king at the taking of the oath,<sup>3</sup> and it is also questionable whether the slave took an oath. The transaction took place before an assessor and Ur-<sup>d</sup>Lama the patesi.

2. Myhr. IV (Pl. 4, No. 7). An assurance that payment will be made in case Ur-Enlil fails to do so. There is here

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<sup>1</sup> *Comptabilité Chaldéenne*, par Ch. Virolleaud, Poitiers, 1903. The author has not published the text of this tablet. He gives a transliteration and translation. It comes from Tello and is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 38 f.

<sup>3</sup> A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-na-an-dug* (so and so, she said) which may be looked upon as an indication that an oath was sworn though not expressed. See below p. 45, section 2, and note 2. See also RTC 293 below p. 44, and ITT 960 below p. 47.

no doubt about the fact that the oath is sworn by invoking the name of the king. The text reads *mu lugal-bi ni-pad*, "by the name of the king he has sworn". There are present four witnesses but no assessor.<sup>1</sup>

Gen. *Dréh.* 5542.<sup>2</sup> A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

### *Reign of Bur-Sin.*

1. Myhr. III (Pl. 3, No. 4). A slave swears that he will not run away from the house of his master. The name of the king is invoked (*mu-lugal ni-na-pad*, "by the name of the king he swore"). There are present three witnesses.

2. Myhr. V (Pl. 5, No. 11). A promise to pay on a specific day a loan. The name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi ni-pad-da*, "by the name king he has sworn"). Witnesses are present.

3. Myhr. VII (Pl. 8, No. 14). An agent buys a palm grove for his patron. The agent and the seller, so it seems, ratify the transaction by taking an oath ([i]n? — [pad?]) before the royal judge. Then another oath is taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi [in-pad]*), before witnesses.

4. Myhr. Pl. 10, No. 18. A transaction about the loan of silver in which a receipt is sworn to in the name of the king (*mu-lugal ni-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Gen. *Dréh.* CB, Pl. V, No. 22. A commercial transaction giving an account of cattle which were perhaps collected for sacrifice. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad-da*). This is an important document for two chief reasons: first: it shows that the legal literary form known in Nippur and its suburbs (for Dréhem, where it was found, the Sumerian name of which has not yet been identified, is such a suburb) was the same as that used in Lagash and Ur. Secondly; its interesting date formula and the mention of the city of Ur show us that while the account was

<sup>1</sup> It seems that whenever an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king no assessor is present. See the doubtful cases RTC 289, above p. 42; RTC 293, below p. 44; ITT 932, below p. 45; and ITT 960, below p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> All marked Dréhem were found at a place called in Modern Arabic Dréhem, three miles south of Nippur.

drawn up and legalized by oath in Ur, yet it was dated in "the year of the construction of the throne of Enlil" who was the great Nippurian deity. It seems probable that the cattle, collected perhaps in Dréhem, the account of which was made and legalized in Ur in the third year of the reign of Bur-Sin of that city, were meant for use in sacrificial services to Enlil of Nippur whose calendar system is used in the dating and who, though god of the tributary city of Nippur, was recognized in Ur. On account of the importance of the document and because it has never been transliterated or translated, I here append a transliteration and translation:

## Obv.

1. XX <i>síl-ga</i>	20 kids
2. XXI <i>sal-síl-ga</i>	21 female kids.
3. <i>U-tud-du</i>	U-tud-da
4. <i>Ur<sup>d</sup>-Dumi-zi-da</i>	Ur <sup>d</sup> -Dum-zi-da
5. <i>u Nu-ur-i-li</i>	and Nu-ur-i-li

## Rev.

1. <i>mu lugal-bi in-pad-da</i>	swore by the name of the king,
2. <i>šag Uru-ab-ki-ma</i>	in Ur.
3. <i>itu Šu-eš-ša</i>	Month of Šu-eš-ša,
4. <i>mu d. gu-za d. En-lil ba-dím</i>	year of the construction of the throne of Enlil.

*Reign of Gimil Sin.*

1. RTC 293<sup>†</sup>. This tablet contains three property transactions. In the first *Ur-egir* swears (*nam-erim-am*) in the presence of witnesses; in the second no oath is taken; in the third there is an oath taken (*nam-erim-am*) and a reference to another oath, but here the text is incomplete. In the third it seems that the promise to pay is made by invoking the king (*mu lugal*), but again as in RTC 289 it is not at all certain that a direct oath was taken.<sup>1</sup> The assessor is present at the first transaction, and likewise at the third, a circumstance which would lead one to conclude that the oath (in the third transaction) was not sworn in the name of the king (see p. 43, note 1).

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<sup>1</sup> See above p. 42 note 3.

2. Pél. XXI.<sup>1</sup> This is a marriage contract and seems to contain either two separate oaths or one which is the development of the other. The first oath was taken in the name of the king (*mu lugal*). The substance of the oath being placed between *mu lugal* and *nam-erim-am*, and forming a direct assertion ending with *ni-in-dug* (so and so, he has said).<sup>2</sup> There are no witnesses. The second is sworn in the name of the king (*mu-lugal pad-da*), but not, as Pélagaud thinks, in the name of the goddess Ninmarki, also because here *Ninmarki-ka* is a personal name. The sentence runs: *Mu<sup>a</sup>-Nin-mar(ki)-ka-ge mu-lugal pad-da dug-ga-na ba-ni-gin-na-šu*, the *mu* here stands before a personal name, not the name of a goddess. Notice *šu* at the end of the sentence which confirms that.

3. Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1). A slave is brought into court to be reminded of the punishment due to a runaway. The fact is made impressive by the use of the phrase *mu-lugal*, which, with the direct statement constituting the substance of the threat and the phrase *ni-in-dug* (see p. 44) may indicate that an oath was taken. The presence of witnesses and dating of the document would seem to confirm this.

4. Myhr. II (Pl. 2, No. 2). A law-suit about a disputed office. An oath is taken by the name of the king (*[m]u lugal-bi in-na-pad*), before witnesses.

5. Myhr. VI (Pl. 6, No. 13). A promise to pay at a stated time a loan or investment. Oath by the name of the king (*mu-lugal in-pad*). Witnesses are present, but are not named as such. They have the word *igi*, "before" immediately before them.

6. ITT 932\*. A law-suit in which a complaint is addressed to the grand-vizir in the name of the king and is examined by the assessor and is repeated before judges. There is no mention of an oath nor does the phrase *ni-in-dug* with a direct statement occur, but one of the interested persons is presented in the name of the king (*mu-lugal*). It is very doubtful whether an oath was here taken.

<sup>1</sup> See *Babyloniaca* III 2, p. 114, note 1 for place of publication.

<sup>2</sup> See also Myhr. I (Pl. 1, No. 1), &c. But here no oath is expressed. The form *mu lugal* with a direct assertion may be considered a substitute for the regular oath formula.

7. ITT 1008\*. A document of purchase in which an oath is taken by the king (*mu-lugal in-[na-pad-da]*) in the presence of witnesses. A second oath is referred to but the text is badly perserved.

8. ITT 3470. This is a commercial transaction in which an oath is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

9. ITT 3523. Another case of seizure, as ITT 3516, but here the oath is taken by calling upon the name of the king (*[m]u-lugal in-na-pad-da*). The tablet is badly broken.

10. ITT 3529. This is a gift document, the oath in which is sworn by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*). The complaint is made in court but no witnesses appear as far as we can make out from the broken tablet.

11. ITT 3532. A document dealing with a disputed purchase. The oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

12. ITT 3538. A business transaction concerning real estate. There is a reference to an oath which, as it seems, was formerly taken (*nam-erim-am*), and then the transaction is sworn to by the name of the king (*mu lugal in-pad-da*).

13. ZA XXV, 1—2, Sprechsaal, "Some Sumerian Contracts" by S. Langdon, p. 205 ff., No. 1 B. 6. The purchase of a female slave. The transaction is ratified by an oath taken by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of certain named persons who are undoubtedly the witnesses. There is a promise directly connected with the oath, namely, *galu galu nu gi-gi-da*, "man shall not bring suit against man" a formula found here for the first time on tablets belonging to this early period, but very common during the Hammurabi dynasty. The interesting Semitic word *bukānu*, under its Sumerian form *gištag*, occurs in Obv. l. 6 which is used so often in contracts of the Hammurabi dynasty, and may very well mean, as Langdon suggests, "dye" or "stamp", although it was not confined to slave-sales especially during the Hammurabi dynasty, as it is oftenest used in transactions pertaining to the produce of the field.

14. ZA XXV, 1—2, p. 209, No. 2. Bodleian Inscr. Sum. A 18. A fragmentary document of a settled commercial dispute in which the oath is taken by invoking the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) in the presence of witnesses.

15. Gen. *Dréh.* 5541. A transaction concerning a barley loan in which an oath is taken before witnesses in which the name of the king is invoked (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

*Reign of Ibi-Sin.*

1. Gen. *Dréh.* 5539. A dispute about cows which is settled, and an oath by the name of the king is taken (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*) before witnesses.

2. Gen. *Dréh.* 5540. A loan negotiated in presence of witnesses by taking an oath by the name of the king (*mu lugal-bi in-pad*).

*Tablets undated or whose dates are uncertain or broken off.*

1. Pél. XIX (Pl. VII)§. A law-suit concerning the planting of a park. The condition of transaction is introduced by the phrase *mu lugal*, but no more direct evidence of an oath appears. The end of the tablet is broken. It is doubtful whether an oath was taken.

2. Myhr. Pl. 7 Nr. 13. A very much broken legal transaction which contains an oath by invoking the name of the king (*[mu] [lu-gal in-pad]*).

3. ITT 931\*. A law-suit concerning a man's right to take a concubine in case of the barrenness of his wife. The text is very poorly preserved but it seems that the wife claims that an oath in the name of the king should not be taken (*mu lugal ba-ra-mu-enim-enim*) that her place be taken by a concubine. Witnesses are present among whom is a woman. The husband's name is Ur-l<sup>a</sup>-Lama, perhaps the patesi whom we have already met.

4. ITT 960\*. This is a very interesting document. It deals with arrangements for a marriage. It seems that the consent of the parents must be procured in case of this marriage, and even the opposition of the mother would be sufficient to defeat the case. Face l. 12 has *ki-mu-lugal-pad-da-ka ni-dur-sa* "the place where an oath is taken by the name of the king"<sup>1</sup> shows us that there must have been at this time such a place legally designated, although I have not been able to find anything more definite till we come to the Hammurabi dynasty

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 40 No. 6.

where we find such place commonly designated, e. g. at the *šurrinnu*, etc. A direct statement comes between *mu-lugal* and *in-na-ni-dug-ga* (so and so, she said)<sup>1</sup> and an oath is taken (*nam-erim-am*) by the father of the bride and the young people are given the right of marriage. Witnesses, an assessor, and three judges are present.

Among the many historical inscriptions belonging to the period previous to the Hammurabi dynasty and which is classed as Sumerian, I have found only one which contains an oath. It is a treaty which was transliterated and translated some years ago by Thureau-Dangin in *Les Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, and in 1909 was published, transliterated and translated by the same author in conjunction with L. Heuzey in *Restitution Matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*. E-an-na-tum king of Lagash (c. 2900 B. C.) made a treaty with the people of Gishshu; E-an-na-tum swore to the people (*nam-e-na-ta-tar*, "by that which [*šusgal*] I swore to them"), and they swore to him (*nam-mu-na-tar-ra*<sup>2</sup>, "they swore"). The oath is quite elaborate. The king invokes the *šus-gal* ("net")<sup>3</sup> of Enlil (Bel), of the goddess Ninḫarsag, of Enki (Ea), of Enzu (Sin), of Babbar (Šamaš), and of Ninkī; and the people call upon the name<sup>4</sup> of the same deities. The oath was taken in the camp of the god Nin-gir-su (*a-ša[g]*<sup>4</sup> *Nin-gir-zu-ka*) the son of Enlil.<sup>5</sup> The same object by which the oath is sworn, namely the *šus-gal*, will slay the person who proves to be a perjurer.

In the foregoing study every instance of an oath in the literary remains of the Sumerians has been recorded and commented upon wherever necessary. The study, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 42. n. 3..

<sup>2</sup> The following are variations of the same formula which are found in this inscription: *nam-e-ta-tar-ra*, "by which they swore"; *nam-ni ma-ni-tar-ra*, "by whom they swore"; also, the phrase occurs: *mu-paš-da*, "whose name was pronounced".

<sup>3</sup> Symbolically used. Cf. Hab. 1, 16: "Therefore he (the Chaldean) sacrificeth unto his net, and burneth incense unto his seine".

<sup>4</sup> Here *zid* . . .

<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that if we admit that in the oath by En-lil his son Ningir-su is included, then the number of those invoked would be seven, the holy number of swearing.

covers that period of history from the earliest times to the First Babylonian or the Hammurabi dynasty.

During this period commercial literature has shown a progressive development in the method of oath-taking. In transactions of the earliest periods no oath is recorded. This was due, it seems, more to the stage of legal development than to any lack of religious feeling connected with a legal promise. Legal precautions developed a legal form in which we see an external expression of the religious thought always underlying the idea of the oath. During the Pre-Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello) we meet with a fairly stereotyped legal form of transaction, as such contract as RTC 12—15 show. Yet no oath was taken. An advance in form at least is, however, evident. Witnesses are present, and the very word for witness, as we have seen above, shows the religious idea underlying this innovation in formula. In the Ur-Ninan period (the tablets of which come from Tello and Susa) there is still no expression of an oath, at least in contract literature, but the stereotyped legal form is still present, witnesses are recorded. There is an interesting reference in one document which indicates a tendency which later ripened, I mean the ritual act of giving the hand at the conclusion of a transaction (see page 35). The transaction is also referred to as having been ratified in a temple. When we reach the dynasty of Ur (the tablets of which come from Tello and Dréhem) we find not only the same stereotyped legal form but, in addition, the direct expression of an oath. This takes two forms; first, where a simple oath is sworn: and secondly, where an oath is taken by invoking the name of the king. Here also the oath was sometimes taken in a specific place.

The only historical inscription representing the whole Sumerian period which contains an oath belongs to the dynasty of Ur-Nina, and the reign of Eannatum king of Lagash c. 2900 B. C. Here we see the oath in a form which is not found in any commercial literature of the Sumerian period, but which is common in both historical and commercial inscriptions of later times. A treaty is made, the chief ritual of which is the taking of an oath by both interested parties. The oath is made by invoking the *šusgal* of definitely named deities, and was taken in the camp or temple of Nin-gir-su. And what is still more interesting, a conditional malediction



was pronounced. Here we have the older form, the malediction,<sup>1</sup> and its successor, the oath, side by side in an important transaction.

As this historical inscription shows, being the only evidence of an oath prior to the dynasty of Ur, we have in these inscriptions the evidence not of the growth of a religious idea, but that of a legal custom in commercial transactions. Long before the custom of recording an oath in a legal document arose, this historical inscription teaches us that the custom of oath-taking was known. The idea underlying an oath and perhaps also the custom of practically taking an oath is as old as religion itself. The foregoing study, however, demonstrates that the legal formula in contracts was the result of a long development.

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<sup>1</sup> Although in very late literature the malediction became again the more prevalent.

*On Māyāvāda*, by HERMANN JACOBI, Professor in the  
University of Bonn, Germany.

In my last article<sup>1</sup> I have discussed the attitude taken up by the orthodox philosophers in India towards the epistemology of the Buddhists. In connection with this discussion I shall now treat the question about the nature of early Vedānta, and, as I hope, bring it nearer to a conclusion.

The arguments of the Buddhists of both the Nihilistic and Idealistic schools regarding the unreality of the objects of perception may thus be summarised. Our perceptions in dreams do not, in principle, differ from those in the waking state, and consequently the latter must be just as void and as independent of something existing beside them (their object) as the dream-impressions; further examples of impressions void of really existing objects are magic, *fata morgana*, and mirage. This view of the Illusionists is confuted much in the same way in the Nyāya and Brahma Sūtras; here we are concerned with the latter only. The discussion of Bādarāyaṇa (B. S. II, 2, 28—32) as illustrated by the passage from the ancient Vṛttikāra, quoted by Śabarastāmin in the Bhāṣya on M. S. 1, 1, 5 (see above, 31. 23), leaves no doubt on the point at issue. viz. that, according to these ancient Vedānta authors, there is a generic difference between dream-impressions and waking impressions, and that therefore the latter are not independent of really existing objects.

The oldest work on Vedānta Philosophy besides Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma Sūtras, are the Karikā's<sup>2</sup> on the Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad

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<sup>1</sup> The Dates of the Philosophical Sūtras of the Brahmins; see JAOS. 31. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Anandasrama Series, No. 10. An English translation of the text and Commentary has been issued in India; but the book has not been accessible to me.

by Gauḍapāda.<sup>1</sup> The chronological relation between Bādarāyaṇa and Gauḍapāda will be discussed hereafter; for the present we have to deal with his philosophical opinions. Gauḍapāda is, as far as we know, the first author who formulated the Māyāvāda or the doctrine that everything except Brahma is an illusion; this doctrine was either originated by him, or by a school of thinkers of whom he became the head; the latter alternative would seem the more probable one.

Now Gauḍapāda has used the very same arguments as the Buddhists to prove the unreality (*vaitathya* = *asatyatva*) of the external objects of our perceptions; he states this argument in II 4 which is thus explained by his commentator, Śāṅkara<sup>2</sup>: "Things seen in the waking state are not true: this is the proposition (*pratijñā*); because they are seen: this is the reason (*hetu*); just like things seen in a dream: this is the instance (*dṛṣṭānta*); as things seen in dream are not true, so the property of being seen belongs in like manner (to things seen) in the waking state: this is the application of the reason (*hetūpanaya*); therefore things seen in the waking state are also untrue: this is the conclusion (*nigamana*). Things seen in a dream differ from those seen in waking in that the former are reduced in size because they are within (the body of the dreamer). But there is no difference in so far as both are 'seen' and are 'untrue'." — And in II 31 all unreal things are mentioned together: "As dreams or magic or *fata morgana* are regarded (as unreal by ordinary men), so this whole world is regarded by those versed in the Vedāntas".

The argument thus expounded by Gauḍapāda forms the basis of his doctrine of Māyāvāda, and it is, as we know, the same argument which the Buddhists employed to establish the

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<sup>1</sup> I fully concur with Mr. Barnet in his review of Max Walleser, *Zur Geschichte und Kritik des älteren Vedānta* (Heidelberg 1910) in JRAS 1910 that Gauḍapāda is the name of the author and that it has not wrongly been abstracted from the title Gauḍapādīya Kārikāḥ. Whether the author be the same as, or different from the Gauḍapāda the oldest commentator on the Śāṅkhya Kārikās, in both cases there can be no doubt that Gauḍapāda was an actual name.

<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that this Śāṅkara is not the same as the author of the Śāṅkara Bhāṣya. The latter would hardly have stated the argument in the form and the terms of an *anumāna* according to Nyāya principles.

Śūnyavāda. As that argument is strenuously confuted by Bādarāyaṇa, it is evident that he cannot have held the same opinion in this matter as Gauḍapāda, or, in other words, the Brahma Sūtras do not teach the Māyāvāda. This is one point which I wish to make.

The next question we must try to solve is whether Gauḍapāda is acquainted with the Śūnyavāda or the Vijñānavāda. The answer is furnished by kārīkās IV 24 ff. For in kārīkā 24 a Realist contends that ideas (*prajñapti*) and feelings would not arise if not caused by external things. The opponent, in kārīkās 25—27, shows the unreasonableness of assuming objects existing beside and independent of ideas (*prajñapti, citta*). This refutation is, as the commentator tells us, "the argument of the Buddhists of the Vijñānavādin school, who combat the opinion of the realists (*bāhyārthavādin*), and the Ācārya agrees with him thus far". That the statement of the commentator is right, is evident from the nature of the argument itself, and becomes still more so from the next verse (28), which furnishes the final decision of the Vedāntin: "Therefore the idea (*citta*) does not originate, nor does the object of the idea originate; those who pretend to recognise the originating of ideas, may as well recognise the trace (of birds) in the air". For here the fundamental doctrine of the Vijñānavādins, which admits only a continuous flow of momentary ideas, is clearly referred to and confuted. Since the Brahma Sūtras and the ancient Vṛtti refer to the Śūnyavāda only, as I hope to have established in my former article, the Gauḍapādiya Kārīkās which allude to the latest phase of Buddhist philosophy must be considerably younger than the Brahma Sūtras. This has always been the opinion of the Pandits. It has, however, lately been controverted by Dr. Walleser<sup>1</sup> on the ground that the Gauḍapādiya Kārīkās only are quoted in ancient Buddhist books as an authority on Vedānta philosophy. Even in case this assertion should be confirmed by the progress of research, the alleged fact would not necessarily upset the above result. For the enigmatical character of the sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa make them unfit for quotations, at least of an outsider, to illustrate a point of Vedānta philosophy. And besides the

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<sup>1</sup> l. c. p. 23.

Buddhists may have ignored the old Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa as the Jainas did so late as the ninth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>; but they could not well have ignored the Gauḍapādī, since that work taught a philosophy which resembled their own in many regards.

Our inquiry has established 1. the near relation, amounting almost to identity, between the epistemology of the Śūnya-vādins or Vijnānavādins on one side and of Gauḍapāda's Māyāvāda on the other; 2. the opposition of the latter to Bādarāyaṇa on this head; and 3. the posteriority of Gauḍapāda to Bādarāyaṇa. Now these facts admit, in my opinion, of a natural and probable construction, viz. that Gauḍapāda adapted the Illusionism of the Buddhists to the teachings of the Upaniṣads. This view is supported by the many coincidences between the Gauḍapadiya Kārikās and the Mādhyamika sūtras to which Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin has lately drawn attention.<sup>2</sup> The theory, that the Māyāvāda is a Vedāntic adaptation of the Śūnyavāda, has been first put forward by V. A. Sukhtankar<sup>3</sup>; I may add that I perfectly agree with him.

The probable history of the Māyāvāda may be briefly described: originally the doctrine of some school of Aupaniṣadas, it became an orthodox philosophy, when it had successfully been made the basis of interpretation of the Brahma sūtras, already by earlier writers and finally by the great Śaṅkara. For the two Mīmāṃsās are the preeminently orthodox systems; but we should never lose sight of the fact that they are originally and primarily systems of the Exegesis of the Revelation, the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā of the Revelation as far as it is concerned with sacrifice (*karmakāṇḍa*), and the Uttarā Mīmāṃsā with regard to Brahma. These two schools of orthodox theologians developed philosophical doctrines of their own, but these are found in the Bhāṣyas and are scarcely alluded to in the sūtras themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> Haribhadra, *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* v. 3; Siddharṣi, *Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā* p. 661 ff.; see above vol. 31, p. 6 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> JRAS 1910 p. 128 ff.

<sup>3</sup> WZKM vol. 22, p. 136 ff. see also above vol. 31, p. 8, note 1.

*Sanskrit Kabāiras or Kubāiras and Greek Kabeiros.*<sup>1</sup> —

By E. W. HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University.

The phonetic equivalence of the Greek and earlier Sanskrit forms is patent and has already been noted by Professor Wackernagel (KZ. 41, p. 314 ff.), who explains the labialization in the later Sanskrit form as due to the proximity of the labial consonant. The difficulty in the identification has lain in the apparently incongruous character of the two spirits.

In preparing a manual of Hindu mythology I have recently been impressed with the fact that the incongruity is more apparent than real. The variant Ko-beiros, which Hesychius identifies with the kobalt or gobelinus ordinarily called Kobālos was originally one with the form Ka-beiros. That is to say, the house-spirit full of tricks was at first not differentiated from the gnome of the mountain-caves, *kybēla*. The chthonic mountain-mother abstracted from the caves is Kybēlē (Kybēlē). I shall give no analysis of the character of the Greek spirit. The tricky troll of the Athenian home, the mysterious gnome of the mountain caves, with his phallic characteristics, his affinity with the worker in iron and fire, the hoarder of treasure connected with the god of luck, finally the mystery and revelling of the Kabeiros—these need only to be mentioned to be recalled. But as for Kabāiras or Kubēras, who would think of him as capable of being interpreted in the same way, I venture to add even described with the same words?

The fact is, however, that Sanskrit scholars are obliged to depend in large part for their understanding of Hindu gods upon statements made in comparatively late literature, and when these statements are united in the current mythological handbooks with other data drawn at random from Vedic and

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at the Meeting of the Oriental Congress—Athens. April, 1912.

epic literature, the result is such a hodge-podge of truth and error that the god depicted represents neither the Vedic, epic, nor Puranic conception, but a fearful mixture of notions drawn from different millenniums. Thus the latest and least authoritative native authors furnish the data which give the outline of Kubēra as pictured in the standard mythology. He is a god having several wives, none of whom is known to any ancient writer; he possesses only eight teeth and has three legs, characteristics opposed to his earlier conception, though perhaps in part retained from traits not formally acknowledged,<sup>1</sup> he has several sons, only one of whom is really known as such; he "receives no worship", whereas he is worshipped in earlier literature; and finally, most of his characteristic traits are ignored altogether. A closer study of the Kubēra (Kabāiras) of early literature will show that this "god" wins his high title late in life and that he is no bad representative on Hindu soil of the Greek Kabeiros-Kobeiros (Kobālos).

In regard to the form of the name, it appears as Kubēra for earlier (\*Kabēra) Kābēraka (the ending *-ka* is secondary and is found also in the epic Kubēraka), in which *ē* = *āi*. Native authorities enlist the form with other words in *-ēra*, *guhēra*, *godhēra*, *kaṭhēra*, *kuṭēra*, *gaḍēra*, *guḍēra*, etc., a formation which begins early and till late remains active enough to produce fresh combinations of the same sort, such as *śrāmaṇēra* and *Śaṅgamaṇēra*, the Buddhistic tinge of which, together with the marked linguality of the earlier group, may suggest that forms in *-ēra* were felt to be vulgar rather than acceptable Sanskrit. Professor Wackernagel also explains the form in *u* as a "*mundartliche oder plebeische Form*" (*loc. cit.* p. 316). Yet the *-ēra* words stand in close connection with *-ēru* forms, and these again (*maḍēru*, *saṇēru*, etc.) are merely variants of older or perhaps more elegant forms in *-ara*, *-aru*, and *-ru* (cf. *patēra* = *patara* = *pataru*; also *śatēra* = *śatru*). Other variations also occur, *muhēra* = *muhira*, etc. Some of these are not found in the extant literature, but there is no reason for supposing, for example, that a native scholar made out of whole cloth such words as *gaḍēra*, "cloud" or *danśēra*, "harmful". It is with these forms that the word Kubēra is

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<sup>1</sup> The three-legged Kubēra is doubtless a phallic conception parallel to the *τρισκέλης ξόανον* of Theocritus.

grouped, which stands to Kubēra as the similar *guḍēra* stands to *guḍēraka*.<sup>1</sup>

But if Kubēra has a vulgar form it is no more than he deserves. For he begins as a vulgar little fellow. His name probably comes from *kub* (as *dañśēra* from *dañś*, *guhēra* from *guh*, etc.), to which native authorities assign the word *kubra*, "cover" as hole (cave) and as forest, *kub* itself being explained as "cover over" (*kub*, *kumb*, *ācchādane*). Possibly *kubja*, "bent" may be from the same root. Kubēra then is etymologically a spirit of cover, of hiding. Hence his character as chief Guhyaka (*guh*, "hide"), allied etymologically again with *guhēra* as "blacksmith", with that association of smith and secrecy seen in the case of the Kabirs and other gnomes. Our Kubēra is primarily and above all a Guhyaka-Yakṣa, "hiding-spirit". Kubēra has a son Kūbara (related in ending as *patēra* to *patara* "flyer", bird) to which is prefixed *nala*, as I think for *nara*, sprite, the Naras being spirits belonging especially to the court of Kubēra and associated with him as a peculiar kind of Gandharva-spirit distinct from the Kinnarās. The *nara* anyway is a spirit (*Naraka*, "place of spirits"), of water particularly. There is a body of water underground where these water-spirits abound, the noise of running water being the "singing" of the Kinnarās, which accompanies the "dancing" of these spirits of cloud and waterfall. *Nala* is identical with *nara* and means a water-plant (cf. *nalina*) or water-sprite (cf. *Nalasetu*). Nārāyaṇa means the place of water (spirits).<sup>2</sup>

The form Kāubēra is used of the followers of Kubēra or of his other belongings, or of the drama concerned with his daughter-in-law (Rambhābhisāra. H. 8694), but not of his son (as patronymic).

<sup>1</sup> The AV. form Kāuvēraka (Kashmir) is not so original as Kābēraka (v. 1. Kāvēraka). It is due to an attempt to make a regular patronymic of Kubēra, like Bhāuvāyana and Dhṛāuva from Bhuva and Dhruva. Kābēraka reverts to \*Kabēra as Śābara to Śabara, Hāleya to Hali, etc. Compare *dāśēra-ka* and *daśēra*, the creature that bites (camel or fish).

<sup>2</sup> Activity connotes energy and bravery, hence the tertium that connects water and bravery (*puruṣa*, a brave man, *purīṣa*, water, *purīṣya*, of fire as energetic); hence too the (vital) spirit, as an active energy and the hero (Nero, Neria, *ἀνὴρ*) on the one hand and Nēreus, water-spirit, on the other. Virtue, activity, is nerve (cf. *guṇa*, sinew and virtue). *Nart*, "dance" is only a special form of activity and is related to the water-idea as salto and saliva come from *sar* "go", "flow".



The group of beings over whom Kubēra is lord are, as has been said, "hidērs", and his most characteristic name in all periods is "lord of the Guhyakas", who are also called the "other people", the old euphemistic designation (equivalent to "good people") of sprites, gnomes, and ghosts. His father is a doubtful personality, who is represented as a great seer or as the son of the Creator-god. His mother is the earth, represented as a cow, whence he is called "son of the cow"; yet another tradition, which had as yet scarcely obtained foothold in the epics, but appears in the subsequent Puranic literature, assigns him a nymph-mother called Ilavilā. He is primarily lord of the spirits who hide (and find) treasure in the mountains. The one son he has lives with him in the hill-country in the North, where, with them, bands of Guhyas or Guhyakas watch all gold and wealth hidden in the hills. Kubēra and his troops are under the patronage of the phallic mountain-god Śiva, to whom Kubēra stands in somewhat the same relation as that occupied in relation to Kubēra himself by his own underling, the great "Jewel"-spirit, whose name appears in full as Maṇi- (or Māṇi-) bhadrā (or -varā), and whose father is declared in the later part of the epic to be "he of the silver navel".<sup>1</sup> It is Śiva who is the mighty god of the North and as such, though the especial friend of Kubēra, as the Mountain-goddess was also his friend (despite the fact that their anger was not restrained when Kubēra was indiscreet), he was historically the cause of Kubēra's remaining an inferior spirit. So rapid is the growth of Kubēra's reputation that, as patron spirit of wealth and treasure, he would undoubtedly have become to the North what Agni became to the East; but in fact he was scarcely able to attain the position of world-protector, and Śiva overshadowed him completely. He is first represented as a sprite of concealment, living on that as his sustenance and associated with similar spirits the "good people", who also are thus nourished by their earth-mother. Earth the shining goddess is their mother, earth (the soil) is their "dish", as contrasted with the "silver" dish (the moon) of the Manes. This is expressed in the following passages of

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<sup>1</sup> This epithet is applied to the greater and lesser spirits; probably at first to Śiva and then transferred to Kubēra (cf. *triśīrṣan* and *triśīras*, of Śiva and Kubēra). Cf. Guha as son of Śiva.

the Atharva Veda and the Great Epic, identical passages in variant forms.<sup>1</sup>

AV. 8, 10, 28, so 'dakrāmat se 'tarajanān āgacchat tām itarajanā upāhvayanta tirodha ehī 'ti; tasyāḥ Kubero Vāśravāṇo vatsa āsīd, āmapātram pātram; tām Rajatanābhīḥ Kābērako 'dhok, tām tirodhām evā 'dhok; tām tirodhām itarajanā upa jīvanti, tiro dhatte sarvaṁ pāpmānam upajīvanīyo bhavati ya evam veda (v. l. *punya°* for *itara°*).

Mbhā. 7, 69, 24:

*antardhānam cā 'mapātre dugdhā punyajanaīr Virāt,*  
*dogdhā Vāśravāṇas teṣāṁ vatsas cā 'sīd vṛṣadhvajah*  
(v. l. in SI. text, *cā 'sit Kuberakah*).

Harivaṁśa, 382 f.:

*Yakṣāis ca śrūyate rājan punar dugdhā vasuṁdharā,*  
*āmapātre mahārāja purā 'ntardhānam akṣayam;*  
*vatsaṁ Vāśravāṇam kṛtvā Yakṣāiḥ punyajanaīs tadā,*  
*dogdhā Rajatanūbhas tu pitā Maṇivarasya yah,*  
*Yakṣātmaḥ mahātejās triśīrṣaḥ sumahūtapāḥ;*  
*tena te vartayantī 'ti paramarṣir uvāca ha.*

About the same time probably as that of the first of these passages is that of the Brāhmaṇa which describes Kubera as lord of Rakṣasas (ŚB. 13, 4, 3, 10) and (or?) *selagas* (*śerabha* "snake"?). Rakṣasas the Hindus regard as brothers or cousins of the Yakṣas, the former being prevailingly evil but sometimes good, the latter prevailingly good but sometimes evil. The Guhyakas are often identified with the Yakṣas, although they occasionally appear as a separate band. In fact, however, Yakṣas are the genus and Guhyakas are the species, as Kinnaras are a species of Gandharvas. All these spirits, of hiding, helping, singing and dancing, together with serpents, dwarfs, personified gem- and jewel-spirits, and "wizard"-spirits, are under Kubera.

Kubera's association with Śiva rests on a deeper basis than the hills where they live together. Both are genii of productivity. This is the reason why Kubera and Isāna (Śiva) are invoked together and especially "for the husband" at the marriage-ceremony (Śāṅkh. GS. 1, 11, 7). Kubera is god of increase, both of children and wealth. His wife is thus Riddhi, Prosperity, who is recognized as such in the later parts of

<sup>1</sup> Here and in the following I omit the macron over ē, not usually written in Sanskrit words.

the epic; as Lakṣmī is also so closely connected with him that she is associated with Nala-Kūbara at his court, possibly with the idea that she is really Kubera's wife, as was actually imagined in post-epic literature despite Viṣṇu's claim upon the lady. When a man marries and when a man digs for treasure, he makes offerings to Kubera as the spirit of good luck and prosperity in general. But the adoration of Kubera and the offerings made to him were regularly similar to those offered to his coadjutor the Jewel-spirit; though once identified with those offered to a recognized god, namely when the epic hero is digging for treasure.

Kubera is a god, *deva*, only in the later parts of the epic. The view that he was once a man, afterwards raised to god-head, is an exaggeration both of the epic data and of the historical facts. In the epic he is the "king of kings", as is Rāvaṇa the Rakṣas, and he is "chief of kings"; but he is never thought of as a mere man, as he is seldom thought of as a god in the full sense of that term. He is always a Guhyaka "hiding-spirit", one of that spirit-clan to which are assigned dubious characters, such as animals and plants of recognized spirit-power, and in particular the half-gods or half-divine dioscuroi twins (Aśvins), though later (Puranic) tradition asserts definitely enough that Kubera, together with his follower Nandīśvara (also the name of Śiva's follower and of Śiva himself), was a "god with human nature", *manuṣya-prakṛti*, for which there is no basis at all in the early texts. One may assume that all demoniac forms were "degraded tribes" of Hindus; but this opens up a question similar to that as to the interpretation of European fairies as wild men, etc. One might say that the Śabalas are wild demoniac mountaineers and that Kuberas and Śabalas (k = ś, r = l) were originally one (cf. *kimīdins* and *śimidās* as demons); but that would be guess-work and after all would not help us to determine what the epic Hindus thought of Kubera. Both epics state plainly that Kubera was not at first a god; but godhood was given to him as a special boon.

One other point in regard to a misunderstood tradition. The epic poets call Kubera Naravāhana ("having a vehicle of Naras"), and the later writers interpret this as "carried by men", that is in a palanquin or *narayāna*. One looks in vain, however, for any evidence that Kubera was carried by

men. In post-epical times he rides a buffalo; but that is another comparatively modern touch. The curious thing is that, if *naras* be men, Kubera is described as "carried by men" just when he is not so carried. Like other supernatural beings of the epic, gods, seers, angels, etc., Kubera has his own aeroplane, a very large and roomy car, which was especially presented to him by the Creator, and which has the reputation of being the fastest car on the road of spirits. And yet even as Kubera, who always rides in this car, is stepping into it, the poet calls him *Naravāhana*. But this absurdity is overcome if one remembers that the verb from which comes *vāhana* is used of the spirits called Guhyakas as "carriers" of Kubera's car. "By the Guhyakas", it is said, "is carried, *uhyamānam*, the car of Kubera". In other words, as explained above, the *Naras* are spirits, and Kubera's car is harnessed by spirits, sometimes described as Guhyakas and sometimes as mysterious horse-like birds or bird-like horses, who yet at the same time are *Gandharvas*, that is, I suppose, the *Naras* as singing spirits, half horse and half bird. They "fly" like birds and "neigh victory" like horses and are called *Gandharvas* as well as *Guhyakas*, so that there is not much doubt as to what *Naravāhana* in Kubera's case really means, "he who is carried by spirits", though the same word is applied in *naravāhin* to a palanquin used by kings and ladies in its normal human sense. The fearful foe of the gods, *Nahuṣa*, drove a team of spirit-saints and because they were saints he sinned. Kubera drove a team of his own spirits, who were his servants.

Gold is the metal with which Kubera is especially concerned. In this he differs from the *Kabirs*, who worked in baser metal, whereas the Northern mountains where Kubera lives are famous for "fair *Himālayan* mines of gold", not to speak of the gold brought from *Hāṭaka*, also in the Northern mountains, or of the "gold dug up by ants", which must also have come from the mountains (perhaps from the upper *Ganges*), because the only time it is mentioned it is spoken of as being brought down by the mountaineers of the North as tribute (to *Delhi*, as now named).

In connection with this gold (Kubera, by the way, is said to have a "body made of gold"), there is a well-known proverb, which appears half a dozen times in the epic in almost

but not quite identical words and states that a rash and greedy man is like the climber after honey, which is to be got only by scaling cliffs, on the face of which, at the mouth of cliff-caves, the bees build. So the proverb: "He longs for honey but forgets the fall". Now this proverb is applied to a king who has stolen another's wealth and is liable to fall in consequence, and the epic poet likens him to one who seeks to steal the "honey loved of Kubera". Of course the native expounder says that Kubera's pet food is honey, and perhaps it is; but it is worthy of notice that the poet is careful to say nothing about eating. He does not say it is Kubera's food but it is "that (thing) beloved by Kubera", or "Kubera's gold honey", *madhu pītakamāksikam*, which the Petersburg Lexicon (comparing *\*suvarṇamāksikam*) interprets as pyrites, though saffron might just as well be meant, since this also is picked off the cliffs and it is dangerous work for one "who gathers samphire, dreadful trade", whether practiced at Dover, in Lemnos (home of the Kabir!), or in India. Yet the "honey of Kubera" is not on the face of the cliff but in a jar in a cave, and the application of the proverb must lie in the necessity of scaling the cliff to get to the cave. Now in India not only honey but gold is kept in jars, in fact the jar buried underground is the ordinary bank of the Hindu peasant to this day. Thus the allusion, made rather skillfully to what is called "Kubera's honey", is in fact to "the favorite of Kubera", i. e. gold. This gold is described as kept in a cave guarded by dragons (serpents) and he who attains to this, is made happy ever after: "It gives to mortals immortality; it makes the blind see; it restores youth to the aged" (Mbh. 5, 64, 18 f.). Perhaps that is claiming a good deal, even for Kubera's gold, but it is as reasonable as to turn the gold into pyrites; though it might be saffron (*kāvera*, the name suggests this) and it is possible to take Kubera's honey literally as eating may be implied, though not stated. There is something Medean about the restoration to youth which suggests the possibility of a connection with the "dragon-guarded" Fleece, though they may be independent tales, and the Hindu version is perhaps not without conscious twisting to the honey-moral, which is the sole reason why it is dragged into the story. It is a tale which has to be explained by spirit-experts or jugglers with spirits, as if to be taken with a grain of salt

(*vidyājambhakavārtika* priests, also said to be *jambhasādhakas* ib. 16 and 20) and is told for edification rather than for belief. The moly (of Hermes) may also be compared with "Kubera's Gold", if it should prove to be a plant.

Another mark of Kubera is his interest, one might almost say ownership, in the "playground of the gods". For though this is recognized as "the gods' playground" in general, yet in particular it is called "the playground of Kubera". This is almost a foregone conclusion, since it is Kubera who possesses the mountain-top on which the playground is found. But the only play known to the gods is the dance, and this is the real meaning of *ā-kṛīḍa* (*kṛīḍ* "play" is really the same with *kūrīḍ*, "leap, play, dance"; cf. Grk. *kordax*). The *ākṛīḍ-abhūmi*, "ground for dancing", is also said to belong to the spirits who especially act as attendants of Kubera, probably the spirits of dancing waters. One of Kubera's spritelike characteristics is his trick of keeping spellbound a chance visitor from the earth, who is travelling through the hill-country and suddenly comes upon the "lake of lotuses of gold", near Kubera's home. Kubera receives him very politely and immediately proposes to entertain him with an exhibition of dance and music given by his attendant nymphs and musicians. At the end of the "divine year" during which the performance lasts, the guest hurries away, realizing for the first time the passage of time. As he departs, Kubera says, rather dryly, "Yes, this music is a very captivating thing" (*hāryo 'yañi gāndharvah*) and lets him go (Mbh. 13, 19, 33 f.).

Among the regular attendants of Kubera are the Nāgas or *mahoragas*, the cobra-serpents famous for stealing and hiding jewels. If Kubera has more to do with gold than with iron or copper, it is not because he is never conceived as a smith, *guhera*, but because he is rather a Guyaka than a *guhera*; that is, he conceals gold and jewels rather than manufactures things from metal. though one tradition has it that he made his own palace, which is all of gold-work. But another tradition says that this palace was made by the "All-maker", and it is this figure of the All-maker which has put Kubera aside as a fashioner, as it has put aside Agni the fire-god as a companion to Vulcan, though now and then Indra or some other god takes the All-maker's place and is represented as himself the maker of arms and palaces. Never-

theless, both in the matter of gold and in that of jewels, Kubera has to do both with fire and with serpents. Thus one of the regents of the constellation under which a successful search for treasure may be prosecuted is the Serpent of the Depth, Ahi Budhnya, and the treasure is found through the combined aid of Agni and Kubera.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the Serpent of the Depth presides over the finding of treasure, has several bearings of interest. In the first place it suggests the relation between Kubera and the serpents in general. As inhabitants of holes, underground palaces, etc., snakes are looked upon both as guarding and as stealing treasure, especially jewels. The case of the Diamond Necklace is not more famous in modern literature than was the case of The Queen's Ear-rings in India, stolen by the king of serpents. Likeness also illustrates the connection between jewels and snakes, "brilliant as the golden stone guarded by serpents", etc. It is these serpents that are part of the retinue of Kubera, though he himself is not in any way serpent-like; but since he is *guhya* or *guhya*ka, the "Concealing" Nāgas are associated with him.

Another bearing of the fact regarding the Serpent of the Depth is that, as Kubera's treasure is found by men, so Kubera himself in turn is presented by the great god Śiva, his particular friend, with one quarter of all the wealth of the golden mountain (Meru), and it is thus that men eventually get it through the aid of Kubera, Fire, and Wind (which clearly indicate a sort of Vulcan with forge and bellows); for Kubera himself first gets out the treasure, which in this case is the gold of the hills, and then out of that which the supreme god of the mountains, Śiva, has allowed him, he gives one sixteenth to man. Analogy between the luck-spirit and the Hellenic god of luck is evident; but there is no special connection between the names or functions of Kubera and

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly Kubera had to do originally with *kupya*, copper and other base metals, as well as with gold. This word (ascribed in PW. to *kup*, as *irascendum*, or "metal easily moved"! ) may be from \**kup*, "shine", and is possibly represented by the "copper-isle", Kypros, which is as likely to have been named "copper-land" as copper is likely to have been named "Cyprus-stuff". So the Kassiterides were named from their metal (Sk. *kastira* is a late loan word). A parallel may be found in *śābara*, "copper" from Śābara, mountaineer, as "mountain-stuff".

Hermes, and except for his association with Wind and Fire, Kubera has no likeness with Hephaistos.

The luck-function of Kubera and his kind stands of course in direct connection with that attribute of Kubera and the "good-people" which is the most conspicuous trait on his first appearance (in the Vedic text cited above) and on which the epic poets are never weary of harping. Kubera has "disappearance" as his very sustenance; he and his followers live on it, that is, like the goblins of other lands, they disappear at will; but also, as they disappear (fading out of sight, as one epic poet says, "like *fata morgana*"), so too they appear at will; and lastly, also like gnomes of other lands, things which have disappeared they can make appear to plain view. This they do by the application of magic, as when Kubera lets appear for an aged saint, who according to a third tradition of his birth is his own grandfather, a complete phantasmagoria of his beloved gardens and parks; or, again, by letting a mortal use some magic water, "and when he uses it he shall see all concealed things". This is what Kubera did for the hero Rāma, sending him a bottle of this magic eye-wash by a Guhyaka servant (Mbh. 3, 289, 9).

It may be asked whether there is any probability that the "good people" associated with Kubera are ghosts. I think not. Both in the Veda and in the epic the Yakṣas and other fairies are kept distinct from the Manes. It is a later tradition (still obtaining in Ceylon and India) which confuses "Yakkas" with the ghosts of the dead. Thus in the Atharva Veda, "the Fathers (ghosts) and the good people" are distinguished from each other, as both together are distinguished from the gods (AV. 8, 8, 15, etc.). Exactly so in the Great Epic. *Guhyāḥ pitṛgaṇāḥ sapta*, "Guhyakas and the seven groups of Fathers" (3, 3, 43) are differentiated, as in another passage (7, 69, 10 f.) "the seven seers, the good people and the Fathers". The Guhyakas, except as messengers, rarely leave their hills, though they occasionally join the host of gods demons, Fathers, and spirits who watch and admire a conflict of men; but unique is the notion that Guhyakas are among the luminous bodies of heaven, though even there they are differentiated from the equally luminous souls of departed saints which shine as stars on high. Such an isolated bit of poetic fancy cannot impugn the value of the current view,



that the Guhyakas, of whom Kubera is one and the chief, are earth-goblins, who belong to the shrinking class of hiding sprites. That they are not very martial spirits, like their cousin or brother Rakṣasas, may be gathered from the fact that cowardly soldiers do not go to the world of Indra, the god of battles, but to the "world of Guhyakas" (11, 26, 12 f.), though to get even to this place they must at least be killed with a sword, and not "killed anyway"; otherwise they go to the land of the peace-loving (not martial) Hyperboreans (Northern Kurus). Kubera's own world, in the formal enumeration of all possible worlds of spirits and gods, stands almost at the bottom of the list, only one degree higher in fact than the world of Death (Yama), which of course is underground. It is thus located far below the world of the real gods and turns out on examination to be in fact nothing save the mountain-region round the upper reaches of the Ganges (his paradise of Alakā), final indication of the essentially earthly, if not chthonic<sup>1</sup>, nature of this goblin, who, though in time he became "king of kings", "god", and "guardian of the North", became thus exalted ever with the clear understanding that divinity was given him because he "clove to the Father-god" and was virtuous, instead of siding with his brothers, the Rakṣa-giants, who strove against the gods.

Kubera changes his form but once. That is when the gods and good spirits are all frightened at the onslaught of these same giants or fiends and take the shape of animals, "thousand-eyed Indra" naturally becoming the peacock (which explains why that bird still has a thousand eyes in its tail), Kubera becoming the chameleon (which explains why the chameleon is of such brilliant hues). Perhaps, however, the connection of thought originally was in the association of the chameleon also with holes, and hiding-places; for *godhā*, chameleon, is derived by native scholars (perhaps correctly) from the same root *gudh*, *guh*, *κεῖθω*, from which comes Guhyaka.

Though Kubera has only one spirit-son, Nala-Kūbara, the Rāmāyaṇa assigns him an incarnation in the shape of the monkey called Gandhamādana. As this is also the name of Kubera's favorite mountain, the tale may be due to confusion of thought or conscious feeling of appropriateness, especially

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the "Banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa", Mahāvāṇśa, 10, 89.

since Kubera seems to be an afterthought, the original story being that Yama and not Kubera was sire of the incarnated divinity called "Gandhamādana the ape". This fact is not without further significance. The later inclusion of Kubera when the gods are called upon to reincarnate themselves in earthly forms to fight against the giant fiends, shows what was thought of Kubera. He was not primarily one of the great *devas* who so incorporated themselves. But later he was assigned a son, on earth, as were the other gods, because he was then risen to the position of guardian god.

Nala-Kūbara, the only real son of Kubera, is a spirit noted for his grace and good manners in the non-epic but popular tradition of the Jains, as was his father for beauty in the same cycle. Preller (fourth ed., p. 858) supposes that the epithet *καλλίπαις*, given to the Lesbian Kabeiros, implies (one son) Hermes, a doubtful suggestion at most; but in any event it is curious that Kubera's one son should be a model of the grace for which Hermes stands as type (*kūbara* itself is said to mean "charming"). This son of Kubera wed the "fairest of nymphs", Rambhā, who was turned into a rock, like Niobe, for certain indiscretions less innocent than those of her Hellenic companion in suffering. She doubtless belongs to the large class of those petrified spirits, which are found all over earth, from India and the Pillar of Salt to the stones of South America which "once were men" but died for impiety and still "look like men". Instead of men, women and spirits are the favorite victims in India.

The attention paid in the Great Epic of India to the lower mythology is in marked contrast to the indifference displayed toward this most valuable survival of antiquity both in Greek epic poetry and in earlier Brahmanic poetry with the exception of the Atharva Veda. Elsewhere we pick up as we can what the poet has unconsciously let fall. Here we find the lower mythology itself presented as worthy of regard. Thus Kubera himself, as a superior goblin become a god, is naturally *fêted*, but also his humble followers are given name and place, sometimes both, often only the name or only the place. I have already pointed out that the attendant spirits of Śiva have names reflecting Kubera's own essential characteristics. It remains to speak of the many little followers of Kubera who are referred to by name, unfortunately

seldom of much significance, and of the enumeration of shrines sacred to the female followers of Kubera. There are several of these lady fairies or goblinettes who have renowned "bathing-places", that is, shrines at a river, where one may offer prayers or bathe, for the good of his life if not of his soul. At one of these shrines to a Yakṣinī, one is said to "obtain all his wishes", while at another, if one only bathes there (it is a sort of Kurhaus), one is freed from all ills and evils, even "the ill (evil) of slaying a priest". Both Kubera and his attendant Maṇivara are, so to speak, patron saints of the travelling merchants, whose misfortunes are spoken of so often in Buddhist stories. These doubtless did much to elevate the rôle of Kubera and his attendants, the Yakṣas and Yakṣis or Yakṣinīs, to whom the caravaners prayed and raised shrines. It will be remembered in the tale of Nala that the master of the caravan at once assumes that Damayanti may be the goddess of the place, either of the forest or "of this mountain", or a Yakṣī or a Rākṣasī and, believing her to be "goddess or fairy", first calls upon her "*kuru naḥ svasti*", "give us weal"<sup>1</sup> and then, when he finds she is only human, concludes with the prayer, "Maṇibhadra, king of Yakṣas, have mercy upon us". This "Jewel"-spirit shares with Kubera the title "king of Yakṣas" (fairies); but very likely Kubera stole it from him as an extension of his own proper title, "king of gnomes" (Guhyakas); for though Kubera becomes the lord of the Yakṣas as well as the lord of all the Kiṇṇaras and other spirits of this ilk, yet this is simply an illustration of his gradual evolution into a god. For example, the technical title, Kiṇṇarēśvara, "lord of Kiṇṇaras" is not actually given to him till a later period than that in which he is spoken of as (informally) master of these spirits, just as he is not actually called a god till the later epic. He is made a god and so he is made lord and king of Yakṣas, but by nature he is lord of Guhaykas and Rakṣasas, spirits "concealing" and "guarding" (also "injuring"). From this point, with the advance in trade and exploration, Kubera rises to be lord of all the

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<sup>1</sup> It is not to be taken for granted that a fairy Yakṣī will be kindly disposed, though this is usually the case. There is such a thing as "possession by a Yakṣa", which drives one mad, or makes ill, etc. When roused to anger even a female saint may act like a fiend.

fairies and spirits and "guardian of the North". When he gets to that point he inevitably becomes the "god of the North" though still by grace of Śiva, his friend and over-lord.

Rubensohn, in his *Mysterienheiligthümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, after saying very reasonably that both names and number of the Kabeiroi are still quite doubtful, suggests that further investigation may enable us to trace these spirits to their "Phoenician origin", and then sums up what we really know about them: "es sind chthonische Gottheiten, die in einem gewissen Verwandtschaftsgrad zur Kybele standen" (p. 128).

But Rubensohn, like his predecessors, imagines that the Kabeiroi were attached to the cults of Dionysos or Hephaistos because they were "not quite at home" in Hellas, failing to see that the lower mythological figures are never quite at home in the companionship of finer and loftier gods, not because these gods are necessarily racially distinct but because they represent a different civilization in which, to survive at all, the lower must cling to the higher. That has always been the case. That the Kabeiroi are accidentally attached to the mother-goddess Rhea is as much an assumption as that they were accidentally attached to Kybele. Their connection with Kybele is that of the gnome to its cave; their attachment to Rhea is through Kybele, who was identified with a higher conception of the earth-mother. It is also with the mountain "mothers" of the Śiva-cult that the Hindu counterpart of the Greek Kabeiros has closest connection, for these mothers too are mountain-spirits and their names are in part identical with Kubera's. Vittadā, Vasudā<sup>1</sup>, Piṅākṣī, called "mother" spirits in the cult of Śiva, are merely Kubera's titles, "wealth-giver", etc., in a feminine form; as his own titles, "lord of beings" (spirits), are in part those of Śiva himself. Kubera (= Kabairas) is in fact a pigmy Śiva, as Śiva is a monstrous over-grown Kabairas. The spirit of the cave, the hiding spirit, who is guardian of treasure, lord of treasure-trove, and whose rôle as spirit of increase covers also

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<sup>1</sup> Vasudā is also "earth". Parallel forms are Vasudhārā, Vasudharā, Vasumdhārā, of which the first is one of the names given later to "Kubera's city", while all three forms designate the Buddhist goddess known as the wife of Kubera Jambhalou. Compare A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*.

productivity (as genius invoked "for the man" in marriage), whose Guhya-name is reflected in the *guhera*, "smith", *loha-ghātaka*, is as near a counterpart to the Greek Kabeiros as could be wished. The Kabeiroi also were eventually reckoned as "great gods". The part of the Kobāloi, the mischievous sprites hiding in the house rather than in the mountain-cave, is not so obvious in the epic; but literature outside of and older than the epics shows that the "servants of Kubera" were particularly annoying to children, and these must have been house-spirits who plagued children (as described in Hiraṇ. GS. 2, 1, 3, 7; not included in the list at Pārask. GS. 1, 16, 23), as did Śiva's evil mother-spirits.

That Kubera is not mentioned in the solemn literature devoted to the great gods is not a proof that he was unknown to the early age of the first Vedas. He was not yet divine. It took a long time for him to become a god, but finally he achieved this and as god of the North became even a witness-god in the law-courts. If Śiva had been as non-local as Viṣṇu, Kubera would probably have taken his place as great god of the North. As it was, he remained at best a respectable *deva*, whose cult was largely augmented by the growth of commerce. As a god it was felt that he ought to be good-looking and so the epics represent him, beautiful, luminous, glorious to see. But probably the concurrent conception of him as a goblin, and goblins are seldom beautiful, resulted in the eventual triumph of the opposite view that he was deformed, perhaps *kulja* (see above), "bent", with too few teeth and too many legs. Then, instead of referring Kubera to *kul*, the wise men invented the word *vera*, gave it the meaning "body" and interpreted Kubera as *ku-vera*, "having a vile body". The beginning of this is found in the last (latest) book of the Rāmāyaṇa, which explains that Kubera became jaundiced in one eye, because he indiscreetly looked at the Mountain-goddess when she was occupied with Śiva, her husband; a tale which, while it looks forward to Kubera's later ugliness, also reverts to his character as a Peeping Tom, or gnome. His later title, "Lord of Love", is connected with his attributes as marriage-divinity; for which reason also he is closely united with the amorous Gandharvas.

*Atharvaprāyaścittāni*. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.

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Om namo 'tharvavedāya<sup>1</sup> || athā 'to yājñe karmaṇi prāya-  
ścittāni vyākhyāsyāmo vidhy-aparādhe<sup>2</sup> | sarvatra<sup>3</sup> punaḥ kā-  
ryam<sup>4</sup> kṛtvo 'ttarataḥ prāyaścittam prāyaścittam vā kṛtvo 'ttara-  
taḥ samādhānam<sup>4</sup> | yat pūrvam prāyaścittam karoti grhaiḥ paśu-  
bhir evai 'nam samardhayati | yad uttarataḥ svargenai<sup>5</sup> 'vai 'nam<sup>5</sup>  
tal lokena samardhayati<sup>6</sup> | katham<sup>7</sup> agnīm ādhāyā 'nvāhārya

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<sup>1</sup> B om namo brahmavedāya C om namo gaṇeśāya || atharvavedāya  
namah || <sup>2</sup> A 'yarādhe; dafür setzt K. Ś. 25. 1. 1 folg.: karmopapāte  
und fügt hinzu: sa ca catuḥprakāro bhavati akaraṇam nyūnakaraṇam  
atiriktakaraṇam ayathākaraṇam ce 'ti; Āśv. Prāy. 1b: ... śrautaprāyaści-  
ttāni ... vihitā-'karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe ca bhavanti | Śrautaprāyaścitta-  
candrikā 1. 1: śrauta-karmasu bhrama-pramādābhyām akaraṇasyā 'nyathā-  
karaṇasya vā sambhāvitatvena karmaṇām asāṃgatvā-'pattisāṃkayā lokānām  
apravṛtter asakyā-'nuṣṭhāna-lakṣaṇam apramāṇyaṃ prasajyeta | ato 'karaṇā-  
'nyathākaraṇa-doṣa-duṣṭāny api karmāni kṛta-prāyaścittāni sāṃgāni bha-  
vamti 'ti karma-nirvāhakāni prāyaścittāny ucyamte | yathā "hur ācārya-  
pādāḥ | prāyo vināśa-paryāyāḥ | sa cā 'py akaraṇād bhavet | anyathā-  
karaṇād vā [pi] tat-samdhā "cittiko 'cyate | tāni dvividhāni maṃtrāmnātāni  
gaṇāmnātāni ca | maṃtra-liṅgenā "mnātāni maṃtrā-"mnātāni | ābhi[r]  
gīrbhir ity ādīni gaṇenā "mnātāni mīmādi-gaṇādīni | *prāyaścitta-homa-  
kālas* trayāḥ | pradhāna-sauviṣṭakṛt-samiṣṭa-yajuṣām prāg ity evam-ādayaḥ |  
iṣṭi-rūpāni prāyaścittāni upakrāṃte-'ṣṭau samāptāyām bhavanti | . Zwei  
Arten der Sühne: s. Anm. 6. <sup>3</sup> B sarva <sup>4</sup> B kāryam kṛtvo 'ttarataḥ  
samādhānam <sup>5</sup> C svagnaṃ <sup>6</sup> Nach K. Ś. 25. 1. 1 sollen  
rituelle Verfehlung und Sühne gleichzeitig erfolgen; vgl. Agn. Prāy.  
1b: vidhy-aparādhe prāyaścittih | vihitasyā 'karaṇe anyathā-karaṇe prā-  
yaścittih kartavyā 'parādhe sati tad-arthatayā vihitam asti cet tad eva  
kartavyam | tan nā 'sti ced vyāhṛtihomāḥ kartavyāḥ | kālas tu prāyaści-  
ttānām nimittā-'nantaram | ṛṣṭā-'bhāve pratinidhiḥ; dazu Comm.: mukhya-  
syā 'bhāve pratinidhir upādātavya eva | pratinidhiḥ sadṛśaḥ | ājya-payaṣoḥ  
parasparam pratinidhitvam | yathāha kauṇḍīnyah | . . . tādṛśa-yathokta-  
vastv-alābhe tu grāhyam (|) tad-anukāri yad yavā-'bhāve tu godhūmā (!)  
vrihy-abbāve tuśāle tu śāvelaya iti manuh (corrupt!). <sup>7</sup> Vgl. Ait.  
Brāhm. 7. 12. 4.

śraṇaṇam<sup>8</sup> āharet | katham iti | prāṇā<sup>9</sup> vā<sup>9</sup> ete<sup>9</sup> yajamānasyā  
 'dhyātmaṃ nidhiyante yad agnayas | teṣu huteṣu dakṣiṇāgnāv<sup>10</sup>  
 ājyāhutim<sup>10</sup> juhuyād agnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye svāhe 'ti | ka-  
 tham agnīn ādhāya pravāsati<sup>11</sup> | yathai 'nān<sup>12</sup> na virodhayed<sup>13</sup>  
 api ha<sup>14</sup> śasvad<sup>14</sup> brāhmaṇanigamo bhavati | prāṇān vā eṣo  
 'nucarān<sup>15</sup> kṛtvā carati yo 'gnīn ādhāya pravāsati<sup>16</sup> 'ti | katham  
 agnīn ādhāya pravatsyan<sup>17</sup> proṣya vo 'patiṣṭheta<sup>17</sup> | tūṣṇim eve  
 'ty āhus | tūṣṇim vai<sup>18</sup> śreyāmsam<sup>19</sup> ākāṅkṣanti<sup>19</sup> | yadi manasi  
 kurvitā<sup>20</sup> 'bhayaṃ vo<sup>21</sup> 'bhayaṃ<sup>21</sup> me 'stv ity abhayaṃ  
 hai 'vā 'sya bhavaty evam upatiṣṭhamānasya || ekavacanam  
 ekāgnau<sup>22</sup> | purā chāyānām<sup>23</sup> sambhedā<sup>24</sup> gārhapatyād āhava-  
 niyam<sup>25</sup> abyuddharen<sup>25</sup> | mṛtyum vai pāpmanam chāyām  
 tarati<sup>26</sup> | sampraiṣam kṛtvo<sup>27</sup> 'ddharā 'havanīyam itī | sam-  
 praiṣavarjam ekā-'gnau || 1 || vācā tvā hotrā prāṇenā<sup>28</sup> 'dhvar-  
 yuṇā<sup>29</sup> cakṣuṣo 'dgātrā<sup>30</sup> manasā brahmaṇā śrotreṇā 'gnī-  
 dhreṇai<sup>31</sup> 'tais tvā pañcabhir ṛtvigbhir daivyair abhyuddha-  
 rāmy<sup>32</sup> | uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano mā yad avidvān yac  
 ca vidvāms cakārā<sup>33</sup> | 'hnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam sarva-  
 smād<sup>34</sup> enasa uddhṛto<sup>34</sup> muñca tasmād iti sāyam | rātryā yad  
 enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpam<sup>35</sup> iti prātar | amṛtā-'hutim amṛtāyām ju-  
 homy agnīm prthivyā adityā upasthe | tayā 'nantam lokam aham  
 jayāmi prajāpatir yaṃ prathamō jigāyā | 'gnir<sup>36</sup> jyotir jyotir

<sup>8</sup> B śraṇaṇam <sup>9</sup> A prāṇaprte <sup>10</sup> B 'nāgnādyāv āhutim <sup>11</sup> Ait. Brahm. I. c. 8. <sup>12</sup> A yathai 'nām B yathai 'nān <sup>13</sup> BC navarohayed  
<sup>14</sup> A hayaśa B ha śasva C ha śasvat <sup>15</sup> A navarānū B nucaran <sup>16</sup> B prasavati; — es ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der mindestens über eine Nacht sich hinausziehenden, vorübergehenden Ortsveränderung (Āp. 6. 24. 1) und der dauernden Übersiedelung (Āp. 6. 28. 1). <sup>17</sup> AB pravatsyan proṣyamś co 'patiṣṭheta BC ... co 'bhayaṃ haivāsyupatiṣṭheta (D 'tiṣṭhet). Vielleicht: pravatsyan proṣivāms co 'patiṣṭhetā 'bhaye hai 'vasyam iti <sup>18</sup> A cai 'va <sup>19</sup> A śreyāsam ākāṅkṣanti B śreyāsa kāmāṅkṣanti C śreyāsam ākāṅkṣanti <sup>20</sup> C kurvito <sup>21</sup> fehlt bei B <sup>22</sup> Dieser, wie mir scheint, ohnehin anfechtbare Passus ist bei C verderbt. <sup>23</sup> B chāyānām <sup>24</sup> A sambhedanād; vgl. die Zeitbestimmung Āp. 6. 1. 2: adhvīrkṣasūrya āviṣṭurye vā ... <sup>25</sup> D 'yam iti bhyuddharen <sup>26</sup> In den Mss. verderbt. Verbessert nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 12. 3. <sup>27</sup> B kṛtvā <sup>28</sup> B māṇonā <sup>29</sup> A dvaryuṇa <sup>30</sup> B 'dgātra <sup>31</sup> BCD 'gnīdhriyēnai; vergl. Āp. 6. 1. 6 ff. <sup>32</sup> B 'rābhy <sup>33</sup> Āp. 6. 1. 7. Dieser Passus ist bei B verderbt: | uddharāmy uddhriyamāṇa uddharaṇa pāpmano mā yad vidvān yac ca vidvāms cakārā | C wie A, nur: pāpmano <sup>34</sup> A sarvasmāt pāpmano dhṛto BD sarvasmād enasa uddhṛto C sarvasmād enasamuddhṛto D sarvasmād uddhṛto <sup>35</sup> B pāpasarvam <sup>36</sup> Āp. 6. 1. 8.

agnir iti sāyam | sūryo jyotiḥ jyotiḥ sūrya<sup>37</sup> iti prātar |  
 hiranyam antar dhārayed | ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam  
 abhyuddhared | atha<sup>38</sup> yasyā 'havanīyam abhyuddhṛtam ādityo  
 'bhyastam iyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>39</sup> | darbheṇa hiranyam  
 baddhvā paścād dhārayed | ārṣeyas<sup>40</sup> tat paśyann agnim<sup>41</sup>  
 āhavanīyam abhyuddhared | atha yasyā 'havanīyam abhyuddhṛ-  
 tam ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | darbheṇa rajatam  
 baddhvā purastād dhārayed<sup>42</sup> ārṣeyas tat paśyann āhavanīyam  
 abhyuddharet | atha yasya sāyam ahutam agnihotram prātar  
 ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāś  
 carur vā | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ samsthitahomeṣu mitraḥ  
 prthivyā adhyakṣa<sup>43</sup> iti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ  
 samsthāpayed | atha yasya prātar akṛtam agnihotram sāyam  
 ādityo 'bhyastamiyāt kā tatra prāyaścittir | vāruṇaḥ puroḍāśo  
 nityāḥ<sup>44</sup> purastāddhomāḥ<sup>45</sup> | samsthitahomeṣu yat kiṃ ce'dam  
 varuṇe | 'ti<sup>46</sup> madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed |  
 atha yasya prātar ahutam agnihotram ādityo 'bhyudiyāt kā  
 tatra prāyaścittir | maitraḥ puroḍāśo nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ |  
 samsthitahomeṣu<sup>47</sup> mitraḥ prthivyā adhyakṣa iti madhyata opya  
 samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | āhuti<sup>48</sup> vai 'tābhyām rgbhyām  
 juhuyāt || 2 ||

atha yo 'gnihotreṇo 'deti<sup>49</sup> svargam vā eṣa lokam yajamānam  
 abhivahati | nā<sup>50</sup> 'hutvā 'varteta | sa yady āvarteta svargād  
 evai 'nam tal lokād āvartetā | 'tha yasya 'gnihotram hūyamā-

<sup>37</sup> Ap. 6. 10. 8.    <sup>38</sup> B ātha    <sup>39</sup> C fügt iti ein.    <sup>40</sup> K. Ś. 25. 3. 17.

<sup>41</sup> agnim fehlt bei D    <sup>42</sup> K. Ś. 25. 3. 20 bestimmt, daß in analoger Weise  
 in östlicher Richtung ein Silberstück aufgehängt werden soll.

<sup>43</sup> vgl. Kauś. S. 6. 9.    <sup>44</sup> C ni    <sup>45</sup> C 'ddhomām D 'ma    <sup>46</sup> AV.  
 6. 51. 3.    <sup>47</sup> B 'samsthita°    <sup>48</sup> A āhutiṃ C āhutiṃ    <sup>49</sup> udeti dem

Sinn nach gleich: *prāṇ* udeti; der Adhvaryu wendet sich, nachdem er  
 die zum Agnihotra-Opfer erforderliche Milch auf dem Gārhapatya-Feuer  
 zum Kochen gebracht hat, in östlicher Richtung zum Āhavanīya.  
 Vergießt er dabei die Opferspeise teilweise oder ganz, so darf er nicht  
 etwa rückwärts (nach Westen zu) umkehren, denn das hieße: den Opfer-  
 herrn von der Himmelswelt wegwenden, den er durch seinen Gang nach  
 Osten dieser entgegenführt; s. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5 und Komm. dazu; daselbst  
 eine kleine Differenz im Ritual gegenüber dem unseres Textes; vgl. Agn.  
 Prāy. 7 b: punar-unnayane 'yam viśeṣaḥ | prācīna-haraṇe yāvati gate  
 skannam bhavati tāvaty eva 'dhvany upaviśya sthālim anyena prācī[m]  
 nītvā tatraivo 'paviṣṭa unnayet | na svayam srug vā pratyag gachet | sthā-  
 lyām api yadā nā 'sti tadā tatraivā 'jyam grhītvā (!) unniya tena  
 homaḥ |    <sup>50</sup> D mā



nam skandet kā tatra prāyaścittir | aparenā "havanīyam dakṣi-  
nam jānv ācyo 'paviśati | yat srucy atīṣiṣṭam syāt taj juhuyād |  
atha yatrai 'vā 'vaskannam bhavati tam deśam abhivimrjya  
vimrgvarīm prthivīm āvadāmi<sup>51</sup> 'ti prānmukho(!) 'paviśyā<sup>52</sup>  
'gnir bhūmyām<sup>53</sup> iti tiṣṭbhīr<sup>54</sup> ālabhyā 'bhimaṃtrayeta | 'tha  
cet sarvam eva skannam syād yac carusthālyām atīṣiṣṭam  
syāt taj juhuyād<sup>55</sup> | athā "havanīya ājyā-"hutim juhuyād | yan  
me skannam<sup>56</sup> ity etayarcā | yan me skannam manaso jāta-  
vedo yad vā 'skandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra utpruṣo vipruṣaḥ  
samjuhomi satyāḥ santu yajamānasya kāmāḥ svāhe 'ty | atha  
yasyā 'gnihotre 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | apa-  
renā "havanīyam uṣnam iva bhasma nirūhya tatra tām āhutim  
juhuyāt | tad dhutam cā 'hutam<sup>57</sup> ca bhavati<sup>58</sup> | yac carusthā-  
lyām atīṣiṣṭam syāt taj<sup>59</sup> juhuyād<sup>60</sup> | atha cec carusthālyām  
evā 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittis | tat tathai 'va  
huta 'thā 'nyām āhūya dohayitvā śrapayitvā tad asmai tatrai  
'vā "sīnāyā<sup>61</sup> 'nvāhareyur | (atha ūrdhvam prasiddham agni-  
hotram) | atha yasyā "havanīya-gārhapatyāv aṃtareṇa yāno vā  
ratho<sup>62</sup> vā nivarteta śvā vā 'nyo vā 'bhidhāvet kā tatra prā-  
yaścittir<sup>63</sup> |

<sup>51</sup> AV. 12. 1. 29. <sup>52</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 2. 11. <sup>53</sup> AV. 12. 1. 19. <sup>54</sup> Mit  
tiṣṭbhīr bricht C ab. Die Lücke reicht bis zu den Worten: tvayā ('gne  
prṣṭham) des Citats MS. 2. 13. 22c. <sup>55</sup> Vgl. K. Ś. 25. 2. 5—11,

wo zugleich des Zerbrechens der sruc gedacht wird; s. auch unten 1. 5.  
Vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. <sup>56</sup> Kauś. 6. 1; Vait. 16. 17. <sup>57</sup> Comm.

zu Ait. Brāhm. erklärt: tad etad bhasmana uṣnatvād dhutam api bha-  
vati | agni-rāhityād ahutam api bhavati | <sup>58</sup> Nach K. Ś. 25. 5. 10 soll  
man alles, was durch Haare, Würmer, Kot, Berührung von Unreinem,  
Beschnupern u. s. w. besudelt ist, in Wasser oder heiße Asche werfen;  
cf. unten 2. 6; 3. 7; 4. 1; 4. 3. <sup>59</sup> BC tatra <sup>60</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5.

<sup>61</sup> A sīnāyām <sup>62</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 19. <sup>63</sup> cf. unten Text und Parallelen  
von 5. 2; ferner Anm. 143; — Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 17 f. soll man im all-  
gemeinen bei störendem Eindringen zwischen zwei Feuern u. s. w. von  
einer Sühne absehen, wenn es sich um das Agnihotra-Opfer handelt; da-  
gegen wird, wenn ein Hund, ein Wildschaf und ein Wildschwein (so  
geg. Comm.) in den geweihten Raum eindringt, ein Wasserstrahl vor-  
geschrieben, der vom Gārhapatya- zum Āhavanīya-Feuer führt; cf. unten  
Anm. 143. Vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 13 b f.: nirupte haviṣi samīṣṭa-yajuṣaḥ pūr-  
vam manuṣyādir yadi vihāram atikramet | tadā yena pathā vyavāyo jātas  
tena pathā gau[r] netaryā | tato gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryāṃtam bha-  
smalekhām udaka-dhārām ca samtanuyāt | tantum tanvann (RV. 10. 53. 6)  
iti maṃtreṇa pratyekam maṃtrāvṛttiḥ || tata āhavanīyam anugamayitvā  
punaḥ prañīya yad agne pūrvam . . . . . vājavatyā (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) tvam agne  
saprathā asi 'ti (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) co 'patiṣṭheta | tatas tad eva taṃtram upajīvyā

mantravanti ca kāryaṇi sarvāṇy adhyayanam ca yat |  
 nāntarāgamanam teṣāṃ sādhu vichedanād bhayam ||  
 iti gārhapatyād adhy āhavanīya udatantum<sup>64</sup> niṣīncan<sup>65</sup>  
 iyāt<sup>66</sup> || tantum tanvan rajaso bhānum anv ihi<sup>67</sup> jyotiṣmataḥ  
 patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān || anulbanam vayata joguvām apo ||  
 manur bhava janayā daivyaṃ janam || tamnvams tantur upa se-  
 dur agne tvam<sup>68</sup> pathā rajasi devayānaḥ<sup>69</sup> | tvayā 'gne prṣṭham<sup>70</sup>

sūrpādānādi-pāthikṛtiḥ kārya || samīṣṭa-yajusa ūrdhvaṃ cet tadaiva gavā-  
 'tikramā-"dy-upasthānāntam kṛtvā karma samāpya tesv evā 'gñiṣv anvādhā-  
 nā-"di-pāthikṛti kārya || agninā vyavāye tu pāthikṛty eva || aṣṭākāpālāḥ  
 vetthā hi vedho . . . sukrato (Āsv. 3. 10. 12) || ā devānām api kalpayāti 'ti  
 (ibid.) anadṛvān dakṣiṇā || tato viṣṇu-smaraṇam || karma-madhyād anyatra  
 -puruṣādīnā vyavāye manasvatyā caturgrhīta-homaḥ || baudhāyana-mate[ḥ]  
 karma-madhye dvipādānām catuṣpadānām mārjārā-"dīnām agnimadhye  
 gamane rtvig-agnimadhye gamane vā 'dhvanyur nimitā-namtarām aiṣṭi-  
 kājyā-siddhau ājyam saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ saṃmrjya tat-siddhau tenaivā  
 "jyabhāgādy-anamtarām yathāsambhavam juhvām sakṛd grhītvā "havanīye  
 juhoti || yan ma ātmāno (Āp. 9. 12. 11) "ṇi svāhā || agnaya i° || punar agniś  
 cakṣur adāt (ibid.) "kṣyoḥ svāhā || agniṃ i° || bhūḥ svāhā || agnaya i° || bhuva  
 svāhā || yām ava i° || suvaḥ svāhā || sūryāye 'dam || bhūr bhuvaḥ suvaḥ sva-  
 hā || prajāpataya i° || om svāhā || brahmaṇe i° || imaṃ me varuṇa (RV. 1.  
 25. 19; Āsv. 2. 17. 15) tat[t]vā yāmi (Āsv. 7. 4. 3) tvan no agne (RV. 4.  
 1. 4) iti tisraḥ || tamtum tanvan . . . janam (RV. 10. 53. 6) svāhā || agnaye  
 tantumata i° || udbudhyasvā 'gne . . . tamtum etaṃ (V. S. 18. 61) svāhā ||  
 agnaye tamtumata iṣṭiḥ trayastriṃśat tamtavo dadhāmi (Āsv. 3. 14. 10)  
 svāhā gharṇo devāṃ apyetu svāhā || agnaye tantumata iṣṭiḥ || anv agnir  
 uṣasām . . . ātatāna (T. S. 4. 1. 2. 3) svāhā || agna[ye] jātavedasa idaṃ namas ||  
 mano jyo° || bhūr agnaye ca pṛthivyai ca mahate ca svāhā || agnaye pṛthi-  
 vyai mahate i° || bhuvo vāyave cā 'ntarikṣāya ca mahate ca svāhā || vāyave  
 'ntarikṣāya mahate iṣṭiḥ || suvar ādityāya ca dive ca mahate svāhā || ādi-  
 tyāya dive mahate i° || bhūr bhuvaḥ suvaś caṃdrāmase ca nakṣatrebhyas  
 ca digbhyas ca svāhā || caṃdrāmase nakṣatrebhyo digbhyo mahate i° || sapta  
 te agne samidhaḥ grhītena (V. S. 17. 79) svāhā || agnaye vata i° || prajā-  
 pate "rayiṇām svāhā || prajāpataya i° || tato viṣṇusmarāṇam || antarāgama-  
 nādīkāni cin nimitāny apanyupasy āha bhagavān baudhāyanaḥ || miṇḍā-  
 hutī ca hotavye vyābṛtyaḥ praṇavādhikāḥ || vāruṇyas tamtumatyas cā  
 'nvagniś ca manasvatī || mahāvyaḥṛtayaḥ sapta prajāpatyaṃ tathaiva ca ||  
 prasamdhānāya yajñasyai 'te mamtrāḥ prakirtitāḥ || sapte 'ti sapta te agne  
 iti mamtroktiḥ || ayaṃ miṇḍādi-gaṇaḥ ||

<sup>64</sup> Neben dem Wasserstrahl ist Asche möglich: s. unten Anm. 143 und  
 vgl. Āsv. Prāy. 2 b: gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryantam bhasma-lekhām  
 udaka-dhārām ca samtanuyāt | <sup>65</sup> AB niṣīncan D niṣīncim <sup>66</sup> Der  
 Śloka hat zweifellos als Interpolation einen Mantra verdrängt; cf. Āp.  
 9. 8. 5; Āsv. 3. 10. 15. <sup>67</sup> RV. 10. 53. 6; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 19. <sup>68</sup> M. S.  
 2. 13. 22; Āp. 9. 8. 6. <sup>69</sup> A ebenso, jedoch corrumpt und . . . "jati  
 devayānaḥ; dieser Passus fehlt bei BC. <sup>70</sup> D prṣṭhe

vayam āruhemādā devaiḥ sadhamādāṃ madema || svāhe 'ti  
sarvatrai 'tat prāyaścittam antarāgamane smṛtam <sup>66</sup> ||

yajñasya saṃtātir asi yajñasya tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi |  
vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām marutām ṛṣṇām bhṛgūnām  
am̐girasām atharvaṇām brahmaṇaḥ saṃtātir asi brahmaṇas  
tvā saṃtatyā saṃtanomi <sup>71</sup> | yan me chidraṃ manaso yac ca vā-  
caḥ sarasvati manyumantaṃ jagāma viśvais tad devaiḥ saha  
saṃvidānaḥ saṃdadhātu bṛhaspatiḥ || 3 || mā na āpo medhām  
mā brahma pramathiṣṭana | śu-yadā yūyaṃ syandadhvam upa-  
hūto 'haṃ sumedhā varcasvī | mā no medhām mā no dikṣām  
mā no himsiṣṭam yat tapaḥ śivā naḥ saṃsvamta āyuṣe śivā bha-  
vantu mātaraḥ <sup>72</sup> | namas te pathyā revati <sup>73</sup> svasti mā parā-  
yaṇaḥ <sup>74</sup> | svasti mā punarāyaṇaḥ <sup>75</sup> | mā na āpo medhām <sup>76</sup> |  
punar maitv indriyam <sup>77</sup> iti ca 4 atha yasya 'havanīyo <sup>78</sup> 'gnir <sup>78</sup>  
jāgyād gārhapatyā upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir <sup>79</sup> | yat

<sup>71</sup> Nach Bl.s Conc. nicht zu belegen. <sup>72</sup> Soweit AV. 19. 40. 1 ff. Das Folgende ist korrupt. <sup>73</sup> Vielleicht ist an RV. 5. 51. 14 b gedacht.

<sup>74</sup> B parāyāḥ <sup>75</sup> A svastimāpunarāyaḥ; gemeint ist vielleicht svasti mā saṃpārāya s. Conc. — B svasti mā punarāyaḥ. Die Mss. lassen mā weg.

<sup>76</sup> AV. 19. 40. 2; D wiederholt: mā no medhām (B vedhām) <sup>77</sup> AV. 7. 67. 1. <sup>78</sup> cf. in dem parallelen Passus des Ait. Brāhm. 7. 4: 'nīye hā 'gnir <sup>79</sup> K. Ś.

25. 3. 5; Agn. Prāy. 11 a: āhavanīye ced dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyō 'nugachet svebhya eva (pra[<sup>2</sup>]va) kṣāmebhyo maṃtheyur anugamaye tv itaraṃ kṣāmā-  
bhāve bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃsprīya maṃthayet | vidyamāna āhavanīye gārha-  
patyō yady anugacchet tadā (!) anugataṃ gārhapatyam utpādayiṣyāmi 'ti  
saṃkalpya bhasmanā 'raṇī lepayitvā tato maṃthayet | ito jajñe pratha-  
mam . . . . prajānann (VS. 13. 34) iti pratiprayatnaṃ maṃtrāvṛttiḥ | ; vgl.  
Āsv. Prāy. 5b: āhavanīye dhriyamāṇe gārhapatyō 'nugacchet tadā tadīyo-  
'lmukebhyo maṃthayeyuḥ | āhavanīyam anugamayet || ulmu[kā]-bhāve  
bhasmanā 'raṇī saṃsprīya (!) ito jajñe prathamam . . . . prajānann (Āsv. S.  
3. 12. 22) iti maṃthayeyuḥ | nā 'nyatra maṃtraḥ | tato gārhapatyād āhava-  
nīyam praṇīya agne samrād iṣe . . . . dadba (Āsv. Ś. 3. 12. 23) ity upati-  
ṣṭheta || tataḥ prākṛtaṃ karma samāpya tapasvatīṣṭiṃ kuryāt | athavā "ha-  
vaniyād eva (!) āhavanīyam praṇīya dakṣiṇāgneś cā "haraṇaṃ kṛtvā prākṛ-  
taṃ tapasvat[ī]ṣṭiḥ || athavā sababhasmanam āhavanīyam dakṣiṇato viḥa-  
raṇaṃ gatvā gārhapatyā- "yatane nidhāya tataḥ prācama āhavanīyam uddha-  
ret || homaṃ samāpya tapasvatīṣṭiḥ | tasyām pradhāna-devatā agnis tapas-  
vān janadvān yāvakavān | āyāhi tapasā janeṣv agne . . . . dadat (Āsv. S.  
3. 12. 27) || cf. Āsv. Prāy. 10 a: āhavanīye dhriyamāṇe anvāhita-gārhapatya-  
nāśe dakṣiṇena viḥaraṇaṃ sarvam āhavanīyam gārhapatyāyatane (!) ānīya āha-  
vaniyam praṇīya pūrvavat prāyaścittam hutvā gārhapatyasya paścād upa-  
viṣya mamāgne varca (RV. 10. 128. 1) ity ādinā triṇi kāṣṭhāny ādhāya vyāhṛ-  
tyupasthānaṃ kṛtvā "havanīye 'nvādhāno- 'pasthāne kuryāt | cf. Agn.  
Prāy. 12 a: yadi gārhapatyō 'nugacchet anvāhitaṃ gārhapatyam anugataṃ  
utpādayiṣyāmi 'ti saṃkalpya gārhapatyā- 'nugata-bhasmanā pradhānā- 'raṇī

prāñcam udvartayati tenā "yatanā[c] cyavate<sup>79</sup> yat pratya-  
ñcam asuravad yajñam tanoti | yad anugamayati "śvarā vai  
'nam tat prāṇa<sup>80</sup> hāsyur<sup>80</sup> iti<sup>81</sup> vā<sup>81</sup> | 'tha nu katham<sup>82</sup> iti |  
sabhasmakam āhavanīyam<sup>83</sup> dakṣiṇena<sup>84</sup> dakṣiṇāgnim parihṛtya  
gārhapatyasyā "yatane pratiṣṭhāpya tata āhavanīyam<sup>84</sup> pra-  
nayed<sup>85</sup> | bhadrād abhi śreyah prehi<sup>86</sup> 'ty etayarcā gārha-  
patya<sup>87</sup> ājyam<sup>87</sup> vilāyo 'tpūya caturgrhītam grhītvā "havanīya-  
gārhapatyāv antareṇa vyavetya juhuyād | ayam no agnir  
adhyakṣa iti dvābhyām<sup>88</sup> etena u vā asya samtvaramāṇasyā  
"havanīya-gārhapatyau janitā vayam mā loko 'nusamtanutām  
ity | etena ha vā asya samtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapat-  
tyau<sup>89</sup> pāpmānam apahatah | so 'pahatapāpmā jyotir bhūtvā  
devān<sup>90</sup> apy eti<sup>91</sup> 'ti | athā "havanīya ājyāhutim juhu-  
yād asapatnam purastād<sup>92</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha yasyā 'gni-  
hotram śrapyamāṇam viṣyandet<sup>93</sup> tad adbhīr upaninayet<sup>94</sup> |  
tad anumantrayate | prthivīm turīyam<sup>95</sup> ity etābhiḥ | prthivīm  
turīyam<sup>95</sup> manusyān<sup>96</sup> yajño 'gāt | tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa<sup>97</sup> |  
amtarikṣe turīyam<sup>95</sup> | divi turīyam<sup>95</sup> | (apsu<sup>98</sup> turīyam |  
apsv<sup>99</sup> ity<sup>99</sup> āha<sup>99</sup> bhūtāni tāni | devān yajño 'gāt<sup>100</sup> | tato  
mā draviṇam āṣṭa<sup>101</sup>) | trātāram indram | yāyor ojase | 'ti<sup>102</sup>  
cai "tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā rco japati<sup>103</sup> | yad vai yajñasya  
viriṣṭam tad vaiṣṇavam | yad guṣpitaṁ<sup>104</sup> tad vāruṇam<sup>105</sup> |  
yajñasya vā<sup>106</sup> rddhir<sup>106</sup> | bhūyiṣṭhām rddhim āpnoti yatrai 'tā  
viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā rco japaty<sup>107</sup> | athā 'dbhuteṣv etā eva

samspṛśya mathitvā "yatane nidhā[ya] bhūr iti upasthānādi vrato-'pāsa-  
nīya-yajur-japāntam samānam |

<sup>79</sup> A cyavante <sup>80</sup> vielleicht prāṇa jahyur gemeint; Opt. des s-Aorist.  
<sup>81</sup> D iti dve <sup>82</sup> B vā 'tha m <sup>83</sup> D 'ya <sup>84</sup> B läßt diese und die  
inzwischenliegenden Worte aus. <sup>85</sup> cf. Gop. Brāhm. 1. 3. 13. <sup>86</sup> AV.  
7. 8. 1. <sup>87</sup> ABCD lesen: gārhapatyā-"jyam <sup>88</sup> Kauś. S. 89. 13. Hier lesen  
ABCD: AD etena ha vā asya samtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau  
B ebenso, nur samtvaramāṇasyā° C etena vahavā — — — caramāṇasyā°  
<sup>89</sup> Hier schieben BC von neuem ein: B janitā (C: janisā) vayam mā loko  
nusamtanutām ity etena ha vā asya samtvaramāṇasyā "havanīyagārhapatyau  
(C: 'tyo) <sup>90</sup> BCD devānām <sup>91</sup> ACD etv B emtv <sup>92</sup> AV. 19. 16. 1.  
<sup>93</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 2: yasyā 'gnihotram adhiṣṭram skandati vā viṣya-  
ndate vā ...; cf. unten Anm. zu 4. 3. <sup>94</sup> vgl. oben Anm. 55.  
<sup>95</sup> cf. Conc. "vīm trti° <sup>96</sup> BD devān <sup>97</sup> ACD āriṣṭam  
B āriṣṭam <sup>98</sup> Daß hier eine Interpolation beginnt, ist logisch  
selbstverständlich, textkritisch aber interessant; dieselbe fehlt bei D.  
<sup>99</sup> A āsvinyāha B āsvityāha <sup>100</sup> AC amgāt B gāt <sup>101</sup> ABC āriṣṭam  
<sup>102</sup> AV. 7. 25. 1. <sup>103</sup> BCD statt dessen: yatrai 'tā viṣṇu(r)varuṇa-  
devatyā rco japanti <sup>104</sup> A duṣitam C uṣitam <sup>105</sup> C varuṇam  
<sup>106</sup> B vatya rddhi <sup>107</sup> BD japanty

tisro japet | tisro japet || 5 || iti<sup>108</sup> yajñaprāyaścittasūtre  
prathamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ<sup>108</sup> |

atha yasya puroḍāṣe 'medhyam āpadyeta kā tatra prāya-  
ścittir | ājyenā 'bhigāryā 'psv antar<sup>109</sup> iti sakṛd evā 'psu  
hutvā 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutim juhuyād asapatnam pura-  
stād<sup>110</sup> ity etābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasya puroḍāṣaḥ kṣāmo  
bhavati kā tatra prāyaścittir | so 'gnaye kṣāmapate 'ṣṭākāpā-  
lam puroḍāṣam nirvapen<sup>111</sup> | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthi-  
tāhomeṣu prtanājitam sahamānam<sup>112</sup> iti madhyata opya tathā  
samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | athā "havanīye tābhyām  
ṛgbhyām | atha yasyā 'gnihotram trītiye nityahoma-kāle<sup>113</sup> vi-  
chidyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | so 'gnaye tantumate 'ṣṭāka-  
pālam puroḍāṣam nirvapen<sup>114</sup> | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | sam-  
sthitāhomeṣu tvam agne saprathā asi juṣṭo hotā vareṇyaḥ |  
tvayā yajñam vitanvata<sup>115</sup> iti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ  
samsthāpayed | asapatnam purastād<sup>110</sup> ity etābhyām ṛg-  
bhyām | atha yasya<sup>116</sup> sāmnāyām<sup>117</sup> vyāpadyeta kā tatra prā-  
yaścittir | prātardoham<sup>118</sup> dvaidham kṛtvā tena yajetā<sup>119</sup> |  
'tha āhavanīya ājyā-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity  
etayarcā | prātardoham ced apahareyuḥ sāyamdoham dvai-  
dham kṛtvā tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya ājyā-"hutim juhuyāt  
trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha cet sarvam eva sā-  
mnāyām<sup>121</sup> vyāpadyeta kā tatra prāyaścittir | aindram puro-  
ḍāṣam māhendram vā sāmnāyasyā<sup>122</sup> "yatane pratiṣṭhāpya  
tena yajetā | 'thā "havanīya<sup>123</sup> ājyā-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram  
indram<sup>120</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha yasya havimṣi vyāpadyeran kā  
tatra prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirupya<sup>124</sup> tena yajetā | 'thā  
"havanīya ājyā-"hutim juhuyāt trātāram indram<sup>120</sup> ity etaya

<sup>108</sup> D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasange navamo 'dhyā-  
yaḥ || <sup>109</sup> AV. 1. 4. 4. <sup>110</sup> AV. 19. 16. 1. <sup>111</sup> cf. Brahm. Prāy. 67a:

yad agnaye kṣāmapate 'ṣṭākāpālam nirvapet yai 'vā 'sya kṣāmapriyā  
tanus tā(m) evā 'sya bhāgadheyena śamayati; s. auch K. Ś. 25. 8. 18 ff.

<sup>112</sup> AV. 7. 63. 1.

<sup>113</sup> A homakale

<sup>114</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 69a: yasyā

'jasram vichidyeta 'mṛtaritān homān(?) hutvā 'gnaye tantumate 'ṣṭākāpālam  
nirvapet <sup>115</sup> RV. 5. 13. 4. <sup>116</sup> cf. Āit. Brāhm. 7. 4. 1. <sup>117</sup> B

sāmnāyām CD sāmnāyām <sup>118</sup> Nach Analogie des Folgenden müßten  
wir vor prātar ergänzen: sāyamdoham ced apahareyuḥ; vgl. unten 4. 1;

s. auch Āit. Brāhm. 7. 4. <sup>119</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 21 b: [sāmnāyām] keśakīṭādinā

yadi vikriyeta tatra kiṃ prāyaścittam iti | prātardoham dvaidham dohayitvā  
(m)ātameya pracareta; cf. unten 4. 1. <sup>120</sup> AV. 7. 86. 1. <sup>121</sup> B sāmnā-  
yam CD sāmnāyam <sup>122</sup> B sāmnāyasyā° C sāmnāyasyā° D sānā-  
jyamyasyā <sup>123</sup> B 'havanīyayā <sup>124</sup> ACD nirupya B tirupya

rcā | 'tha cet sarvāṇy eva havīṃsi vyāpadyeran kā tatra  
 prāyaścittir | ājyasyai 'tāni nirupyai 'tayā "jyahaviṣe-ṣṭyā  
 yajerann | ity api hi kīrtita[m] | madhyā[s] tv eva<sup>125</sup> bhavanti |  
 tair yajeta | 'thā "havaniya ājyāhutim juhuyāt trātāram in-  
 dram<sup>120</sup> ity etayarcā || 1 || athā 'to<sup>126</sup> dr̥ṣṭā- 'bhyuddr̥ṣṭāni 'ty<sup>127</sup>  
 ācakṣate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā<sup>128</sup> bhaviṣyati 'ti | na pratihara-  
 ṇāya ca<sup>129</sup> sa syād | atha sa yo 'nyo brūyād adarśam cā  
 'dya purastād iti tam tu kim iti brūyād | atha vā<sup>130</sup> | sa syād  
 evā 'dhas | tām eva prāyaścittim kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaipāyanah |  
 kṛtasya<sup>131</sup> vai prāyaścittir bhavati 'ti lāṅgalih | samāpyai 'va<sup>132</sup>  
 tena haviṣā yad-daivatam tad<sup>133</sup> dhavi[h]<sup>133</sup> syād<sup>133</sup> | athā  
 'nyad dhavir nirvaped agnaye dātre puroḍāsam indrāya pra-  
 dātre puroḍāsam viṣnave śipiviṣṭāya puroḍāsam | athai 'tān<sup>134</sup>  
 yathāniruptāms<sup>134</sup> tredhā kuryād yathā brāhmaṇo-ktam<sup>135</sup> |  
 nityāḥ purastaddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv<sup>136</sup> agnim vayam trā-  
 tāram havāmahe<sup>137</sup> ya imam trāyatām asmād yakṣmād asmād<sup>138</sup>

<sup>125</sup> A aiva <sup>126</sup> cf. Kauṣ. Brāhm. 4. 2. Áśv. Prāy. 14b: haviṣāṃ skannam  
 abhimpṛet | devāmjanē 'ty || (gemeint ist etwa Áśv. 3. 13. 15; Ap. 9. 13. 5) ava-  
 śiṣṭena pracaret | śeṣā-bhāve punar maṃtravan nirvā[pā]di kuryāt || ājya-  
 bhāgā-<sup>127</sup>namtaram sarvapṛāyaścittam viṣṇusmarāṇam ca kuryāt || pākāt  
 pūrvaṃ haviṣāṃ keśā-<sup>128</sup>dy-upahatau (cf. unter 2. 6) prakṣālanena prokṣa-  
 ṇena vā śuddhiḥ || .... yadā havir *apakvaṃ* bhavati .... *vidagdhe* [haviṣi]  
 .... *sarvadāhe* tasmin prayoge śūrpādānādi havir utpādyā sarva-pṛāya-  
 ścittam kṛtvā viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā tena yajeta || yad vā 'dhvaryur vidagdham  
 jale prāsyā "jyabhāgā-<sup>129</sup>namtaram sruveṇa juhuyāt āhavaniya || yan ma  
 (bhr)ātmano (Ap. 9. 12. 11) punar agniś cakṣu" (ibid.) iti dvābhyām || tataḥ  
 sarvapṛāyaścittam viṣṇusmarāṇam ca kṛtvā "jyena pracaret || dravye 'dhvar-  
 yur ājya-bhāgā-<sup>130</sup>namtaram sruveṇa juhuyāt || vāyave svāhā (cf. Ap. 9. 10. 5)  
 vayava idam || tatas tena yajeta || cf. Áśv. Prāy. 17b: pradhāna-haviṣāṃ  
 vyāpattāv api punar-yāgā-<sup>131</sup>śaktau ājyabhāgā-<sup>132</sup>namtaram adhvaryur juhvām  
 sakṛd gṛhītvā juhōti || yan ma ātmanah (Ap. 9. 12. 11) punar agniḥ  
 (ibid.) || mano jyotiḥ (Ap. 9. 8. 1) || tato viṣṇuṃ smṛtvā dhruvājyāt pra-  
 caret || yad āha bhagavān baudhāyanah || ājyena vā pracaret || sai 'va tatra  
 prāyaścittir api khalu kṣipra-saṃskāratam (l.: 're tad?) ājyam ku[r]vata  
 iti mīmāṃsūti hutvā manasvatīm juhōti || sai 'va tataḥ prāyaścittir iti  
 vijñayata iti || tad etad yadākadāpi || baudhāyanenā "vāhanādi-pūrvakālādy-  
 anukter iti || <sup>127</sup> A dr̥ṣṭābhyuṣṭānity° B dr̥ṣṭābhyuṣṭānity° C dr̥ṣṭābhyu-  
 dr̥ṣṭānity°; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 37 ff. <sup>128</sup> A āvāsyā <sup>129</sup> D vā <sup>130</sup> vā  
 fehlt bei B; D kā <sup>131</sup> C kṣatasva D kṛtasyai <sup>132</sup> A samāthaiva  
 B samāpyeva <sup>133</sup> D yad dhaviṣyād <sup>134</sup> BC athāniruptāms  
 D athāniruptās <sup>135</sup> Deutet auf Gop. Brāhm. 2. 1. 9. <sup>136</sup> A sa-  
 samsthitahomeṣv BCD samsthitahomeṣu <sup>137</sup> A hūvāmahe <sup>138</sup> B  
 asmādāma punah D °smādāmayutaḥ s. Paipp. 2. 50. 1.

amayata[h]<sup>139</sup> || trātāram indram<sup>139</sup> | uru viṣṇo vikramasve 'ti<sup>140</sup>  
 madhyata opya<sup>141</sup> samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayet | pāthikṛti<sup>142</sup>  
 'ty ācakṣate<sup>143</sup> paurṇamāsyā-amāvāsye 'ti cā 'tipanne<sup>144</sup> || 2 ||

<sup>139</sup> AV. 7. 86. 1.<sup>140</sup> AV. 7. 26. 3.<sup>141</sup> A ūtha? BC ūpya?

<sup>142</sup> D yathapākṛti<sup>142</sup>; cf. Āsv. Prāy. 8 b: athā 'māvāsya-bhramena catur-dāsyām sānnāyē parigrhīte candrodāye na jāte 'kāle prakṛtiṣṭi-devatāsthāne agnir datā imdraḥ pradātā viṣṇuḥ śipiviṣṭa iti devatā yaṣṭavyāḥ || tatra nirvāpāt pūrvam akāle pravṛttam iti jñāne uktadevatābhyo vrīhin nirupya samkṣāla(ha)na(?)-ninayanāmtam kṛtvā taṇḍulāms tredhā vibhajya (cf. u. 5. 3) apūn sthulān sthulatarān kṛtvā sthulānām agnaye dātre juṣṭam adhvapāmi ṭati(hati? dati?) adhvapādy aṣṭasu kapāleṣu adhiśrayati | sthulatarān taṇḍulān indrāya dātre iti budhyā caru-dharmena sāyamdohe adhiśrayati apūn taṇḍulān caru-dharmena viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya prātardohe 'dhiśrayati || śeṣam a[mā]vāsya-tantram || tāsām yājyānuvākyāḥ || agne dā ..... sūnumataḥ (RV. 3. 24. 5) sa yaṃtā .... magham (RV. 3. 13. 3) ity agner datūḥ | dirghas te astu .... sunvate (RV. 8. 17. 10) bhadrā te hastā ... u (RV. 4. 21. 9); iti imdrasya pradātūḥ | vaṣat te viṣṇuḥ (Ś. Ś. 1. 8. 8 vgl. RV. 7. 99. 7); pra tat te adya (RV. 7. 100. 5); iti viṣṇoḥ śipiviṣṭasya || nirvāpād ūrdhvam akāla-jñāne tām eva taṇḍulāms tredhā vibhajya pūrvavad iṣṭim kuryāt | nā 'tra punaryāgaḥ | purodāśa-śraṇānāmtaram prātardohe dugdhe jāte purodāśam ājye vinikṣipet || dugdham api yathā na naśyati agni-samsargeṇa tathā rakṣaṇīyam || vratacārī sāyam-doham dugdhvā śvo bhūte darśayāgaḥ kāryaḥ || yāge kṛte akāla-jñāne prāyaścittam punaryāgas ce 'ty eke | asomayāginō 'pi(!) akāla-jñāne sarva-prāyaścittam punaryāgas cety eke | <sup>143</sup> Agn. Prāy. 3 a: | yady amāvāsyaṃ paurṇamāsim vā 'tiyād yadi vā 'nyasyā 'gniṣu yajeta yadi vā 'syā 'nyo 'gniṣu yajeta (cf. unten 5. 5) yadi vā 'syā 'nyo gñir agnīn vyaveyād (d. h. wenn ein weltliches Feuer die sakralen stört; s. unten 2. 7; 5. 4) yadi vā 'syā 'gnihotre upasanne haviṣi vā nirupte cakrīvāc chvā puruṣo vā vihāram antariyād (cf. oben 1. 3) yadi vā 'dhve(!) pramiyete 'ṣṭiḥ (vgl. unten 2. 8). — Comm.: yady amāvāsyaṃ paurṇamāsim vā svakāle 'kṛtvā 'tiyāt(!) yady agnihotradravaye kuṣeṣu 'pasādite yadi darśapūrnāmāsādiṣu haviṣi nirupte cakrīvad rathasakāṭādih śvā agniḥ puruṣo vā manuṣyajātiḥ sarvā (Text: sarve) agnīnām madhyenā 'tikrāmet | yadi vā yajamāno 'dhvani grāmāntare mriyetai 'teṣv anyatara-nimittēṣu nimittā-namtarām | agniḥ pathikṛd vetthā hi vedho adhvana ā devānām api paṃtham aganme 'ti (RV. 6. 16. 3; 10. 2. 3) | anadvām dakṣiṇā | vyavāye tv agnīnā prāg iṣṭe gamitarenā (l.: gām antarenā) 'tikrāmayed bhasmanā śunah padaṃ pratipaved idam viṣṇu vicakrama iti (RV. 1. 22. 17 vgl. unten 5. 2) gārhapatyā- "havanīyayor antaram bhasmarājyo [s. oben Anm. 64] 'daka-rājyā ca samtanuyāt tamtu[m] tanvan rajaso bhānum anvihī 'ty anugamayitvā cā "havanīyam punah praṇīyo 'patiṣṭheta | tatra prayogaḥ | nimittā-namtarām gavā- "di-kramānam kāryam | tataḥ tamtu[m] tanvan ... janam | (cf. oben 1. 3) iti mamtreṇa gārhapatyād āhavanīya-paryam-tam bhasmarājy-udakarājibhyām samtanam kṛtvā "havanīyam anugamayet | Mit diesem Passus stimmen Āsv. Prāy. 2 a ff. fast wörtlich zusammen; doch lesen sie: manuṣya-jātir vā vihāram atikramet ... yena pathā vyavāyo jātas tena pathā gaur netavyā || śvā-vyavāye tu bhasmanā śunah pa-

athā 'to<sup>145</sup> 'bhyu[d]dr̥ṣṭāni 'ty ācakṣate | 'dya sāyam amāvāsyā  
bhaviṣyati 'ti<sup>146</sup> na pratiharanāya<sup>147</sup> ca<sup>148</sup> sa syād | atha sa  
yo 'nyo brūyād adarśam cā 'dya paścād iti taṃ tu kim iti  
brūyād | atha vā sa syād evā 'dhas | tām eva prāyaścittim  
kṛtvā yajete 'ti dvaipāyanaḥ | kṛtasya vāi prāyaścittir bhavati  
'ti lāṅgalir | yena pathā vaivasvato<sup>149</sup> yamo rājā no yayau  
agnir nas tena nayatu<sup>150</sup> prajā[na]n vaiśvānaraḥ pathikṛd vi-  
śvagr̥ṣṭiḥ | samāpyai 'va tena haviṣā yad daivatam tad dha-  
viḥ<sup>151</sup> syād<sup>151</sup> | athā 'nyad dhavir nirvaped | agnaye pathi-  
kṛte<sup>152</sup> puroḍāsam indrāya vṛtraghne puroḍāsam vaiśvāna-  
ram<sup>153</sup> dvādaśakapalam puroḍāsam | nityaḥ purastaddhomāḥ |  
samsthitahomeṣu<sup>154</sup> tvam agne saprathā asi<sup>155</sup> | yena pathā  
vaivasvataḥ<sup>156</sup> | śāsa itthā mahān asi<sup>157</sup> | vaiśvānaro na ūtaya<sup>158</sup>  
iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayen | mahāpā-  
thikṛti 'ty ācakṣata | ubhayor api<sup>159</sup> pattayos<sup>160</sup> | tad āhur na  
te vidur ye tathā kurvaṃty | atha nu katham iti | gārhapā-  
tyājyaṃ vilāyo<sup>161</sup> 'tpūya caturgr̥hitam gr̥hitvā "havanīya-gārha-  
patyāv antarenā 'tivrāja juhuyād | asau ya udayāt puro  
vasāno nilalohito 'tha dr̥ṣṭam adr̥ṣṭam no duṣkṛtam tat<sup>162</sup>  
svāhe 'ty | evam evā 'bhyu[d]dr̥ṣṭe | asau ya udayāt paścād  
vasāno nilalohito [tya]<sup>163</sup> 'tha dr̥ṣṭam adr̥ṣṭam no duṣkṛtam  
karat<sup>164</sup> svāhe'ti | sa ya<sup>165</sup> evam etena<sup>166</sup> tejasā "jyena<sup>167</sup>  
yaśasā prīṇāti so 'syai 'sa<sup>168</sup> dr̥ṣṭaḥ prāṇan yaśasā<sup>169</sup>

dam idam viṣṇur vicakrama ity rcā pūrayet || pratipadam mamtrāvṛttir ity  
adhikam || tato gārhapatyād āhavanīyaparyamtam bhasma-lekhām udaka-  
dhārām ca samtanuyāt tantum tanvan ... anvihī jyotiṣmata iti mamtrēna ||  
pratyekam mamtrāvṛttih || tata āhavanīyam anugamayitvā 'gnihotra-madhye  
(agnihotravad-iṣṭi-madhyā) iṣṭivat punaḥ praṇīya yad agne pūrvam ...  
vitanvata (Āśv. 3. 10. 16) iti mantradvayeno 'patiṣṭheta || tato 'gnihotram  
samāpya teṣv evā 'gniṣu pāthikṛti kār्या ||<sup>144</sup> A cātipattre B nvātipamte  
C cātipamte (kann heißen: atipāte oder atipattau; korrupt); cf. in 2. 3.

<sup>145</sup> B tsayāto <sup>146</sup> D tay; cf. Kauṣ. Brāhm. 4. 3. <sup>147</sup> C 'haranādya  
<sup>148</sup> B tva? nva? <sup>149</sup> Bei C ist dieser pāda verderbt. <sup>150</sup> A nayata  
C nayat <sup>151</sup> BCD haviṣyād <sup>152</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 22-26 bestimmt die Fälle,  
in denen dem Agni pathikṛt geopfert werden soll. <sup>153</sup> B vaiśvānarim  
C 'narām <sup>154</sup> Hier wiederholt B einen Passus des Textes, nämlich 2. 3:  
agnim vayam trātāram havāmahe . . . . bis samsthāpayen [mahāpāthikṛtity].  
<sup>155</sup> RV. 5. 13. 4. <sup>156</sup> Unermittelbar. <sup>157</sup> AV. 1. 20. 4. <sup>158</sup> AV.  
6. 35. 1. <sup>159</sup> BC iti statt api; l.: ati° <sup>160</sup> cf. oben 2. 2 letztes Wort.  
l.: "pannayos. <sup>161</sup> ACD viliyo° <sup>162</sup> ACD tat B ta statt karat; Sinn und  
Metrum wären herstellbar, wenn man lesen würde: duṣkṛtam adr̥ṣṭam  
karat <sup>163</sup> BC lassen tyā aus. <sup>164</sup> C tat statt karat <sup>165</sup> ya fehlt  
bei BC <sup>166</sup> B fügt tena ein. <sup>167</sup> B tejasābdhrena <sup>168</sup> B lāṅt 'sa  
aus; D liest statt sosyaiṣa: saumyeṣa <sup>169</sup> B yaḥ esa



prīṇāti || 3 || atha yo 'hutvā<sup>170</sup> navam prāśnīyād agnau vā "gama-  
 yet kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye vratapataye<sup>171</sup> 'ṣṭakapālam  
 puroḍaśam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv  
 agne prāśnāhi prathamāḥ tvam hi vettha yathā haviḥ<sup>172</sup> | vanvan  
 havir yathā devebhyo yajamānam ca varddhayā 'gnīś ca deva  
 savitas | tvam agne vratapā asi<sup>173</sup> | idāvatsarāye 'ti<sup>174</sup> madhyata  
 opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | yady anugatam agniṃ  
 śaṅkamānā mamtheyur mathite 'gnim adhigacheyur bhadraḥ  
 adhi śreyāḥ prehi<sup>175</sup> 'ti vyāhrtibhiś ca mathitam samāropyā  
 'the 'tarasmin punas tvā prāṇa<sup>176</sup> iti pañcabhir ājyā-"hutir  
 hutvā yatho 'ktaṃ prakṛtā vṛttir<sup>177</sup> | atha yasyā "gniho-  
 trī gharma-  
 dughā duhyamānā vāsyet<sup>178</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittir | aśanā-  
 pipāse evai 'śā yajamānasya samprakhyāya vāsyati 'ti<sup>179</sup>  
 tāṃ<sup>180</sup> tṛṇam<sup>181</sup> apy<sup>182</sup> ādayet<sup>182</sup> sūyavasād bhagavati<sup>183</sup> 'ty  
 etaya rcā | 'thā "havaniya ājyā-"hutir<sup>184</sup> juhuyād dhātā dadhātu  
 naḥ pūrṇā darva<sup>185</sup> iti dvābhyām ṛgbhyām | atha yasyā "gni-  
 hotrī<sup>186</sup> gharma-  
 dughā (vā<sup>187</sup>) duhyamāno 'paviśet<sup>188</sup> kā tatra  
 prāyaścittir<sup>189</sup> | bhayaṃ vā eṣā yajamānasya prakhyāyo 'pa-

<sup>170</sup> so rekonstruiert nach Ap. 9. 12. 10: yadi homāyo 'pasamiddheṣv ahu-  
 teṣv agniṣu yajamāno 'śnīyāt ... <sup>171</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 ff. bestimmt die  
 Opfer für Agni vratapati.

<sup>172</sup> Vgl. sa hi veda yathā haviḥ T. B.  
 2. 4. 8. 7. <sup>173</sup> AV. 19. 59. 1. <sup>174</sup> AV. 6. 55. 3. B idāvatsaroyeti C im-  
 drāvaruṇāyēti <sup>175</sup> AV. 7. 8. 1. <sup>176</sup> Es könnte etwa an T. S. 1. 3. 14. 4.  
 gedacht sein. <sup>177</sup> C vṛttin D prāvṛtā vṛtir <sup>178</sup> ABCD vāsyet; cf.

hierzu Ap. 9. 5. 1; Āśv. 3. 11. 4; Āśv. Prāy. 3 b; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. Auch  
 bei der Schlachtung darf das Opfertier nicht brüllen: K. Ś. 25. 9. 12.  
 Im folg. ist pipāse bei A u. C corr. <sup>179</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 5. 2. 7. 6.

<sup>180</sup> A tāṃ <sup>181</sup> BC tṛṇam <sup>182</sup> A athā dadhyet D athā "dayet Āśv.  
 Prāy. 3 b: tṛṇam bhakṣyam prakalpayet <sup>183</sup> AV. 7. 73. 11; K. Ś. 25. 1. 19.

<sup>184</sup> A 'hutī B 'hutir; der im Anschluß hieran so überaus häufig er-  
 wähnte Fall, daß die Opferkuh blutige Milch (Blut statt Milch) gibt, fehlt  
 unserem Texte. <sup>185</sup> vgl. AV 7. 17. 2; 3. 10. 7; s. auch Paipp. 1. 106. 6.

<sup>186</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 35 b kündigen an: athe 'dānīm agnihotrāprāyaścittāny  
 abhidhiyamte tad-artham idam ucyate ... agnihotraṃ cet prāg adhiśra-  
 yaṇā[t] skandeti iti ... niśided upaviśet tatra yasmād bhite 'ty anena  
 mamtreṇābhimantrya udasthā[d] devīty utthāpyo 'dapātram ūdhasi mukhe  
 co 'pagrhnīyāt; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. <sup>187</sup> vā fehlt bei BCD. <sup>188</sup> cf.

Āśv. Prāy. 3 b, welches diesen Fall noch differenziert: atha yasyā 'gniho-  
 tradhenur vatsa(n)-sargād ārabhya dohana-paryamtam upaviśet | tadā  
 yasmād bhiṣā ... mīlhuṣe ity abhimamtrayet | tatas tāṃ utthāpayet ||  
 udasthād ... varuṇāya ca | ity etad ubhayaṃ yajamāno homakartā vā  
 kuryāt | atha asyā ūdhasi ca mukhe co 'dapātram upagrhya dugdhvā brāh-  
 maṇam pāyayet | tasya brāhmaṇasya yāvajjīvaṃ samvatsaram vā 'nnam  
 nā 'śnīyāt || <sup>189</sup> cf. Āśv. 3. 11. 1; Brahm. Prāy. 40 b: yā agnihotrāyo  
 'pasṛṣṭā niśided iti niśidanamamtrah; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3.

viśati | tasyā ūdhasy udapātram ninayec<sup>190</sup> chaṃ no devīr  
 abhiṣṭaya<sup>191</sup> iti dvābhyāṃ | tām anumantryate yasmād  
 bhītā niṣīdasi<sup>192</sup> tato no abhayaṃ kṛdhi paśūn naḥ sarvān  
 gopāya namo rudrāya mīdhuṣa<sup>193</sup> ity | athai 'nām utthāpaya-  
 ty uttiṣṭha devy adite devān yajñena bodhaya | indrāya kṛṇva-  
 ti bhāgaṃ mitrāya varuṇāya ce 'ty | utthitām anumantryate  
 udasthād devy adite devān<sup>194</sup> yajñena bodhaya | āyus ca tasya  
 bhūtiṃ ca yajamānaṃ<sup>195</sup> ca<sup>195</sup> vardhaye 'ty | athā "havanīya  
 ājyā"-hutir juhuyān mā no vidan<sup>196</sup> ity etair abhayai rau-  
 draiś ca || 4 || atha yasya vapām āhutiṃ vā grhitām śyeṇaḥ  
 śakuniḥ śvā vā 'nyo vā "hared<sup>197</sup> vāto vā vivamet<sup>198</sup> kā tatra  
 prāyaścittir | divaṃ prthivīm<sup>199</sup> ity abhimantryā 'thā "hava-  
 nīya ājyā"-hutir juhuyād vāta āvātu bheṣajam<sup>200</sup> iti sūktenā |  
 'tha yasya somagraho grhito 'tisrāvet kā tatra prāyaścittir |  
 drapsāś caskande<sup>201</sup> 'ty abhimantryā 'thā "havanīya ājyā-  
 "hutir juhuyān manase cetase dhiya<sup>202</sup> iti sūktenā | 'tha yasyā  
 'ṣṭāpadi vaśa syāt kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>203</sup> | darbheṇa hiranyaṃ  
 baddhvā 'dhy-adhi garbhaṃ hiranyagarbheṇa juhuyād | yathā  
 'muṃ sā garbhaṃ abhyaścotayad yathā 'muṃ garbhaṃ sadar-  
 bham<sup>204</sup> iva sahiranyaṃ tam uddhṛtya prakṣālyā<sup>205</sup> 'nupadaṃ  
 śrapayitvā prakṣīrasam udakpādyam kāmasūktena<sup>206</sup> juhu-  
 yād anamgandhī<sup>207</sup> 'ti ve 'ty<sup>208</sup> aṣṭabhir nabhasvatibhir<sup>209</sup>  
 hiranyagarbheṇa vā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi tā-  
 ntriko 'gnir upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | yaṃ tvam agne<sup>210</sup>  
 punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasava<sup>211</sup> ity anyam<sup>212</sup> praṇīya pra-

<sup>190</sup> cf. Āśv. 3. 11. 3. <sup>191</sup> AV. 1. 6. 1. <sup>192</sup> AB. 5. 27. 2; 7. 3. 2; hierher  
 gehören auch die folgenden Zitate dieses Abschnitts; vgl. die analogen  
 Partien Ap. 9. 17. 6 f. <sup>193</sup> M. Ś. 3. 2. 1, fortgesetzt durch Āśv. 3. 11. 1;  
 Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3. <sup>194</sup> A °vāṃn <sup>195</sup> D °mānāya <sup>196</sup> AV. 1. 19. 1.  
<sup>197</sup> Der gleiche Fall wird in dem korrupten Passus Brahm. Prāy. 77 b  
 behandelt; vgl. unten 3, 10; s. a. Manu 7. 21: Krähen genießen von einem  
 Opferkuchen. <sup>198</sup> A vivamet(?) B viramit CD viramet <sup>199</sup> AV.  
 3. 21. 7. <sup>200</sup> cf. Gop. Brāhm. 1. 3. 13. <sup>201</sup> AV. 18. 4. 28. <sup>202</sup> AV.  
 6. 41. 1. <sup>203</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 78 b: yadā 'ṣṭāpadi syād aṣṭāpadyā garbhaṃ śūle  
 kṛtvā madā pralipya śāmitre nikhānayet | Komm.: yadāpi garbhīṇy āla-  
 bhyate kāla[h]-parimāṇavijñānāc cā 'ṣṭāpadi syāt ... śāmitre nikhāpaṭot  
 tasyā adhaśtād ayaśpātram upakṣya śrapayed ity arthaḥ | .. mā bhūd iti  
 hiranyaṃ aṣṭāpadaṃ dakṣiṇā tasminn eva kāle samāpte ca mahi dyaus iti  
 paśuśrapaṇe garbhaṃ upavasati <sup>204</sup> BCD samdarbham <sup>205</sup> B prajvalyā  
<sup>206</sup> AV 19. 52. <sup>207</sup> Wahrscheinlich Paipp. Citat. <sup>208</sup> A °gandhītevy  
 B °gandhītevy D °gamdhītevy <sup>209</sup> gemeint: AV 4. 15? <sup>210</sup> ge-  
 meint ist wahrscheinlich AV. 18. 3. 6 (yaṃ tvam agne). <sup>211</sup> AV. 12. 2. 6;  
 Vait. 28. 22; Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 9; 16. 12. 13. <sup>212</sup> A agnim

jvālya<sup>213</sup> mamā 'gne varca<sup>214</sup> iti sūkteno 'pasamādhāya karma-  
 šeṣam<sup>215</sup> samāpnuyur<sup>215</sup> | atha yasyā 'samāpte karmaṇi barhir  
 ādīpyeta<sup>216</sup> tatra tan<sup>217</sup> nirvāpya juhuyād yad agnir barhir  
 adahad vedyā<sup>218</sup> vāso apom<sup>219</sup> bhata tvam eva no jātavedo<sup>220</sup>  
 durityāt pāhi tasmāt<sup>221</sup> || nirdagdā no amitrā<sup>222</sup> yathe 'dam  
 barhis tathā | amitrāṇām śriyaṃ bhūtiṃ tām eṣāṃ parinirjahi |  
 yat-kāmās<sup>223</sup> te<sup>223</sup> juhūmas tan no astu viśāmpate<sup>224</sup> | ye devā  
 yajñam āyānti te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ | avadagdhāṃ duhsva-  
 pnyam avadagdā arātayaḥ sarvāś ca yātudhānyaḥ | mā tvā  
 dabhyān yātudhānāḥ | mā bradhnāḥ śarmabhiḥ<sup>225</sup> ṣṭuhi<sup>226</sup> |  
 darbho rājā samudriyaḥ | pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ | athā 'nyad  
 barhir upakalpyo 'dakena samprokṣya punaḥ śṛṇāti | 'dam bar-  
 hir amṛtene 'ha siktāṃ hiraṇmayam haritaṃ tat śṛtaṃ<sup>227</sup>  
 naḥ<sup>227</sup> | tad<sup>228</sup> vai purāṇam abhinavaṃ śṛṇiṣva vāsaḥ praśa-  
 staṃ prati me grhāne 'ty<sup>229</sup> | atha yasya pitrye<sup>230</sup> praṇīto 'gnir  
 upaśāmyet kā tatra prāyaścittir | bhasmā 'labhya 'bhimantra-  
 yed<sup>231</sup> dviśantam agne dviśatām ca vittaṃ | prajāṃ<sup>232</sup> dviśad-  
 bhyo naya dakṣiṇena | pitrye praṇīta upaśāmyamānaḥ pāp-  
 mānam agne tam ito nudasva | dviśantam agne dviśatām ca  
 vittaṃ<sup>232</sup> gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato 'nyān<sup>233</sup> | pitrye praṇīta  
 upaśāmyamāna iha prajāṃ dirgham āyus ca dhehi | yas<sup>234</sup>  
 tvam agne pramattānāṃ praṇīta upaśāmyasi<sup>235</sup> | sukalpam agne  
 ta[t] tvayā punas tvo 'ddīpayāmasi 'ty ucyamāne<sup>236</sup> 'gnim<sup>237</sup>  
 praṇīya prajvālye<sup>238</sup> 'ndrasya kukṣir asī 'ti<sup>239</sup> dvābhyām sa-  
 midhāv abhyādadhāt || 5 || atha yasya yūpo virohed<sup>240</sup> asam-  
 āpte karmaṇi tatra juhuyāt yūpo virohaṇ<sup>241</sup> chataśākho  
 adhvaraḥ<sup>242</sup> samāvṛto mohayisyān yajamānasya loke | vedā-

<sup>213</sup> C prakṣālya <sup>214</sup> AV. 5. 3. 1. <sup>215</sup> A karmašeṣam karma sāpnuyur  
<sup>216</sup> cf. AP. 37. 5. 1. <sup>217</sup> A tam; bei BCD fehlt tam <sup>218</sup> A vedyām  
<sup>219</sup> AB apo. Auch alle für die Textgeschichte in Frage kommenden  
 Mss. der AP., denen dieses Zitat entnommen ist (37. 5. 2) lesen pom resp.  
 apom; D aponnata <sup>220</sup> B 'da <sup>221</sup> Parallel AV. 1. 25. 1. <sup>222</sup> AP  
 53. 7. 3: 'mitrās tu <sup>223</sup> AB vāmāste <sup>224</sup> AV. 7. 79. 4. <sup>225</sup> BC  
 carmabhi <sup>225—226</sup> AP. 37. 5. 6 śamyum icchata <sup>227</sup> AD śṛtaṃtaḥ B  
 taśṛtaṃ naḥ C tatśṛtaṃ naḥ; AP. 37. 5. 8 statt tat śṛtaṃ naḥ: te śṛtāmi  
<sup>228</sup> BC yad <sup>229</sup> D fügt hinter 'ty ein: athavā 'nyad barhiṣo prachādāye  
 'ty <sup>230</sup> B pitrya <sup>231</sup> D 'yeta <sup>232</sup> B läßt diese und die inzwischen-  
 liegenden Worte aus. <sup>233</sup> D 'nyāt <sup>234</sup> ABCD yaṃ <sup>235</sup> A upaśāmyati  
 B upaśābhyeti CD upaśāmyeti <sup>236</sup> BC ucyatenā A ucyamānenā  
<sup>237</sup> B te 'gnim <sup>238</sup> C prakṣālye <sup>239</sup> AV. 7. 111. 1. <sup>240</sup> D varohed;  
 Äp. 9. 19. 15 f.; vgl. unten 5. 6. <sup>241</sup> D varo° <sup>242</sup> Kauś. Ś. 125. 2.

bhigupto brahmaṇā<sup>243</sup> parivṛto 'tharvabhiḥ śāntaḥ sukr̥tām etu lokam || yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatām vadhāya na me yajño yajamānaś ca riṣyāt | saptarṣiṇām sukr̥tām yatra lokas tatre 'maṃ yajñam yajamānam ca dhehi || yo vanaspatinām upatāpo babhūva<sup>244</sup> yad vā grhān ghoram utā "jagāma tan nirjagāmo haviṣā ghr̥tena śam no astu dvipade śam catuspade || yo vanaspatinām upatāpo na āgād yad vā yajñam no 'dbhutam ājagāma | sarvaṃ tad agne hutam astu bhāgaśaḥ śivān vayam uttaremā 'bhi vājān<sup>245</sup> | tvaṣṭre svāhe 'ti hutvā | tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vaca<sup>246</sup> iti tvāṣṭram vaiśvarūpam<sup>247</sup> ālabhetā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmani yūpaḥ prapatet<sup>248</sup> tatra juhuyāt<sup>249</sup> | ya indreṇa sṛṣṭo yadi vā marudbhīr yūpaḥ papāta<sup>250</sup> dviṣatām vadhāya | tam nirjagāmo<sup>251</sup> haviṣā ghr̥tena śam no astu dvipade śam catuspade || tvaṣṭre svāhe 'ti hutvā tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vaca<sup>252</sup> iti tvāṣṭram sarvarūpam ālabhetā | 'tha yasyā 'samāpte karmani yūpe dhvāṅkṣo<sup>253</sup> nipatet tatra juhu-yāt ā pavasva hiranyavad<sup>254</sup> aśvāvat soma viravat | vājam<sup>255</sup> gomantam<sup>255</sup> ābhara<sup>255</sup> svāhe 'ti madhyata opya saṃsṛāva-bhāgaiḥ saṃsthāpayed<sup>256</sup> | yadi<sup>256</sup> duṣṭam<sup>256</sup> haviḥ syāt ki-ṭāvapannam<sup>257</sup> vā<sup>257</sup> tat<sup>258</sup> tasmin bhasmany upavaped apsu

<sup>243</sup> D °ṇaḥ      <sup>244</sup> Kauś. S. 135. 9.      <sup>245</sup> Die Wiedergabe namentlich des letzten Pāda in den Mss. ist überaus lückenhaft und reich an Irrtümern. D wiederholt den Halbvers: tam nirjagāmo catuspade  
<sup>246</sup> AV. 6. 4. 1.      <sup>247</sup> ABCD viśvarūpam; Brahm. Prāy. 79 b: sattre cet prāḡ apavargād yūpo virohet [t]vāṣṭram bahurūpam ālabheran 80 b: vi-rohaṇam amkurādi-prādurbhāvaḥ      <sup>248</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 11. 26; Brahm. Prāy. 80a: yadi yūpaṃ āvr̥ṃhec cālayed ve 'ti ...      <sup>249</sup> Hiervon scheint auch der völlig zerstörte Text von Brahm. Prāy. 76a zu handeln, der sodann folgende Modalität erwähnt: yadi divyān mānuṣād vā pramādā[t] svaruṃ naśyeta anya-yūpa-śakalam anya-grahaṇam kriyate 76 b: anyasyā 'lābhe yūpād evo tkr̥tya saṃskārādi siddham ta[t] tvā svadhitise āhutiṃ hutvā 'taḥ saṃ-skṛtyā 'ktvā svadhiṭi-karma kuryāt | caśālanāṣe 'nyasmād adhikṛtya(?)  
<sup>250</sup> AD prapāto BC prayāto      <sup>251</sup> D °gāma      <sup>252</sup> AV. 6. 4. 1.  
<sup>253</sup> K. Ś. 25. 6. 9 f.      <sup>254</sup> RV. 9. 63. 18.      <sup>255</sup> D vrajam gomantam aśvinā bharamtaṃ cf. Vāj. S. 8. 6. 3.      <sup>256</sup> B saṃsthāpaye hādiṣṭam      <sup>257</sup> Agn. Prāy. 4 b: vyāpannāni haviṃṣi keśa-nakha-kiṭa-patamgair anyair vā bi-bhatsaiḥ | śarirā[c] cyuta-keśa-nakhā-"dibhir haviḥ | saṃsargo [do]ṣāya bhavati | tathā kiṭa-patamgair amedhya-nivāsibhiḥ saṃsargo doṣāya bha-vati | duṣṭaram havir apsu prakṣipyā punar-nirvāpā-"di kuryāt | atha vā-jasaneṇi-śākhāyām devayoniḥ | śva-vāyas(am)ā-"khu-mārjāra-nakula-grdhrā-"di-kr̥tabhākṣaṇā-"vaghrāṇa-śpārśa[nā]-"dibhir upahatānām śṛtānām puro-ḍāśādinām tyāgaḥ | bhākṣaṇenai 'va madhū-"daka-payo-vikāra-taila-sarpiḥ-prabhṛtinām ca tyāgaḥ | svedā-"śru-śleṣma-karṇavid-ḍuṣikā (so statt °ṣi!)

ve 'ty eke<sup>259</sup> | bhuvāya svāhā | bhuvanāya svāhā | bhuvana-  
pataye svāhā<sup>260</sup> | bhuvāmpataye svāhā | viṣṇave svāhe 'ty | ete  
ha vai devānām rtvijas | ta evā 'sya tad dhutam<sup>261</sup> iṣṭam  
kurvanti | yat prayājeṣv ahuteṣu prāg āṅgārah<sup>262</sup> skanded  
adhvaryave ca<sup>263</sup> yajamānāya ca<sup>264</sup> paśubhyaś cā 'gham<sup>265</sup> syād  
yadi dakṣiṇā<sup>266</sup> brahmaṇe ca yajamānāya ca | yadi pratyag<sup>267</sup>  
dhotre<sup>267</sup> ca patnyai<sup>268</sup> ca<sup>268</sup> | yady udag agnīdhe<sup>269</sup> ca<sup>270</sup>  
yajamānāya ca paśubhyaś cā 'gham<sup>271</sup> syāt | tam anupraharet |  
sahasrasrṅga<sup>272</sup> | ity etaya rcā || 6 || atha yasyā 'gnayo mi-

netramalā-'rṅk-raktavasā-mānuṣa-(Text: 'ṣā)-svivīṣṭhā-retō-mūtra-prabhṛti-  
bhīr upahatānām haviṣām parityāgaḥ | śūdra-sūtako-'dakṣā-'di-saṃsprṣṭā-  
nām haviṣām parityāgaḥ |. Die Träne verunreinigt; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 8:  
ya āhitāgnir upavasathe 'śru kurvīta ... so 'gnaye vratabhṛte ... cf.  
Āśv. Prāy. 5 b: athau "pavasathya-dine arty-aśru-pāte pūrvoktām vrāta-  
bhṛtiṣṭim kuryāt || cf. oben Anm. 58; vgl. A. P. 37. 7. 1; cf. auch Āśv. Prāy.  
17 a (cf. oben Anm. 126): āvāhana-kālāt pūrvam keśa-kīṭā-'dinā pakva-  
haviṣ-dōṣe jāte tasyaiva ha[vi]ṣaḥ punar-utpattiṃ kṛtvā sarva-prāyaścittam  
ca hutvā viṣṇum smṛtvā tena yaṣṭavyam || yad vā || adhvaryur ājya-bhāgā-  
'namtaram juhvām sakṛd grhītvā juhōti || yan ma ātmano || punar agniḥ ||  
mano jyotiḥ grhītena svāhā || tato viṣṇum smṛtvā (dhruvā)jyena(?) pracaret ||  
cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17 a: āvāhanād ūrdhvaṃ pradhāna-yāgād arvāk keśa-kīṭā-  
'dinā haviṣ-dōṣe jāte tasya sthāne dhruvāś caturgrhītam ājyam āyājet ||  
avyāpannais ca yathāpūrvam || tataḥ prayogaṃ samāpya vyāpanna-havir-  
mātrasyai 'vā 'nvādhānādi-punaryāgaḥ kartavyaḥ || evam dvayor bahūnām  
ca vyāpattau samānam || vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 18 b: duṣṭena haviṣe 'ṣṭvā samīṣṭa-  
yajusaḥ prāg duṣṭam haviṣ ity ity jānīyāt || tadā "jyena punar-yāgaḥ || ūrdhvaṃ  
cet smaraṇam tadā 'nvādhānā-'di-punaryāgaḥ || bahuhaviṣke yāge yad eva  
duṣṭam haviṣ smaret tasyaiva punaryāgo na sarvasya || cf. Agn. Prāy.  
16 b f.: āvāhana-kālāt prāg dhavir-dōṣe punar-āvṛttiḥ | apy atyaṇṭam guṇa-  
bhūtānām | apradhānārthānām ājyādi-guṇa-bhūtānām dravyāṇām utpattir  
ā karmasamāpteh | prāk sviṣṭakṛta uktam pradhāna-bhūtānām | haviṣām  
vyāpattāv ity asmin sūtre yā haviṣ-vyāpattir uktā sā pradhāna-bhūtānām  
dravyāṇām āvāhanād ūrdhvaṃ sviṣṭakṛtāt prāk bhavati cet tadā "jyene  
'ṣṭim samāpayet | avadānadoṣe punar āyatanād avadānam | grhītasya 'va-  
dānasya 'medhyā-'dinā nāṣe jāte | abhāgi-devatāyāḥ yāge kṛte 'pī 'ti ra-  
māṇḍarāḥ | ubhaya-madhye 'nyatara-nimitte sati punas tad avadānā-  
'yatanād eva grhītvā yāgaḥ kartavyaḥ | na punar utpattiḥ | dveṣṭre tv  
iha dakṣiṇām dadyāt | kṣāme śiṣṭene 'ṣṭ[v]e 'ty asmin prayoge yā dakṣiṇā  
sā dveṣṭre dātavyā | dakṣadāna (l.: dakṣiṇādāna?) urvarām dadyāt |  
<sup>258</sup> B tatre C tace

<sup>259</sup> Āśv. 3. 10. 20-22.

<sup>260</sup> Kauś. S. 116. 2 unter abweichendem

Schlusse.

<sup>261</sup> BCD bhutam

<sup>262</sup> ABC āṅgāra; cf. unten 4. 1.

<sup>263</sup> fehlt bei BC

<sup>264</sup> fehlt bei A

<sup>265</sup> ABC scheinen adyaṇi zu lesen;

cf. Āp. 9. 2. 9.

<sup>266</sup> A dakṣiṇa

<sup>267</sup> ABCD

pratyāṇ hotre

<sup>268</sup> A

yatryaiva BCD patnī ca

<sup>269</sup> BCD āgnīdhre

<sup>270</sup> A läßt ca aus.

<sup>271</sup> BC cādyam

<sup>272</sup> AV. 13. 1. 12; s. Āp. 9. 3. 1.

tah samsrjyeran<sup>273</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittih<sup>274</sup> | so 'gnaye vitaye<sup>275</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālam puroḍāṣam (prāṇ) nirvapen<sup>276</sup> | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv agna āyāhi vitaye<sup>277</sup> grṇāno havyaḍātaye ni hotā satsi barhiṣi 'ti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo grāmyenā<sup>278</sup> 'gninā samsrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye vivicaye<sup>279</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālam puroḍāṣam nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv agnim ile purohitam<sup>280</sup> vivicim ratnadhātamaṁ pra na āyūṁṣi tāriṣad | iti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayaḥ śavenā 'gninā samsrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye śucaye<sup>281</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālam puroḍāṣam nirvapen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv | agnih śucivratatamaḥ<sup>282</sup> śucir vipraḥ śuciḥ kaviḥ | śuci rocata āhutaḥ || ud agne śucayas tava<sup>283</sup> śukrā bhrājanta irate | tava jyotiṁṣy arcayaḥ svāhe | 'ti madhyata opya samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā samsrjyeran<sup>284</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittir<sup>285</sup> | annā-

<sup>273</sup> Überhaupt gilt der Zusammenfall von Opfersubstanzen als verhängnisvoll; s. Áśv. Prāy. 16a: carv-ādīnām samsrāve durgādi-gaṇaḥ prāyaścittam ||

<sup>274</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die verkürzte Wieder-  
gabe in 5. 4. <sup>275</sup> B titaye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya gārhapatyā-  
"havanīyau mithaḥ samsrjyeyātām . . . . so 'gnaye vitaye 'ṣṭākāpālam  
puroḍāṣam nirvapet.

<sup>276</sup> Über die dem Agni bei den einzelnen  
Läuterungszeremonien zukommenden Attribute spricht Agn. Prāy. 14b:  
agnir guṇibhedeṣu vratapatyādiko guṇaḥ | api vā prāyaścitte-ṣṭīnām  
sthāne tasyai tasyai devatāyai pūrṇāhutim juhuyād iti vijñāyate | dvādaśa-  
grhītena srucaṁ pūrayitvā 'gnaye vratapataye svāhe 'ti hūyate sā pūr-  
ṇāhutih dvādaśa-grhītenā 'ṣṭagrhītena caturgrhītena sruva-pūrṇena ve 'ti  
catvāraḥ pakṣo (!) bodhāyane (!) prāyaścittēṣṭiḥ saha vikalpyate | <sup>277</sup> RV.  
6. 16. 10; Áśv. 3. 13. 7; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6. <sup>278</sup> ABC grāmyenā.

<sup>279</sup> A vivivaye B vivicaya; cf. Áśv. 3. 13. 5; aber Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6: yasya  
sarva evā 'gnayo mithaḥ samsrjyeran . . . agnaye vivicaye . . . und ibid.:  
yasyā 'gnayo 'nyair agnibhiḥ (Comm.: āhavanīyādy-agnayo 'nyadīyair  
āhavanīyādbhir laukikāgnibhir vā) samsrjyeran so 'gnaye kṣāmavate . . . ;  
vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7: yasyā 'gnayo grāmyenā 'gninā samdahyeran so 'gnaye  
samvargāya . . . . cf. Áśv. Prāy. 8a: grāmyenā "raṇyena vā samsarge  
samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye samvargāya pūrṇāhutih || <sup>280</sup> RV. 1. 1. 1.

<sup>281</sup> Áśv. 3. 13. 4, dessen Komm. sich hier als vortrefflich unterrichtet  
erweist. K. Ś. 25. 4. 35; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7. <sup>282</sup> A: śucir RV. 8. 44. 21.

<sup>283</sup> RV. 8. 44. 17. <sup>284</sup> Die Profanation der heiligen Feuer durch

Wasser usw. verlangt Sühne (Áśv. Prāy. 15b): jalādina 'gny-upaghāte  
punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ samindhatām punar brāhmaṇo vasunītha  
rudraiḥ (!) || grhītena tvam tanuvo vardhayasva satyāḥ santu yajamānasya  
kāmāḥ (TS 4. 2. 3. 4 folg. mit Variation) svāhā || ity etayā samidham

dyam<sup>286</sup> vā eṣa yajamānasya samvrjyāvṛta<sup>287</sup> upa to<sup>287</sup> 'ranyād grāmam adhy<sup>288</sup> abhyupaiti | so 'gnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv | apaścād aghvānnasya bhūyāsam<sup>289</sup> | iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo divyenā 'gninā samśrjyeran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye jyotiṣmate<sup>290</sup> 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣu | vidyotate dyotate | vidyuto 'gnir jihvā<sup>291</sup> | vidyutā bhrājanti dyotata<sup>292</sup> ā ca dyotata<sup>293</sup> | iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yasyā 'gnayo 'bhiplaveran kā tatra prāyaścittih | so 'gnaye 'psumate<sup>294</sup> 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāṣam nirvāpen | nityāḥ purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣv apām agnis tanūbhir<sup>295</sup> | iti madhyata opya samśrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha yady anugata<sup>296</sup> abhyuddharet kā tatra prāyaścittih | so

ādhāyā 'jyabhāgādy-anamṭaram yathāsamḥbavam anenaiva mamtreṇa svāhākārāntena sruvāhutim juhuyāt || agnaya idam || <sup>295</sup> Hierzu gehören die Ausführungen der Brahm. Prāy. 65 b; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7.

<sup>286</sup> A atrāgham B annādy (?) C annādya <sup>287</sup> A samjyāvṛduyano B samjāvṛta upato C samvrta upato; D samśrjyāvṛta upato <sup>288</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>289</sup> AV. 19. 55. 5. <sup>290</sup> cf. Āśv. 3. 13. 8; Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7 schreibt für den gleichen Fall die gleiche Spende für agni *apsumant* vor.

<sup>291</sup> D liest hinter jihvā: vidyotate dyotate ādyotata iti madhyata <sup>292</sup> Bei B dittographiert. <sup>293</sup> Vait. 14. 1 A āvadyotata BC ātadyotata? <sup>294</sup> cf. Āśv. 3. 13. 8; KŚ. 25. 4. 33 schreibt das gleiche Opfer — offenbar ursprünglicher — für den Fall vor, daß sich himmlische und irdische Feuer mit einander vermengen; ebenso Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: vaidyutā-'gni-samsarge samāropanādi agnaye 'psumate pūrṇāhutih |

<sup>295</sup> AV. 4. 15. 10. <sup>296</sup> Hier scheint von dem Erlöschen irgendeines Opferfeuers die Rede zu sein. Brahm. Prāy. 62 a (s. folg. Anm.) beziehen sich jedoch auf das āhavanīya-Feuer, dessen unser Text in diesem Zusammenhang nicht gedenkt. Vgl. aber Agn. Prāy. 12 a: anvāhiteṣv agniṣu yady āhavanīyo 'nugacchet tadā 'nvāhitam āhavanīyam anugataṃ utpādayiṣyā-mī 'ti samkalpya | anv agnir uṣasām ātatāne 'ti (AV. 7. 82. 4) gārhapatyād prāṇiyamto bhūr iti manaso 'pasthānam kuryāt | tata ājyapūrṇena sruveṇa juhōti | yo agniṃ devavitaye.... mṛḍaya (RV. 1. 12. 9) svāhā || agnaye pāvakāye 'dam tato | juhvā juhōti | idam viṣṇur.... pāmsure (RV. 1. 22. 17) svāhā | viṣṇava idam | tata[h] sarva[m]-prāyaścittam | idam viṣṇur RV. 1. 22. 17) japed ity eke | tato manasā yajamāno japati | agne vrata-pate | vrataṃ carīṣyāmi vāyo vrata-pate āditya vrata-pate vratanām vrata-pate (Āp. 4. 3. 2) | vrato- 'pāyanottaram agny-anugamane vrato-pāyanīya-japo nā 'nyathā || ibid. 12 b: prāṇite 'nugate prāg ghomād iṣṭir agnir jyotiṣmān varuṇaḥ || agnihotrā-'rtham prāṇita āhavanīyahomāt prāg anugate sāyam agnihotrārtham prāṇitām āhavanīyam anugataṃ utpādayiṣyāmi 'ti samkalpya | prātar agnihotrā-'rtham iti prātaḥ | uddharāṇa-

'gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭakapālam puroḍaśam nirvapen<sup>297</sup> | nityāḥ  
 purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣu | śivau<sup>298</sup> bhavatam<sup>299</sup>  
 adya<sup>300</sup> no<sup>301</sup> | 'gninā 'gniḥ samsrjyate<sup>302</sup> kavir grhapatir  
 yuvā havyavād juhvāsyaḥ<sup>303</sup> || tvam hy agne<sup>304</sup> agninā vipro<sup>305</sup>  
 vipreṇa san satā sakḥā sakhyā samidhyase || sa no rāsva  
 suviryam<sup>306</sup> iti madhyata opyā 'tha samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthā-  
 payet || 7 || atha<sup>307</sup> ya<sup>307</sup> āhitāgnis<sup>307</sup> tantre<sup>307</sup> pravāse  
 mṛtaḥ syāt<sup>308</sup> katham tatra kuryāt | katham asyā 'gnihotram  
 juhuyur<sup>309</sup> | anyavatsāyā<sup>310</sup> goḥ payase | 'ty āhur<sup>311</sup> adu-  
 gdhāyā<sup>311</sup> vā śūdradugdhāyā vā<sup>311</sup> | 'sarvaṃ<sup>312</sup> vā etat  
 payo yad<sup>313</sup> anyavatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā 'sarvaṃ<sup>314</sup>  
 vā etad agnihotram yan mṛtasyā 'gnihotram<sup>315</sup> | tāvad

mamtreṇo 'ddhṛtya hiraṇyam puraskṛtya rajatam puraskṛtye 'ti prātaḥ ||  
 [sāyam] hiraṇyam agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya paścād (dhiraṇyam) nidhāya |  
 prātaḥ rajatam agrato hṛtvā "havanīyasya purastān nidhāye 'ti viśeṣaḥ |  
 tato prañayana-mamtreṇa nidhāyā 'gnim pratiṣṭhāpayet | tato 'gnaye  
 jyotiṣmate svāhā | agnaye jyotiṣmata idam | varuṇāya svāhā | agnaye jyo-  
 tiṣmata idam | varuṇāya svāhā | varuṇāye 'dam (Ap. 9. 9. 14; corr.) | iti  
 pūrṇahutiṃ hutvā tasmin evā 'gnau homa-samāptiḥ | Beim Erlöschen  
 des Āhavanīya-Feuers soll ebenso wie bei dem des Dakṣiṇagni (cf. unten  
 6. 1) verfahren werden; jedoch ist ibid. folgende Differenz vorgeschrieben:  
 Āhavanīyasyo 'ttara-paścima-deśe prahvas tiṣṭhan dhātā dhātṛṇām (RV.  
 10. 128. 7) ity adinā tri[ni] kṣāṭhāny ādadhāti 'ti viśeṣaḥ || ubhayaor nāse  
 dakṣiṇāgnim prañiā "havanīyam api prañi[ya] pūrvavad āhavanīya-prā-  
 yaścittādi kṛtvā paścāt pūrvavad dakṣiṇāgni-prāyaścittādi kuryād ||

<sup>297</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 62a: āhavanīyānugame 'pi prañiā hutvā śvo bhūte  
 gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭakapālam nirvapet | cf. ibid. Bl. 56a folg.: yasyā  
 'gnā[v] agnim abhyuddhareyur (vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6) bhavatam naḥ  
 samanasāv (Kaus. 108. 2) ity abhimamtryā 'gnaye 'gnimate 'ṣṭakapālam  
 nirvapet | yasya yajamānasya daivān mānuśād vā pramādād agnāv uddhṛte  
 prāṇite vidyamāna eva punar abhyuddhareyus tatrā 'bhimukhyeno  
 "rddhvam uddhareyur . . . . . bhava(na)tan naḥ samanasāv iti . . .

<sup>298</sup> ACD śivo B śive <sup>299</sup> CD bhavatam. <sup>300</sup> ABC adhya

<sup>301</sup> A to; Kaus. 108. 2. <sup>302</sup> C samsrjate <sup>303</sup> RV.

<sup>1. 12. 6.</sup> <sup>304</sup> ABC fügen agnir ein. <sup>305</sup> RV. 8. 43. 14. <sup>306</sup> RV.

5. 13. 5; 8. 98. 12. <sup>307</sup> A atha āhitāgnis tantrapravāse B atha ya

āhitāgni tetre pravāse C atha yasyāhitāgniḥ tantre <sup>308</sup> cf. Āp. 9.

11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 8. 9; vgl. die Anm. 318; 514. <sup>309</sup> A juhuran

B juhuyāranye C juhuyuranye D juhuyātranye <sup>310</sup> A nyavatsāyā

B 'nya<sup>o</sup> C nyavatsiā <sup>311</sup> Diese Stelle ist im Original verderbt.

A liest diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte: āhuṣ tad adugdhāyā vā

sarvaṃ vā pṛtanyayo yajñenā 'nyavatsāyā gauḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā BC

āhuḥ śūdradugdhāyā vā (C vāt) sarvaṃ vā etyayoṇye (C jāe) nā 'nya

(C 'nā)-vatsāyā goḥ śūdradugdhāyā evā (evā) D āhu śūdradugdhāyā vā

<sup>312</sup> A sarvām <sup>313</sup> fehlt bei CD. <sup>314</sup> fehlt bei ABCD. <sup>315</sup> cf.

Ait Brāhm. 7. 2.



agnim<sup>316</sup> paricareyur yāvad<sup>317</sup> asthnām<sup>317</sup> āharaṇam<sup>318</sup> |  
 āhrtyā 'gnibhiḥ<sup>319</sup> samspr̥śya taṁ pitṛmedhena<sup>320</sup> samāpnuyur |  
 atha yaḥ<sup>321</sup> samāropitā-samāropite mṛtaḥ syāt katham tatra  
 kuryāt | so 'gnaye tantumate pathikṛte vratabhṛte<sup>322</sup> puroḍā-  
 śam nirvaped ekakapālaṁ saptakapālaṁ navakapālaṁ | nityāḥ  
 purastāddhomāḥ | samsthitahomeṣu | tvam agne saprathā asi<sup>323</sup>  
 yena pathā vaivasvataḥ<sup>324</sup> tvam agne vratapā asi<sup>325</sup> | 'ti ma-  
 dhyata opya (atha) samsrāvabhāgaiḥ samsthāpayed | atha naṣṭe  
 araṇi syātām<sup>326</sup> anyayor araṇyor vihr̥tya taṁ<sup>326</sup> mathitvai  
 'tābhīr eva hutvā 'thai 'naṁ samāpnuyuh<sup>327</sup> || 8 || atha yasyo

<sup>316</sup> D agnihotraṁ <sup>317</sup> A yāvavadasthnām (?) B yāvadasinām D yāva-  
 dasthīnām. <sup>318</sup> Agn. Prāy. 4b: *adhve pramītasāyā* (cf. oben Anm. 308)  
 'bhivānyavatsāyāḥ payasā 'gnihotraṁ tūṣṇīm sarvahutaṁ juhuyur ā sama-  
 vāyāt | pāthikṛtīm kṛtvā tasminn eva vihare abhivānyavatsāyāḥ payasā  
 tūṣṇīm | dharmakāmā 'gnihotraṁ sakṛd eva sarvaṁ juhuyur | nā 'tra  
 bhakṣo 'sti | pūrvāṅgāny uttarāṅgāny api tūṣṇīm eva bhavāmti kālas tu  
 sāyam prātar eva | ā śarīrasā 'gni-sambandhatvāt | pradhāne prajāpati-  
 dhyānam kartavyam | yady āhitāgnir aparapakṣe mriyetā 'hutibhir  
 enaṁ pūrvapakṣam hareyuh | pakṣahoma-nyāyena |; cf. Āśv. Prāy.  
 2b: atha pravāsa-mṛtasāyā 'hitāgner viśeṣaḥ | putrādayaḥ pāthikṛtīm  
 kṛtvā 'hitāgni-śarīrasāyā 'gnibhiḥ sambandha-paryamtaṁ mṛtavatsāyā goḥ  
 payasā tūṣṇīm sarvahutaṁ juhuyuh | prajāpatim manasā dhyātvā svāhe  
 'ti maṁtreṇa bhakṣaṇa-varjaṁ sāṅgam pradhānam kartavyam | athavā  
 yājyā-puronuvākyaḥ pūrvāhutam juhuyāt | athā 'hitāgner aparapakṣe  
 maraṇa-śaṁkā syāt tadā pakṣahoma-nyāyena 'vaśiṣṭha-'gnihotrā-'hutayo  
 darśeṣṭiś ca kartavyā | nā 'tra kālaniyamaḥ || evaṁ cāturmāsya-'ntarale  
 maraṇa-śaṁkāyām..... || maraṇa-śaṁkāyām karaṇa-'sambhave maraṇa-'naṁ-  
 taram apy..... kāryāni || <sup>319</sup> B āhatāgnibhiḥ C āhr (?) tāgnibhiḥ <sup>320</sup> BCD  
 pitṛmedhe tena <sup>321</sup> C yaṁ <sup>322</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 27 folg., wo die Fälle auf-  
 gezählt werden, in denen dem Agni vratabhṛt geopfert werden soll.  
<sup>323</sup> cf. oben 2. 1. <sup>324</sup> Gemeint ist der schon oben zitierte Spruch  
 = AV. XIX 59. 1. <sup>325</sup> RV. 8. 11. 1. <sup>326</sup> Diese und die in-  
 zwischenliegenden Worte liest A: syātām anyayor araṇyor vihutya ta B  
 syāt tayor araṇyor vihatyaṁ taṁ C syāt tayor ara vihr̥tya taṁ D syāt  
 tayor araṇyor vihr̥tyamta <sup>327</sup> Āśv. Prāy. 7a folg.: atha samārūdheṣv  
 agniṣv araṇīnāse 'gnyādheyam punarādheyam vā kartavyam | vahnīṣu  
 satsu araṇī-nāse prāyaścittam punar-ādhanā-varjam || araṇī-nāsa-nimittāni.  
 dāho maṁthanam ca || [Śloka:] manuṣyā-'sthi śavaṁ viṣṭhā rajo viṇ  
 mūtram eva ca svedo 'śru pūyikā śleṣma madyam cā 'medhyam ucyaṭe |  
 śṛgālā-'mṛtyaja-kuṇapa- pratilomaja- rajasvalā- sūtikā-patita- śūdra-vāyasa-  
 rāsabha- śūkara- kāka-kukkuṭādyāḥ || agnyādhanam go-pitṛ-yajñavarjam ||  
 baudhāyanānam tasya prathama[h] prayoga evā 'vaśyakatvāt || anyatarā-  
 'raṇī-nāse 'nyatarām chittvā araṇidvayam kṛtvā maṁthanam kartavyam  
 iti || araṇi etaḥ samspr̥ṣṭe bhavatam naḥ samanasav (VS. 5. 3) iti jale  
 nikṣipyā 'māvāsyāyām nave araṇi maṁtreṇa 'hr̥tya darśene 'ṣṭvā navā-

'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ prapatet<sup>328</sup> kā tatra prāyaścittih | spr̥tibhir  
 juhuyād<sup>329</sup> vāyave niyutvate yavāgūm<sup>330</sup> nirupyā<sup>331</sup> 'nyam  
 tadrūpaṃ tadvārṇam ālabhetā<sup>332</sup> | "jyenā 'bhigbhārya paryagni  
 kṛtvo 'pākurvītai | 'te<sup>333</sup> vai<sup>333</sup> devaspr̥tayo<sup>333</sup> | agneḥ te vācam  
 spr̥ṇomi svāhā | vātāt te prāṇam spr̥ṇomi svāhā | sūryāt te  
 cakṣu spr̥ṇomi svāhā | candrāt te mana spr̥ṇomi svāhā |  
 digbhyaḥ te jyoti<sup>334</sup> spr̥ṇomi svāhā | 'dbhyaḥ te rasam  
 spr̥ṇomi svāhā | 'sthībhyas te majjānam spr̥ṇomi svāhā | sne-  
 hebhyas te snāvānam spr̥ṇomi svāhau | 'śadhībhyas te lomāni

'raṇyor agnīn maṃtreṇa samāropya maṃthanasyā "vṛtā mathitvā tantu-  
 matīm iṣṭīm kuryāt | agnis tantumān devatā | tantum tanvan . . . priyaṃ  
 (RV. 10. 53. 7) sā-'nvāharya-śarāva-parimita odano dakṣiṇā śeṣam (?) paurṇa-  
 māsavat | atha vahnīṣu satsu jīṇā-'raṇi-prāyaścittam || jaṃtubbir maṃ-  
 thanena jirṇe araṇī vijayete | tat-sadr̥ṣe nave araṇī maṃtreṇa āhṛtyā  
 'māvāsyāpratipadi darsene 'ṣṭvā jīṇāraṇī śalkikṛtya gārhapatyē kṣiptvā  
 prajvalya dakṣiṇa-kareṇa navo-'ttarā-'raṇim savyenā 'dharā-'raṇim ādāya  
 agner upari dhārayan niṣṭapati || udbudhyasvā 'gne praviśasva yonim  
 anyāṃ devayajyāyāṃ vai jatavedaḥ | arāṇyā 'raṇim anusamkramasva  
 jīṇāni nūm (?) ajīṇayā nudasva || tato ["]yaṃ te yonir ṛtviyo . . . . .  
 'gīrah (RV. 3. 29. 10) || iti samāropya mathitvā 'gnīn vihṛtya manasvatyā  
 caturgr̥hīta-homaḥ || tantumatī-'ṣṭīm pūrṇāhutīm vā kuryāt || ukta-nimi-  
 ttair araṇī-nāṣe pratyakṣa-vahnir yadi naśyet tadā 'gny-ādhānam iti bau-  
 dhāyanah | mūtra-vid-retaś-ci[t]ti-kāṣṭha-śleṣma-pūty-aśru-karpaṭa-'sthy-ādi-  
 bhir amedhyair agnisamsarge samāropya mathitve 'ṣṭih | tasyām devatā  
 agnir pavamānaḥ || agnir pāvakaḥ || agniḥ śucir iti || pūrṇāhutayo vā  
 aśaktau punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ (samim̐dhatām) punar brāhmaṇo  
 vasunītha *rudraiḥ* ghṛteṇa tvam tanuvo vardhayaṣva satyāḥ samtu yaja-  
 manasya kāmā (VS. 12. 44) iti maṃtreṇo 'pasamim̐dhanam kuryāt | uda-  
 kabim̐du-pāte 'py etad eva || caṇḍāla-patita-rajasvalā-sūtikasya [spa]r̥ṣe  
 agnyādheyam || caturdine snānāmaṃtaram spar̥ṣe samāropya mathitvā  
 'gnaye śucaye 'ṣṭākāpālam nirvapet || pūrṇāhutīm vā || cf. Agn. Prāy. 13 b:  
 agniṣv arāṇyoḥ samārūḍheṣv arāṇyor nāṣe 'gnyādheyam punarādheyam  
 vā karttavyaṃ | anyatarā-'raṇī-nāṣe 'pi bhavati | Der in obigen Zitaten  
 erwähnten Verunreinigung des heiligen Feuers gedenkt unser Traktat  
 nicht ausführlicher; dagegen sprechen z. B. Agn. Prāy. 19 a von einem  
 udakā-"dinā 'gny-upagāta-prāyaścittam | : punas tvā . . . kāmā (VS. 12. 44)  
 iti samit-praksepah || und von Selbstentzündung des Opferfeuers der  
 gleiche Text ibid.: svayam-prajvalana-prāyaścittam | uddīpyasva . . . .  
 paripātaye 'ti (TA. 10. 1. 4. 5) pratimaṃtram ekaikaṃ samidham ādadhāt  
 (m)agnihotra-prārabdha-karmasu | ā samāpter.

<sup>328</sup> cf. unten 5. 5.<sup>329</sup> Vgl. hierzu Ś. Br. 11. 8. 4. 6; K. Ś. 25. 6.<sup>330</sup> BC yavāstam.<sup>331</sup> A nirupyā B tiruhyā CD nirupyām.<sup>332</sup> Das<sup>333</sup> Entfliehen und Zugrundegehen des Opfertieres erheischt Söhne: K. Ś. 25. 9. 1; cf. unten 6. 7: aśvamedhe ced aśvo nā "gacchet . . .<sup>333</sup> A<sup>334</sup> 'kurvīteyaiva devaspr̥ta tayo B 'kurvīteyotavai CD 'kurvītenyotavai<sup>334</sup> A jyoti, verändert in digbhya BCD diśam

spr̥ṇomi svāhā | pr̥thivyās te śarīraṃ spr̥ṇomi svāhā | 'ntari-  
kṣāt<sup>335</sup> ta ākāśaṃ spr̥ṇomi svāhā | mānuṣāt<sup>336</sup> ta ākāśād di-  
vyam<sup>337</sup> ākāśaṃ spr̥ṇomi svāhe | 'ndrāt te<sup>335</sup> balaṃ spr̥ṇomi  
svāhā | somāt te rājñāḥ<sup>338</sup> kirttiṃ<sup>339</sup> yaśaś ca spr̥ṇomi svāhe |  
'ti ca hutvā 'thai 'naṃ punaḥ pradiśati vāyave tve<sup>340</sup> 'ty |  
atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśur mriyeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ |  
spr̥tibhir eva hutvā 'thai 'naṃ anudiśaty ṛtave tve<sup>341</sup> 'ty |  
atha yasyo 'pākṛtaḥ paśuḥ samśīryeta kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ |  
spr̥tibhir eva<sup>342</sup> hutvā 'thai<sup>342</sup> 'naṃ anudiśati | rakṣobhyas  
tve 'ti | nā 'nudeśanam ity āhur | yo vā eṣa prapatito bha-  
vati tad yad enam adhigacheyur<sup>343</sup> atha tena yajetā | 'tha  
yāv<sup>344</sup> etau śirṇa-mṛtau bhavatas<sup>344</sup> tayoh prajñātāny avadā-  
nāny avadāye 'tarasya vā paśoh sampraīṣaṃ kṛtvā brāhmaṇān  
paricareyur apo vā 'bhyupahareyuh spr̥tibhir<sup>345</sup> | yadi vā 'nyaḥ  
syā[c]<sup>346</sup> chāmitram<sup>346</sup> enam prāpayeyus<sup>347</sup> . . . . spr̥tibhir eva  
hutvā śāmitram evai 'naṃ prāpayeyur | ata ūrdhvaṃ pra-  
siddhaḥ paśubandho | 'tha ya upatāpinam yājayet<sup>348</sup> kā tatra  
prāyaścittiḥ | spr̥tibhir eva hutvā 'gado haiva<sup>349</sup> bhavaty | atha  
ced bahava upatāpiṇaḥ syuh kā tatra prāyaścittiḥ | spr̥tibhir  
eva hutvā 'gado hai 'va bhavaty | atha yo 'dhiśrite 'gnihotre  
yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat paryā-  
dadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ saṃdahyete<sup>350</sup> 'ty | athā "havanīya  
ājyāhutim juhuyād | yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamāna<sup>351</sup> | ity etaya

<sup>335</sup> A liest statt dieser und der inzwischenliegenden Worte nur:  
'ntarikṣā śamspr̥ṇomi svāhā tte; BC lesen statt 'ndrāt te: 'ndrādhi  
D: 'ndrādvi <sup>336</sup> BC manuṣāt <sup>337</sup> C divām;  
D divam

<sup>338</sup> A rājā BCD rājñā <sup>339</sup> ACD kirttir B kirtti  
<sup>340</sup> V. S. 7. 7. <sup>341</sup> A ṛtam vetyety BCD ṛtave tvety  
atha

<sup>342</sup> Bei A verderbt. <sup>343</sup> D adhivyāyacheyur BC  
adhivyāgacheyur; vyā offenbar nur dittographisch aus dhi entwickelt.

<sup>344</sup> Statt dieser und der inzwischenliegenden Worte liest A yāceto sau  
śirṇamṛto bhavata BC yācai [C vai] taugnu śirṇa (C rṇṇa) mṛtau bha-  
vatas; D yā vaitāgnau śirṇamṛtau bhavataḥ <sup>345</sup> A catasr̥tibhir C  
spr̥tibhi <sup>346</sup> BCD 'syām amitram <sup>347</sup> Das folgende, im Text Aus-  
gelassene ist ganz verderbt: A tad āha śaṃ vai saṃdhriyaṃ ca haratīty  
atha nu katham iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājya vahanti B tadāha śaṃ vī saṃdhī  
'yaṃ ca haratī 'ty atha nu kam iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājya vaharanti C tadā  
śaṃ vī saṃdhriyaṃ ca haratīty atha nu katham iti tat paṃcāsapaṃcājya  
vaharanti; D tad āha śaṃ cī sadhriyaṃ ca haratīty atha nu katham iti  
tat paṃcāsapaṃcājyavaharamti; l. etwa: tad āha śamyu sadhryāṇcaṃ  
haratī 'ty | atha nu katham iti paṃcāsa-paṃcāsa (?) vahanti <sup>348</sup> A  
yojayet <sup>349</sup> haiva fehlt bei ABC. <sup>350</sup> cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2.

<sup>351</sup> AV 18. 4. 13.

rcā | 'tha ya aupavasathye<sup>352</sup> 'hani yajamāno mriyeta katham  
 tatra kuryāt | tatrai 'vai 'tat pradadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ  
 samdahyete 'ty | athā 'havanīya ājyāhutim juhuyād | yajña  
 eti vitataḥ kalpamāna<sup>351</sup> ity etayarcā | 'tha yaḥ samāsa-  
 nneṣu<sup>353</sup> haviṣṣu yajamāno mriyeta katham tatra kuryāt |  
 tatrai 'vai 'tat<sup>354</sup> paryādadhyād yathā sarvaśaḥ samdahye-  
 rann ity | athā 'havanīya ājyā-'hutim juhuyād | ape 'mam  
 jīvā arudhan grhebhya<sup>355</sup> | ity etayarcā | 'tha yo dikṣito  
 mriyeta katham enam daheyus | tair evā 'gnibhir ity āhur |  
 havyavāhanās cai 'te me<sup>356</sup> bhavanti tat kavyavāhanā ity | atha  
 nu katham iti | śakṛtpiṇḍais tistra ukhāḥ<sup>357</sup> pūrayitvā tāḥ  
 prādadh[us] | tā dhūnuyus | tā<sup>358</sup> susaṃtāpā ye<sup>358</sup> 'gnayo<sup>358</sup>  
 jāyeraṃs taiḥ samāpnuyuh | bahir<sup>359</sup> vā evaṃ (bhavan)ti  
 te no vai 'te | tasya<sup>359</sup> tad eva brāhmaṇam yad adah<sup>360</sup>-puraḥ<sup>361</sup>  
 savane<sup>361</sup> pitṛmedha<sup>362</sup> āśiṣo<sup>363</sup> vyākhyātās | tam yadi pu-  
 rastāt tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād vasiṇām tvā devā-  
 nām vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | gāyatriṃ parśam<sup>364</sup> adhaḥśirā  
 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yadi dakṣiṇatas tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam  
 brūyād rudrāṇām tvā devānām vyātte<sup>365</sup> 'pi dadhāmi | traiṣṭu-  
 bhīm<sup>366</sup> parśam<sup>367</sup> adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yadi paścāt  
 tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād ādityānām tvā devānām  
 vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | jāgatiṃ parśam<sup>368</sup> adhaḥ-<sup>368</sup> śirā 'vapadyasve  
 'ti | tam yady uttaratas tiṣṭhantam upavadet tam brūyād<sup>369</sup> |  
 viśveṣām tvā devānām vyātte 'pi dadhāmi | ānuṣṭubhīm parśam  
 adhaḥśirā 'vapadyasve 'ti | tam yady antardeśebhyo vā tiṣṭha-

<sup>352</sup> A upavasathye, verändert in au\*; BC pavasathye D apavasathye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. <sup>353</sup> A yaḥ samāsattreṣu B masamāsam neṣu; C samā-

sasattreṣu D mamāsanneṣu; unsere Lesung nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. <sup>354</sup> A tat  
<sup>355</sup> AV. 18. 2. 27. <sup>356</sup> D ne <sup>357</sup> Die Mss. scheinen uṣāḥ zu lesen.

<sup>358</sup> A tāhsusaṃtāpayed agnaye BD tāmaṃsaṃtāpaye gñayo C tāmaṃ  
 saṃtānaṃ saṃtāpāye gñayo <sup>359</sup> Bloße Wiedergabe einer kaum ver-  
 ständlichen und jedenfalls sehr korrupten Stelle nach Ms. A. B barhiṣy  
 eva bhavanti no vai te tasya C barhir vā eva bhavanti tenodaite tasya  
 D teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavati teno vai te tasya; i. etwa:  
 teno ete yad adobarhiṣā vā eva bhavanti teno vai te? <sup>360</sup> D ahaḥ

<sup>361</sup> AB purasavane <sup>362</sup> A pitṛmedhā <sup>363</sup> A āśiṣo  
 B āśiṣo cf. Gop. Br. 1. 5. 22. <sup>364</sup> D parśam <sup>365</sup> In den  
 Mss. vyātte = vyādatte; so D an dieser Stelle und bei allen ihren  
 Wiederholungen. <sup>366</sup> B traiṣṭubham C bhā <sup>367</sup> BC pariṣamdhāḥ

<sup>368</sup> B paviṣāmadhaḥ C pariṣāmadhaḥ <sup>369-370</sup> A läßt diese und die in-  
 zwischenliegenden Worte aus.

ntam upavadet tam brüyāt<sup>370</sup> . . . . . | tasmai namas kuryāt | sa cet prati namas kuryāt kuśalenai 'vai 'nam<sup>371</sup> yojayet<sup>372</sup> | sa<sup>373</sup> cen<sup>373</sup> na<sup>373</sup> prati namas kuryāt tenā 'bhicaret | savyam<sup>374</sup> agranthinā prasavyam agnibhiḥ pariyād<sup>375</sup> | vatsaro 'si<sup>375</sup> parivatsaro 'si samvatsaro 'si<sup>376</sup> 'ti | tam<sup>377</sup> yadi<sup>377</sup> jighāmsed<sup>377</sup> yayoh<sup>377</sup> sarvam iti sūktena bādhakīḥ<sup>378</sup> samidho 'bhyādadhyāt | tṛtīyāham nā 'tījivaty<sup>379</sup> | atha yo hotā 'rddhahuta ucchiṣṭaḥ<sup>380</sup> syāt<sup>380</sup> sabaiva tenā 'camyā 'gnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastad<sup>381</sup> ity etām japtvā yathā-rtham kuryād yathārtham kuryāt || 9 || iti yājñaprāyaścitte dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ<sup>382</sup> ||

athā 'to somarūpāni vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | prajāpatir manasi | sārvasvato vāci<sup>383</sup> visrṣṭāyām<sup>383</sup> | vidhānam<sup>384</sup> dikṣāyām | brahmavrate savitā<sup>385</sup> samdhīyamāne<sup>386</sup> 'ndho 'cheto<sup>386</sup> divyaḥ<sup>387</sup> suparnaḥ parikhyāto | 'ditiḥ prāyaṇīye<sup>388</sup> | paśuṣṭhā nyuputo<sup>389</sup> | yajño<sup>390</sup> hūyamāno<sup>391</sup> | bhadro viciyamānaḥ<sup>392</sup> | chamdāmsi miyamāno<sup>393</sup> | bhagaḥ paṇyamāno | 'surah krīto | varuṇo 'pasamnaddhaḥ | pūṣā somakrayaṇe<sup>394</sup> | śipiviṣṭo 'rāv<sup>395</sup> āsādyamāno<sup>395</sup> | brhaspatir utthito | vāyur<sup>396</sup> abhīhriyamāno<sup>397</sup> | 'dhipatiḥ prohyamāno | 'gniṣomīyaḥ paśav<sup>398</sup> | atithi<sup>399</sup> (rudro | varuṇaḥ<sup>400</sup>) sadātithye | varuṇaḥ samrād | āsadyām<sup>401</sup> āsādyamāna<sup>401</sup> | aindraḡno<sup>402</sup> 'gnau<sup>403</sup>

<sup>370</sup> Den zweifellos hier fehlenden Spruch haben sämtliche Mss. ausgelassen.

<sup>371</sup> A kuśalam evainaṃ C kuśalenaiteṇaṃ <sup>372</sup> D yājayet

<sup>373</sup> A sa vemta B sa ce tan ra C sa cenra; D sa cet <sup>374</sup> fehlt bei B.

<sup>375</sup> Bei BCD fehlt: pariyād vatsaro si <sup>376</sup> VS 27. 45. <sup>377</sup> A

tayamdirjighāmsaghamyoh BCD tam yadi jighāmsavyayoh <sup>378</sup> Verwendung des bādhaka-Holzes bei bösem Zauber: s. Pet. Wb. u. bādhaka und die allerdings unklare Stelle AP 24. 1. 6. <sup>379</sup> CD nātījivaty

<sup>380</sup> A utsiṣṭhasyāt BC u(c)chiṣṭa syāt l.: uttiṣṭhāset (vgl. PW.) <sup>381</sup> AV. 19. 17. 1.

<sup>382</sup> D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścittaprasaṃge daśamo 'dhyāyaḥ || <sup>383</sup> vāvivisrṣṭāyām C vaccivi° <sup>384</sup> D vidhāna

<sup>385</sup> D savitāram <sup>386</sup> Texte unklar 'māne adaste? 'māne a-uste?

<sup>387</sup> C divyam <sup>388</sup> C prāyaṇīyo B prāyaṇi <sup>389</sup> So nach BC.

<sup>390</sup> C yajñe <sup>391</sup> D 'māne <sup>392</sup> ABCD vai bhī° <sup>393</sup> AD vai

miyamāno BC vai mīmāno <sup>394</sup> ABC 'nā D 'nam <sup>395</sup> A 'ṣṭor āsā°;

BCD 'ṣṭorāvasā°; sprachlich möglich wäre es, statt ūrāv: ūrū zu rekonstruieren, unter Anwendung eines anfechtbaren Sandhi also zu lesen: 'ṣṭo 'rv āsā°; vgl. śipiviṣṭa āsāditaḥ TS. 4. 4. 9. 1 K. Ś. 34. 14. <sup>396</sup> C dhasur°

<sup>397</sup> A abhidbhīyamāno B abhīhriyamāno CD abhīhriyamāno <sup>398</sup> BCD

paśave <sup>399</sup> A ātithye <sup>400</sup> BCD vāruṇaḥ <sup>401</sup> B āsadyām vatsādyamāna C āsamccāvatsādyamāna D āsamdyāvatsādyamāna <sup>402</sup> ABC 'gnau

<sup>403</sup> ABCD lassen 'gnau weg.

mathyamāna | aindrāgno 'gnau<sup>404</sup> prañīyamāne<sup>404</sup> | sāma<sup>405</sup>  
 tñnūnaptre<sup>405</sup> | tapo 'vāntaradikṣāyām | prthivy upasady | anta-  
 rikṣam upasadi | dyaup upasadi | yajñasya pramā<sup>406</sup> 'bhimo  
 'nmā<sup>406</sup> pratimā vedyām kriyamāṇāyām | paśava uttarave-  
 dyām | dyaup havirdhāne | 'ntarikṣam āgnīdhriye | prthivi  
 sadasi || 1 || prāṇa uparaveṣu | bhrātrvyā dhiṣṇyeṣu | paśavo  
 barhiṣi<sup>407</sup> | vedyām stīryamāṇāyām | apsu<sup>408</sup> visarjane<sup>408</sup> | pra-  
 jāpatir hriyamāno<sup>409</sup> | 'gnir āgnīdhriye | vaiṣṇava āsanna-  
 karmani | hasto viśṣṭo<sup>410</sup> | vaiṣṇavo yūpa | oṣadhayo raśanā-  
 yām<sup>411</sup> | medha āpriṣu<sup>412</sup> | haviḥ paryagnikṛtaḥ<sup>413</sup> | pitṛde-  
 vatyah paśau samjñāpyamāne | yajñasya mithunam pannejane-  
 ṣu<sup>414</sup> | rakṣasām bhāgadheyam vapāyām<sup>415</sup> udgrhyamāṇāyām |  
 yajñasya samtatir vasatīvarīṣv abhihriyamāṇāsv<sup>416</sup> | indrā-  
 gnyor dhenur dakṣiṇasyām<sup>417</sup> uttaravedi<sup>418</sup>-śronyām<sup>419</sup> avasā-  
 dayati<sup>420</sup> | mitrāvaruṇayor dhenur | uttarasyām uttara-  
 vedi<sup>418</sup>-śronyām<sup>419</sup> avasādayati<sup>421</sup> | viśveṣām devānām āgni-  
 dhriye | chandāmsy upavasathe<sup>422</sup> | havir upāvahṛtaḥ<sup>423</sup> |  
 sārāsvataḥ<sup>424</sup> prātaranuvāke | 'tharvā 'bhyuptaḥ | prajāpatir  
 vibhajyamāne | devatā vibhakte | 'ndro vṛtrahe 'ndro<sup>425</sup> 'bhi-  
 mātihendro<sup>426</sup> indro vṛtratur<sup>427</sup> unñīyamāna | āyur upāṃśv<sup>428</sup>-  
 antaryāmayor | yamo 'bhihitaḥ || 2 || nibhūyapurādhāva-  
 niye<sup>429</sup> supūtaḥ pūtabhṛti suśukra<sup>430</sup>-śrīr<sup>431</sup> mamtha<sup>432</sup>-śrīḥ

404 fehlt bei A; D 'gno 405 A sārāsvato nupāpte B sāsati  
 nūpāpte C sāsati yāpte; D sāsati taghrāme 406 A pramā-  
 bhimatōnmā pratimā vedyantarikṣam upasadi dyaup upasadi yajñasya  
 pramābhimatōnmā pratimā B setzt an Stelle dieser Wiederholung:  
 pramādisamonmā C pramāhisamonmā; D pramābhimate hi mā 407 ABC  
 barhiṣu 408 A āsuvisarjane C apśutisarjane 409 A  
 hīyamāne C hriyamāne D hriyamāno 410 C tiśṣṭo 411 B  
 raśanāyām C raśanāyām 412 D āpriṣya 413 A  
 paryagnittatam 414 ABCD patnija° 415 A capāpam  
 B vāmāyām 416 A abhidriyamāṇāsv B abhihriyamāṇāsv  
 D abhihriyamāṇāmsv 417 D uttarasyām; vielleicht besser.  
 418 B 'vedih 419 ABC 'nyām 420 A vacasam  
 nodayati D vamaśam nodayati BC vasamnodayati; vielleicht die Lesart  
 von BC (vasan no 'da') beizubehalten. 421 B vasannodayati  
 D vedinodayati (sic!) C vasamnodayati A avasādayati; vielleicht auch  
 hier mit BC zu lesen. 422 BC upavasatho; D upavathyo  
 423 A upāvahataḥ B upāhataḥ C upāvahūtaḥ D ūvahataḥ 424 C  
 sārāsvataḥ 425 fehlt bei B. 426 A bhimātir°  
 D bhimater° 427 A vṛtraghna D vṛtraghnir 428 B  
 upāṃśv 429 AD nidhāya° 430 BC śukrah 431 C  
 śrī 432 A matha D mayah

saktuśrīḥ kṣīraśrīḥ kakubhaḥ pātreṣu <sup>433</sup> | vāyur bahiṣpa-  
 vamāne <sup>434</sup> | hotrā <sup>435</sup> pravare | vasavaḥ prayājeṣu | yaddevatyah  
 somas <sup>436</sup> taddevatyah <sup>436</sup> paśur | vaiśvadeva unniyamāna <sup>437</sup> |  
 aindrāgna unnito | rudro hūyamāno | vāto māruto gaṇo <sup>438</sup>  
 'bhyāvṛtto | nṛcakṣāḥ <sup>439</sup> pratikhyāto <sup>440</sup> | bhakṣo bhakṣyamā-  
 naḥ | sakḥā <sup>441</sup> bhakṣitaḥ | pitaro nārāsaṃsā <sup>442</sup> | [ā]gneyam  
 prātaḥsavanam | aindram mādhyamdinam savanam | yajño  
 dakṣiṇāyām | aindrāṇi pṛsthāni | vaiśvadevaṃ tṛtiya-sava-  
 nam | vaiśvānaro 'gniṣtomam | aindrāvaruṇam maitrāvaruṇa-  
 syo 'ktham <sup>443</sup> bhavaty | aindrābārhaspatyam <sup>444</sup> brāhmaṇā-  
 cchamsina uktham <sup>445</sup> bhavaty | aindrāvaiṣṇavam achāvākasyo  
 'ktham <sup>446</sup> bhavaty | aindraḥ ṣoḍaśīratraḥ <sup>447</sup> | paryāyā <sup>448</sup>  
 'gneyo <sup>448</sup> | rāthamtarah sandhiḥ <sup>449</sup> | sauryam āśvinam <sup>450</sup> | ahar  
 yajña | ādityā anuyājeṣu | yad antarā kriyate sa samudro | varuṇo  
 'vabhrthe <sup>451</sup> | samudra rjīṣe | yad <sup>452</sup> avāre <sup>452</sup> tīrtham <sup>452</sup> tat  
 prāyaṇiyam | yat pāre tad udayaniyam <sup>453</sup> | vaiṣṇavo vaśāyām |  
 svar divi | kāsū <sup>454</sup> brahma <sup>454</sup> samīṣṭyām <sup>454</sup> || 3 || yasyā <sup>455</sup>  
 yasyā <sup>455</sup> 'mtataḥ <sup>455</sup> somo vṛpadyeta tasyai tasyai devatāyā <sup>456</sup>  
 iṣṭim nirvaped ājyahomān vā | 'tha juhuyāt | tvām <sup>457</sup> yajño  
 viṣṇur <sup>458</sup> iti ca | tvām yajño viṣṇur yajña-viṣṇu anūnam <sup>459</sup>  
 hitvā <sup>460</sup> ātmānam deveṣu vidayāmiti <sup>461</sup> | vanaspate <sup>462</sup> 'mta-  
 taḥ <sup>463</sup> syā 'nuṣṭubham chaṃdaso yaṃ tam abhyukta etena  
 saṃdadhāmī 'ti saṃdhāya yaṃ me skannam <sup>464</sup> iti skanne |  
 yad asmṛti <sup>465</sup> 'ti ca karmaviparyāse 'ti <sup>466</sup> ca <sup>466</sup> tad <sup>466</sup> yad <sup>466</sup>

<sup>433</sup> C pavitreṣu  
 vgl. Kāth.: hotrāḥ.

<sup>434</sup> ABC barhi°

<sup>435</sup> B hotrāḥ C hotra;

<sup>436</sup> fehlt bei D

<sup>437</sup> C °ne

<sup>438</sup> gaṇe <sup>439</sup> AC nṛcakṣā <sup>440</sup> A praticakṣāto; dann folgt bei A bhakṣo  
 bhakṣīyamānaḥ sarvobhakṣitaḥ B bhakṣo yamānaḥ savobhakṣitaḥ C bhakṣo  
 bhakṣīyamānaḥ savobhakṣita <sup>441</sup> A sarvo BC savo D sayo.

<sup>442</sup> C nārāyaṇaṃsā <sup>443</sup> AC °varuṇasyo 'chaṃ B °syecchu <sup>444</sup> B °bār-  
 haspatye <sup>445</sup> AC ucchaṃ B uccha <sup>446</sup> ABC chaṃ <sup>447</sup> A ṣoḍa-

śārātrīḥ BCD ṣoḍaśīratrī <sup>448</sup> ABCD paryāyāgneyo <sup>449</sup> A saṃdhi  
 BC saṃdhīryā <sup>450</sup> A āśvina <sup>451</sup> A vabhrthe <sup>452</sup> A yad avāre

tīrtham B yad ācātīreryam CD yad ācāre tīrtham <sup>453</sup> A udayatiyam  
 B udaniyam <sup>454</sup> B kāsūbrahmāmīṣṭyā C kāsūbrahmāsamīṣṭyam; D kāsū-

brahmanyām iṣṭyam <sup>455</sup> A yasyām yasyām amṛtataḥ C yasyā yasyā tataḥ;  
 D yasyām yasyā amṛtataḥ <sup>456</sup> C devatāyāḥ <sup>457</sup> D tvā <sup>458</sup> Korrupt.

<sup>459</sup> D ān (mit Virāma) <sup>460</sup> A hatvā <sup>461</sup> A devayāmiti <sup>462</sup> D °ti  
<sup>463</sup> BD °mtata <sup>464</sup> Kauś. 6. 1 f.; Vait. 16. 17. <sup>465</sup> AV 7. 106. 1.

<sup>466</sup> A karmaviparyāsetayad rktam om B karmaviparyāsetoti yacacadaṅka om  
 C karmaviparyāseti ya ca yaddrktā tu; D karmaviparyāseti ya cad rktā.  
 Zum folg. vgl. Gop. Br. 1. 3. 3.

rakta<sup>466</sup> om<sup>466</sup> bhūr janad<sup>467</sup> iti gārhapatyē juhuyād | yadi  
 yajusṭa<sup>468</sup> om<sup>468</sup> bhuvo<sup>469</sup> janad<sup>470</sup> iti dakṣiṇāgnau juhuyād |  
 yadi sāmata<sup>471</sup> om svar janad<sup>470</sup> ity āhavanīye juhuyād |  
 yady atharvata<sup>472</sup> om bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad om ity āha-  
 vanīya eva juhuyād | atha daivatāny | āgneyam hautram |  
 vāyavyam ādhvaryavam | sauryam audgātram | cāndramasam  
 brahmatvam | tasya ha vā agnir hotā "sīd | vāyur adhvaryuḥ |  
 sūrya udgātā | cāndramā brahmā<sup>473</sup> | prthivī vā rcām<sup>474</sup> āya-  
 tanam | agnir jyotir antarikṣam (vai)<sup>475</sup> yajusām āyatanam<sup>476</sup> |  
 vāyur jyotir dyaur<sup>477</sup> (vai)<sup>475</sup> sāmnam āyatanam | āditya  
 jyotir āpo 'tharvaṇām āyatanam<sup>475</sup> candramā jyotir iti  
 ca || 1 || atha yad avocāmā<sup>478</sup> "pattau<sup>479</sup> somam<sup>480</sup> ce 'ti<sup>481</sup>  
 yajamānam ced<sup>482</sup> rājānam<sup>482</sup> stena<sup>483</sup> ha vā prathamaś<sup>484</sup>  
 cā "hareyuś cittavyāpatyur<sup>485</sup> vā bhaved<sup>486</sup> | ity āhā 'śmara-  
 thyo | ne | 'ty āhatuḥ kṇva-gopāyanau | yadai 'va karmā 'bhy<sup>487</sup>  
 adhvaryur<sup>487</sup> vihitas<sup>488</sup> tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty āpado  
 vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham atra<sup>489</sup> yajamānakarmāṇi  
 syur | upacārabhākṣapratīś<sup>490</sup> ce<sup>490</sup> | 'ty adhvaryur asya yaja-  
 māna<sup>491</sup> karmāṇi kuryād<sup>492</sup> | atra<sup>493</sup> yajamānā-"sane mār-  
 jāliye vā camasau nidhāya tatrā 'sya bhākṣakāle bhākṣāny  
 upasthāpayeyur ā samīṣṭa-yajuṣo homāt | prāk samīṣṭa-yajur<sup>494</sup>

<sup>467</sup> fehlt in ABCD. <sup>468</sup> A yajusṭham C yajusṭam <sup>469</sup> A bhuva  
<sup>470</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>471</sup> A sāmataṁ <sup>472</sup> A atharvatam; cf. Brāhm. Prāy.  
 5b: tatra bhūh svāhe 'ti gārhapatyē juhōti 'ti varttate | tathau(!) ttarayor  
 api yojyam | yajusṭo bhuva svāhe 'ti dakṣiṇāgnau sāmataḥ svāh svāhe  
 'ti dakṣiṇāgnau sāmataḥ svāh svāhe 'ty āhavanīye . . . . ibid. Bl. 6 a: tatrā  
 "dhānā-nukrameṇa pūrvam gārhapatyē dakṣiṇāgnāv āhavanīya iti homo  
 vidhiyate | ṛgvedā-"dīnām ca gārhapatyā-"dibhir abhisambandhaḥ | śru-  
 tyamtare ṛgvedo gārhapatyō yajurvedas tu dakṣiṇaḥ sāmavedas tu āhava-  
 nīyata iti | <sup>473</sup> Vgl. zu diesen Ausführungen KŚ 23. 1. 4—10.  
<sup>474</sup> kṣavām B unklar C yām <sup>475</sup> fehlt bei BCD <sup>476</sup> B fügt sāmnam ein.  
<sup>477</sup> CD dyauh <sup>478</sup> A avovāmā BC avocāmo <sup>479</sup> l.: [u]pattau?  
 Der folgende Passus ist ganz korrupt und mir völlig unverständlich.  
<sup>480</sup> AC saumam <sup>481</sup> D teti <sup>482</sup> A ced rājāna B cemḍ rājānam  
 C yemḍ rājānaḥ D camdrojānas <sup>483</sup> l. stena? <sup>484</sup> C pramas  
<sup>485</sup> l.: vittam? D vyapalyur <sup>486</sup> BC bhavedad D bhavamnyad <sup>487</sup> A  
 karmābhyadhvaryo BCD karmābhyuddhvaryau <sup>488</sup> A vihitat (?)  
<sup>489</sup> Bei ABC fehlt atra <sup>490</sup> A āpavarabhākṣapratīścety B upacāra-  
 bhākṣapratīścāity C upacārabhākṣapratīścety; l.: prāyaścittet? <sup>491</sup> BC  
 yajamānasya <sup>492</sup> ACD fügen hinter kuryād ein: adhy B acya <sup>493</sup> A  
 fügt hinter atra ein: bhākṣabhākṣaṇāyā B bhākṣabhākṣaṇāpāryā C bhak-  
 ṣabhākṣaṇāpāya D bhākṣabhākṣaṇāpāya l.: anyatra bhākṣabhākṣaṇāt  
 pāyaya? <sup>494</sup> BC "yajña D "yaju



homāc<sup>495</sup> ced<sup>495</sup> yajamāna<sup>495</sup> āgacchet samastān eva bha-  
kṣajapān japtvā bhakṣayec cheṣam | samāpyā 'vabhṛtham  
abhyupeyuh<sup>496</sup> || 5 || atha ha yaṁ<sup>497</sup> jīvan<sup>497</sup> na<sup>497</sup> śrutipatham  
gachet<sup>498</sup> kiyaṁtām asya kālam agnihotram juhuyur | yady  
eva hitam āyus tasyā 'śeṣam prasamkhyā[ya]<sup>499</sup> tāvantam<sup>500</sup>  
kālam<sup>500</sup> tad<sup>501</sup> asyā<sup>501</sup> 'gnihotram hutvā 'thā 'sya prāya-  
ñiyena pracareyur | vyākhyātaḥ pātraviniyogo<sup>502</sup> 'pi<sup>503</sup> yathai 'va  
śarirādarśane | sa cej jivann<sup>504</sup> āgachet<sup>504</sup> kātham vā proṣyā<sup>505</sup>  
"gatāya<sup>505</sup> yathākāryam<sup>505</sup> karmāṇi kuryāt | sa<sup>506</sup> cet svayam-  
uttha[h] syād punar asyā 'gnin ādhāyā 'dbhutāni<sup>507</sup> vācako  
japam | iti hutvā mārjayitvā tato 'yam āgataḥ karmāṇi kuryāt<sup>506</sup> |  
sa cet punar anuttha[h]<sup>508</sup> syāt<sup>508</sup> tathā samsthitam evā 'sya<sup>509</sup>  
tad agnihotram bhavati | jarāmaryam<sup>510</sup> vā etat sattram<sup>511</sup> yad  
agnihotram | iti ha śrutir bhavati<sup>512</sup> || 6 || atha ya<sup>513</sup>  
āhitāgnir<sup>513</sup> vipravasann agnibhiḥ pramiyeta<sup>514</sup> katham  
tatra pātraviniyogaṁ pratiyād | ity āhā 'smarathyo<sup>515</sup> | yady  
anyāni pātrāṇi yajñā-"yudhāni<sup>516</sup> 'ty upasādyā vihrtyā 'gnim  
āhrtya prajvālyā vihareyur nirmathyam<sup>517</sup> vā prajvālyā vihareḍ |  
ity etāvata 'mgaprabhṛtibhiḥ<sup>518</sup> samsthāpyai 'vaṁ pātraviniyo-  
gam ity anuchādayed<sup>519</sup> | yad yad utsannāḥ<sup>520</sup> syur vāraṇi-  
sahitāni<sup>521</sup> pātrāṇi | 'ty apsu samāvaped<sup>522</sup> | eṣā te 'gne<sup>523</sup> |

<sup>495</sup> A homādyajamāna <sup>496</sup> B upahareyuh C hareyuh <sup>497</sup> B jivantaḥ  
D jivanaḥ; (st. yaṁ l. yo) <sup>498</sup> Ein ähnlicher, z. B. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9  
erwähnter Fall ist der, daß man von dem Āhitāgni fälschlich hört, er sei  
gestorben; cf. (Āśv. Prāy. 8b): yasmimst āhitāgnau jivaty eva mṛtasabdhā  
śrūyeta | tadā 'gnaye surabhaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 14b: surabhaya  
eva yasmimś jīve mṛtasabdhā | yasminn āhitāgnau jivaty eva mṛta iti  
yadi śabdhā samjāyeta tadā surabhimatē 'ṣṭiḥ (!) kartavyā | <sup>499</sup> D  
'khyai <sup>500</sup> A ti varttamānakālam A tā vratam <sup>501</sup> A tasyā  
<sup>502</sup> A 'viniyoge <sup>503</sup> fehlt bei BCD <sup>504</sup> B jivanamntāgachet CD ji-  
vanam nā "gachet <sup>505</sup> A prokṣāgatakāyadhākāya B proṣyagata-  
kāya C proṣyagatakāyadhākāya; D proṣyāgatāya yathā kārya <sup>506</sup> Diese  
und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>507</sup> B ādhāy-  
āmbhutāni C ādhāyāhadbhutāni <sup>508</sup> Mss. unklar; sie lesen hinter  
uttha syād die Silbe at; C utthāsyād at. <sup>509</sup> BC syām <sup>510</sup> BC  
jarāmarya A jarāmardyam D jarāmaram <sup>511</sup> A sarvatra <sup>512</sup> D  
vadati <sup>513</sup> ABC yat tryāhitāgnir <sup>514</sup> cf. oben Anm. 308; —  
"agnibhiḥ" ist wohl zu streichen. <sup>515</sup> A 'smayorathyo B imayorathyo  
<sup>516</sup> A yajñāni yudhāni B yajāyudhānity <sup>517</sup> B nirmathyā <sup>518</sup> C  
'ngah prabhṛt <sup>519</sup> A anutsādayed B anuchādayed <sup>520</sup> A udet  
samnā B utthamntā C utsamnā D utthamntā; zu erwarten wäre etwa:  
mārttikāḥ cf. unten 6. 6. <sup>521</sup> C varuṇi; l.: varuṇa? <sup>522</sup> cf. oben  
Anm. 58. <sup>523</sup> VS 2. 14?

yo agnis<sup>524</sup> | tayā me<sup>525</sup> hy āroha tayā me hy āviśe<sup>526</sup> | 'ty a-  
śmamayāni vā<sup>527</sup> lohamayāni vā brāhmaṇebhyaḥ prada-  
dyād<sup>528</sup> | daśarātram niyatavratā[h] syuḥ | samvatsaram cā 'pi  
gotriṇa | ekādaśyām keśasmaśru-lomanakhāni<sup>529</sup> vāpayitvā |  
'dbhutāni prāyaścittāni<sup>530</sup> vācākām<sup>531</sup> japam iti hutvā mā-  
rjayitvā<sup>532</sup> tato yathāsukhacāriṇo<sup>533</sup> bhavanti || 7 || atha  
yady enam anāhitāgnim iva vrthā-'gninā<sup>534</sup> daheyur evam  
asyai 'śa<sup>535</sup> mṛtpātraviniyoge<sup>536</sup> | 'ti patnya<sup>537</sup> bhavati | 'ty  
āhā 'śmarathyo | ne 'ty āhatuḥ kāvagopāyanau | yadai 'va  
kārmā 'bhy<sup>538</sup> adhvaryur<sup>538</sup> vihitas tadai 'va sarvakratūn praty  
āpado vihitā | ity āhur ācāryā | atha katham asyaṁ āpattau  
yathai 'va śarirā-'darśane vā samāmnātānām āpadām<sup>539</sup> ka-  
tham tatra pātraviniyogam pratiyād ity āhā 'śmarathyo |  
'raṇyor agnīn samāropya śarirānām ardham . . . . . eṣā<sup>540</sup>  
tūṣṇīm nirmathya prajvālya vihrtya madhye 'gnīnām<sup>541</sup> edhāms<sup>541</sup>  
citvā darbhan samstīrya tatrā 'sya śarirāni nidadhyur | bhāru-  
ṇḍasūmāni gāpayed | yady<sup>542</sup> agāthāḥ<sup>543</sup> syād athā 'py asāma<sup>544</sup>  
kuryā[c] | | cbarirā-'darśane pālāsa-tsarūṇy<sup>545</sup> āhrtyā 'thai  
'tāni puruṣā-'kṛtīni kṛtvā ghṛt[en]ā 'bhyajya māmśa<sup>546</sup> tvag-  
asthy asya ghṛtam ca bhavati 'ti ha vi(r)jñāyate<sup>547</sup> | yady  
āhavanīyo deva lokam yadi dakṣiṇāgniḥ pitṛ lokam yadi gārha-  
patyo mānuṣya lokam | yadi yugapat sarveṣv asya<sup>548</sup> lokeṣv<sup>548</sup>  
avaruddham bhavati 'ti ha vijñāyate | tasmād yugapad  
eva sarvāmt sādāyitvā 'tha yady enam an[v]ālabheta punar  
dahet | stenam<sup>549</sup> iva<sup>549</sup> tv<sup>549</sup> eva brūyād | yat kiṁ cā 'vidhi-  
vihitam karma kriyate tasyai 'śai 'va sarvasya kṛptiḥ sarvasya  
prāyaścittiś ce | 'ti hi<sup>550</sup> śrutir bhavaty<sup>551</sup> | athā 'py atra 'gner

524 AV. 12. 2. 7? 525 B pre 526 s. Gop. Br. 2. 4. 9; Vait. S. 24. 14.  
527 BCD ca 528 Vgl. das unten unter 4. 1 und 6. 5 Gegebene; s. a.  
K. Ś. 25. 7. 32 folg. 529 BC roma° 530 D citta° 531 BCD  
kāṁ statt vācākām vgl. oben 3. 6: vācako japam 532 fehlt  
bei D 533 AB 'vāriṇo 534 bei D fehlt gñinā 535 B asyaivā;  
AC asyaishā D asyaishāt 536 bei D fehlt mṛt 537 A patrya;  
l.: pātriyo? 538 D karmābhy uddhvāryau 539 A āpadīm 540 eṣā  
unverständlich; davor jedenfalls eine Lücke; D eṣām 541 AD  
'nāmedhām B 'nām medhām C 'nāmedhyām 542 D yathā  
543 ABC agāthā D gāthā 544 B asama C asāme D asame  
545 so mit sämtlichen Mss., vgl. Āp. 9. 11. 23. K. Ś. 25. 8. 15. 546 BCD  
māmśam 547 cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 2. 548 A unklar B avasya lokeṣv  
549 D svenam ity 550 B ha 551 Hier endet nach D der Abschnitt 8;  
der Rest fehlt.

ayatā<sup>552</sup> somatanūr<sup>552</sup> bhavati | samanvāgamevāvām<sup>553</sup> kar-  
 masu samanv ā 'trā "gamayed | yat kimcid yajñe viriṣṭam  
 āpadyeta tasyai 'śai 'va sarvasya kṛptiḥ sarvasya prāyaścittīś  
 ce | 'ti hi śrutir bhavati || 8 || athā 'taḥ sattrīnām<sup>554</sup> vakṣyā-  
 maḥ | pravṛtte<sup>555</sup> tantre 'ntastantre vā grhapatir<sup>556</sup> upatā-  
 paḥ<sup>557</sup> yasyā<sup>558</sup> "yur<sup>559</sup> grhi[t]vā<sup>560</sup> 'nugacheḥ<sup>561</sup> kāmam  
 tasya putram bhrātaram vo 'padikṣya<sup>562</sup> samāpnuyur | (na<sup>563</sup>  
 samāpnuyur) | na<sup>563</sup> vā ṛtvijām cai 'kam iva<sup>564</sup> | ne 'ty<sup>564</sup> āhā  
 'śmarathyo | na hi grhapater<sup>565</sup> upadikṣā<sup>566</sup> vidyate | grhapatiḥ  
 samikṣya<sup>567</sup> yadi manyeta | jived ayam ahorātrāv ity ekāhāny  
 (ekadvivāsavane)<sup>568</sup> sarvāṇi savanāni samāveśayed | yasmims  
 tu samāveśayet tasya savanasya vaśam upayānti 'tarāṇi | sa-  
 vanāni nānātantrāṇi ced api bhavanti durgāpattau ca<sup>569</sup> sa-  
 māse<sup>569</sup> ve 'śtīnām<sup>570</sup> samāveśa[yed]<sup>571</sup> vakṣyakāmo<sup>571</sup> | yāḥ<sup>572</sup>  
 kās cai 'katantrā<sup>572</sup> iṣṭaya[h]<sup>573</sup> syur avyavahitāḥ<sup>574</sup> kāmam tā  
 ekatantrē<sup>575</sup> samāveśya haviṣām ānupūrvyena pracaret | prāk  
 sviṣṭakṛto<sup>576</sup> mukhaṁ tu pañcā-"jyā-"hutir juhuyād | agnaye  
 somāya viṣṇava indrāgnibhyām prajāpataya iti | yadi sauviṣṭa-  
 kṛtyā pracaranti khalu vai yadi bahūni vā sruveṇa yathāvadā-  
 nenā<sup>577</sup> 'tikrāmet || 9 || athā 'taḥ sa[t]triṇām vakṣyāmaḥ |  
 pravṛtte tantre samnaddhe-'dhmā-barhiṣi paścāc candramasam  
 paśyed | ya<sup>578</sup> eṣā 'mā(mā)vāsyāyām<sup>578</sup> āgneyaḥ puroḍaśas tam  
 pāthikṛtam<sup>579</sup> karoti prakṛtye 'taram vinai | 'tad yajñas chi-  
 dyate ya etām antareṣṭiṁ tanvite | 'ti hi śrutir bhavaty | atha

<sup>552</sup> l.: āpattau? so 'tanur? <sup>553</sup> B samalage vācām C saman-  
 vagevācā (tvā?) karma; sama tv āgamayed (vāvām) karmasu sāma vā 'trā  
 "gamayed || āgāpayed statt āgamayed zu lesen? also: im ersteren Falle  
 soll man zu ihm wie zu einem Diebe (d. h.: leise) reden? l.: samanv-  
 āgame vācām? <sup>554</sup> ABC sattrīnām <sup>555</sup> ABD  
 prakṛpte. <sup>556</sup> A ditt: grhapati <sup>557</sup> BD upatāpa <sup>558</sup> BCD syā  
<sup>559</sup> B "yu <sup>560</sup> B gahivā <sup>561</sup> CD "nugachaḥ; dem Wortlaut nach  
 für mich nicht rekonstruierbar. Dem Sinne nach: „Wenn der Hausherr  
 während oder nach Vollendung eines Opfers krank wird oder stirbt . . .“  
<sup>562</sup> B "padī C padikṣam <sup>563</sup> B ne C lākt na aus. <sup>564</sup> ABCD  
 ivānityā <sup>565</sup> ABCD\* tir <sup>566</sup> upadikṣya; A wiederholt die  
 Worte von samāpnuyur bis upadikṣā (sic!). <sup>567</sup> C samikṣā <sup>568</sup> Soll  
 wohl Glosse sein und gelautet haben: ekadivāsāni <sup>569</sup> A vasamāso  
 BCD casamāsau. <sup>570</sup> B vaiṣṭīnām <sup>571</sup> A sāmā° BC samāveśa-  
 vakṣakāmo <sup>572</sup> BC yāścaika° D kāscaikam° <sup>573</sup> B drṣṭayaḥ  
<sup>574</sup> A avyavahita BC avyaveditāḥ <sup>575</sup> B yekatantrai <sup>576</sup> ABCD  
 \*kṛta <sup>577</sup> C yathāvaidānenā <sup>578</sup> B yeṣamā° <sup>579</sup> B pakṛtam  
 C pavi(?)kṛtam

yasya paurṇamāsyam (vā<sup>580</sup>) vyāpadyeta kāmam tatra prā-  
krṭiḥ<sup>581</sup> kuryāt | tad<sup>582</sup> ya[h] kratur [dyāvāktrato vā vāyo]  
vidyate<sup>582</sup> 'tha nirvapaty | āgneyam aṣṭākapālam aindram  
ekādaśakapālam āsādy havīṃsi prāyaścittir<sup>583</sup> juhuyād | yad  
udagān mahato mahimā asya<sup>584</sup> māno asya jagataḥ pārthi-  
vasya mā naḥ prāpad uchunā<sup>585</sup> kācid anyā | kasmāi devāya  
haviṣā paridadema svāhe 'ty | athā 'taḥ paśubandhaḥ | pari  
yajnasya bhojyasya<sup>586</sup> bhojyavatkā<sup>587</sup> mo<sup>588</sup> ye<sup>589</sup> kecit ta-  
trasthāḥ paśavaḥ somakāriṇā<sup>590</sup> teṣāṃ bhakṣabhakṣaṇam | tad  
yathā | varāha-mārjā[ra]-māhiṣāṃ<sup>591</sup> śakuno<sup>592</sup> 'nyo 'vadānāni  
māmsāni jāṃgalāni ca yady aśiṣaḥ<sup>593</sup> syān māsi māsi śaddho-  
tāram juhuyāt | sūryam te cakṣur gacchatu vāto ātmānam  
prāṇo dyām prṣṭham antarikṣam ātmāngair yajñam prthivīm  
śariraiḥ vācaspate 'chidrayā vācā 'chidrayā juhvā devāvṛdham  
divi hotrām airayat svāhe 'ti śaddhotāram hutvā<sup>594</sup> prajā-  
patiḥ sarvam eve 'dam utsrjed | iti hi śrutir bhavati<sup>595</sup> || 10.  
(ity<sup>596</sup> atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta - prasamge ekā-  
daśo 'dhyāyaḥ<sup>595</sup> iti yajñaprāyaścitte tritīyo 'dhyāyaḥ sa-  
māptaḥ.

(sānnāyayam<sup>597</sup> yad udbo-) dhayeyuṣ<sup>598</sup> ced vatsā<sup>599</sup> vāyavyā-  
(yā)<sup>599</sup> yavāgvā<sup>599</sup> sā[nnāy]yam<sup>599</sup> yajetā<sup>600</sup> | 'py<sup>600</sup> ekasyā[m]

580 vā fehlt bei B. 581 AC prakṛti B kṛti 582 A  
liest statt dieser und der zwischenliegenden Worte: vā krator vā vāyo  
vidyata; D nahyakraudyāvāktrato vā vāyo vidyate; — statt ya kratur  
vermute ich: prakṛtir; möglich auch: tad yah kṛto vā yo vā 'kṛto vidyate  
583 A prāyaścittir B 'ścitti C 'ścitti; D 'ścittiḥ 584 A asyam; dieses  
Zitat ist für mich unermittelbar. 585 l.: uchunā? 586 fehlt bei B.  
587 l. vielleicht: bhuktā 588 l.: 'mī? 589 A pe 590 BD soma-  
kāriṇam 591 A '-māhiṣāṃ BC 'hiṣa; D 'hiṣu 592 B śakuno AD  
śakunā; zu erwarten wäre: māhiṣāṇām śakunānām 593 ACD 'śiṣa;  
gemeint ist etwa: aśiṣiṣuḥ; der Sinn des Satzes findet sich wieder z. B.  
Brāhm. Prāy. 77a: yadi śyeno vā mām[sam] haret | anyad vā sattvam  
anyad vā 'vadānam yad apā[nṛkṣac chakunir?] iti juhuyāt | jede Be-  
rührung durch räuberische Tiere wie z. B. die Krähe ominös: AP 37. 2. 1.  
594 ABC vibṛtvā K. Ś. 6. 1. 36. Zur Fassung dieses Textes gegenüber  
einer Reihe von anderen (s. Bloomfield, Conc. u.: vācaspate chidrayā...) neigen unsere Mss., wie die Lesungen von A: airaya B: airayam CD  
airayam beweisen. 595 Diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte fehlen  
bei A; D 'śaddhotāram hutvā prajāpatiḥ 596 fehlt bei A. 597 AD  
sāmājyam; cf. Āp. 9. 1. 24ff. 598 A udabodhayeyuṣ B udbhaddoyeyuṣ....  
599 B vatsāyāyavyāthavāgvāsānyam C vatsāvāyavyāyavāgvāsa; D vat-  
sāvāyavyāyā yavāgvā sāyam; zu diesem Abschnitt vgl. Āśv. 3. 13. 13 folg.  
600 AD 'tāth

dhitāyām adhitā dohayed | adhitābhiḥ samsthāpya<sup>601</sup> dhitanām  
vatsān<sup>602</sup> apākṛtya<sup>602</sup> śvaḥ<sup>603</sup> sāmñāyyena<sup>604</sup> yajeta<sup>605</sup> | sāyam-

<sup>601</sup> A samātha

<sup>602</sup> A vaśānapānkrtya B vatsānaśākṛta C ... tsāna-  
thākṛtyaḥ; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 17 b (äußerst korrupt); K.Ś. 25. 4. 39. <sup>603</sup> A  
sva B śruḥ

<sup>604</sup> A sāmñāyyena B sāmñāyyena CD sāmñāyyena

<sup>605</sup> Hierzu findet sich in dem Passus Brahm. Prāy. 17a folgende, durch  
Korruption fast jedes Wortes leider verschleierte Parallele (ich zitiere  
ohne Veränderung des Textes): yadi vatsā apākṛtā dhayeyuḥ tatra nā  
"dhānam vidhīyate | kiṃ tarhi mitratveno 'padiyate tatraidam prāyaś-  
cittam vaks[y]amānam bhavati | vatsaprahaṇam kiṃ vatsānādhāne prāyaś-  
cittam | mrgaṇāpaśūnāmdhāne prāyaścittam mā "bhud ity apākṛtā iti  
apākṛtair dhāne prāyaścittam | ... apare tu tatra dṛṣtvā tu vṛhīn eve  
'chanti vāyavye 'ti devatā-viśeṣa-niyamārtham | yavāgve 'ti ... var-  
ttamāne vatsān apākṛtya punar yajete 'ti ... vāyavyā yavāgvā praca-  
ryeta | ... nirvāpakalo na viśasyate | tatra nimittakāla eva nirvāpaḥ  
kuta etad gamyate | sāyamdohārttā vakṣyati indrāya vṛhīn nirvapeta  
śvobhūte teṣv anunirvaped iti ... śvobhūteṣv eva vṛhi-yaveṣu vā pra-  
kṛtebhyo 'gnyādibhyo 'nyādibhyo 'nunirvaped | ... sāmñāyyābhāvad dhotā  
nirgatayānābhuyuditeṣṭi yasya sāmñāyyam candramā abhyuditi darśa-  
nāt | ... vgl. oben 2. 1 u. Brahm. Prāy. 22a: sāyamdoham iti samastatā  
yam doham iti samasta-sāyamdohasyā 'pahāre doṣe vā dvaidhe dohanam (!)  
avayavāpahāraśeṣeṇa yāga eva bhavati | atha dvaidham dohane prasrute  
tatra dugdhāsu vatsā 'pakāraṇādi dvitīyasyām kubhyām dohaḥ kartta-  
vyah | ekasya dvayoḥ paśūnām vā ekaatra dugdhāsu vatsāpakāraṇādy  
anyasyām tāvatyo dugdhāseṣe dvaidham dohayet | dvaidham dugdhe ādya-  
sya sāyamdohasyo 'palanobhayoḥ pracāraḥ karttavayah | ... Bl. 22b: yadi  
sāyamdoha ārttiṃ nyād indrāya vṛhīn nirvapeta ... yadi sāyamdohe  
vatsā dhayeyuḥ prātardohārttiḥ syāt tatra vāyavyā puroḍāsau karttavayau |  
sāyamdoha-prātardohe dhīte puroḍāsau vāyavyā ca yadi sāyamdoha ārttir  
iti vṛihayo niruptā vijñānam pūrvā vatse dhīte indrāya vṛhīn yavān vā ...  
nirvāpaḥ karttavayah | yady ubhāv aindram paṃcaśāravam odanam pacet |  
yady ubhāv iti prakṛtau sāyamdohaprātardohau tau pratyavamṛsyete |  
yady ubhā[v a]rtti[m] niyetām . . ity arthaḥ | tatre 'dam prāyaścittam paṃ-  
caśāravam odanam pacet | yad iha vidhīyate yavāgūḥ puroḍāśaḥ pañca-  
śārāvo vā sarvaskanne naṣṭe duṣṭe ve 'ty asya yavād indrāye 'ti yamā-  
rtham ahamdrayājino 'pī 'ndrāyāgāvacanādyah prakṛto yogo yavāgū  
puroḍāśaḥ pañcaśārāvo vā tat-sambandho yāga syāt | — Bl. 24a: yasya  
sāmñāyyam haviś candramā abhyudiyāt vatsān u pratinudet sāyamdohe  
haviṛatamcanam vrato yathākālam yajeta ... Bl. 25a: dhīte [']dhīteṣv  
ārttigate vā vatsān apākṛtya punar yajet | cf. unten 5. 3 und Brahm.  
Prāy. 26b: yasya sāmñāyyam candramā abhyudita abhyuditasyā 'nantaram  
paśukāmo 'māvāsyam iṣṭvā tūṣṇīm sarvān vatsān apakaroti ... cf. Agn.  
Prāy. 6b: vatsānām dhāne vāyave yavāgūṃ | sāmñāyyā-rtham apākṛtānām  
vatsānām pāne(m) vāyu-devatyā yavāgūn nirūpya tayā yaṣṭāvyaḥ sarva-  
pāne etat prīyaścittam | pita-śiṣṭam eva haviṣaḥ paryamitam cet | vyāhrti-  
homa eva na yavāgūḥ | yavāgvā yāgaṃ kṛtvā punar yāgaḥ karttavayah |  
vgl. Ásv. Prāy. 3a: sāmñāyyārtham apākṛtānām sarvapāne vāyudevatyām

doham<sup>606</sup> ced<sup>606</sup> apahareyuh<sup>606</sup> prātardoham dvaidham krtvā 'nyatarat sāyamdohasthāne krtvo 'bhābhyām yajeta<sup>607</sup> | prātardoham<sup>608</sup> ced<sup>608</sup> apahareyuh sāyamdoham dvaidham<sup>609</sup> krtvā 'nyatarat<sup>610</sup> prātardohasthāne krtvo 'bhābhyām yajeto<sup>611</sup> | 'bhau ced duṣyeyātām aindraṃ pañcaśarāvam<sup>612</sup> odanam<sup>612</sup> nirupyā<sup>613</sup> "gneyena pracaryai "ndrenā 'nupracared uttarām upo 'śya(to) v(ād)o 'bhābhyām yajeta | sarvāṇi ced dhaviṃṣy apahareyur duṣyeyur<sup>614</sup> vā 'jyena ca devatā

yavāgūṃ nirupya śrapayitvā yaṣṭavyaṃ | sa tvam no ... (RV. 8. 26. 25) īśānāya prahutiṃ yas ... (RV. 7. 90. 2); vāy asi vā (RV. 10. 56. 3) iti yājñanuvākye | avadāna-paryāptene 'ṣṭvā punar yajeta |

<sup>606</sup> A sāyāmdoham vekṣasvahareyuh B sāyāmdoha cadepahareyuh <sup>607</sup>—<sup>611</sup> Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>607</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 68a: tathā 'nyatarauāṣe ekam api sa pūrva[ṇ] dvaidhikṛtya nirmathya ity eke; — zu dem ganzen Passus Ath. Prāy. 4. 1 vgl. Āp. Ś. 9. 1. 21 ff.; cf. Āsv. Prāy. 17 b: sāyāmdohe naṣṭe prātardoham dvaidhā vibhājyai 'kaṃ bhāgam ātaneya tabhyām yāgaṃ kuryāt || prātardohe naṣṭe tad-devatyam puroḍaṣam krtvā yāgaḥ || amikṣānāṣe 'py etat || tasyaḥ prātardoha-vikāratvāt || amikṣām eva utpādyā tayā yajete 'ti kecit || vājina-nāṣe ājyena yāgaḥ || sannāyē ubhaya-doṣe aindraṃ pañcaśarāvam odanam gārhapatyē śrapayitvā tene 'mdra-yāgaḥ || atra sarva-prāyaścittam viṣṇu-smaraṇam ca karyam | <sup>608</sup> A prātardhi cen <sup>609</sup> A cedvaidham B dvaidhyam C dvaidham <sup>610</sup> A 'nyatarata <sup>611</sup> A yajñeto B yajete <sup>612</sup> A pañcaśarāvodanam; cf. Āsv. 3. 10. 27; K. Ś. 25. 5. 2; s. auch unten in 4. 4. <sup>613</sup> ABC nirupyā<sup>614</sup> D setzt mit dem

korrupten Passus wieder ein: tau bhau ce duṣyēn mā tām aindraṃ pañcaśarāvam odanam nirupyā <sup>614</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 7a bringen folgende Klassifizierung des rituell Unreinen: duṣṭam trividham varṇayanti | ... jātīduṣṭam āśrayaduṣṭam saṃsargaduṣṭam ca | jātīduṣṭam palāṃḍu-grṇ-janakā-"di | ... āśrayaduṣṭam anāryādi-parigṛhītam tatṛā 'pi mlechā-"dibhir anāryaiḥ saha saṃvyavahāra ... saṃsargaduṣṭam malā-"dibhiḥ | ... evam ādibhir upahataṃ dravyam apo 'bhyavaharet | apaḥ pratigamayet || vgl. ibid. 7b: ..... tad vā prakṣepya tatṛai 'vo 'dakam āśīncet.... ibid. 8a: atha pātrāṇy apo 'bhyavahared iti varttate ... nirlikhed dāru-mayam ... niṣṭāpen mārṭtikam | adbhiḥ sauvarṇa-rajatam saṃśodhayed iti śeṣaḥ | athavā nirlikhed iti varttate | nirlekhanam ca saṃśodhanam mārṭtikasya niṣṭāpanam sauvarṇa-rajatasyā 'dbhir eva saṃśodhanam | iti upasargaḥ || — Über den Begriff des Substituts findet sich ibid. Bl. 9a folg. eine Auseinandersetzung. Nachdem eine Stellvertretung des Opferfeuers und des Opferherrn als ausgeschlossen hingestellt ist (Bl. 9a: agner na pratinidhiḥ svāmīnāḥ ca pratinidhir nā 'sti | samavāyāt | yo hi yajate sa eva phalena saṃbadhyate | tasmād yajamānasya pratinidhir nā 'sti |) sagt der sehr korrupte Passus, in interessanter Weise den Begriff der Opferbarkeit umschreibend: ... yathā māśā(!)-masūra-kodravā-"di yasya yaṃ(?) saṃyogaḥ | sarvatṛai 'va pratiśidhyate | ayajñīyā vai māśāḥ | ayajñīyāḥ kodravā iti ... und ibid. 10a: atha yajñīyam anapratinidheyam

yajeta<sup>615</sup> | 'thā 'nyām adošām iṣṭim tanvitā(m | a)po duṣṭam<sup>616</sup>  
 abhyavahareyur<sup>617</sup> | brāhmaṇair abhaks[y]a[m] duṣṭam havir |  
 bhūtam<sup>618</sup> ced ājyam skanded<sup>618</sup> bhūpataye<sup>619</sup> svāhe 'ti<sup>619</sup>  
 tribhir prādeśair diśo mimāya tad yajamāno devān<sup>620</sup> janam<sup>620</sup>  
 agann<sup>620</sup> ity<sup>620</sup> anuṣaṅgo<sup>621</sup> | yajñasya tvā pramaye 'ti  
 catasr̥bhīḥ parigr̥hṇiyāt | yajñasya tvā pramayo-'nmayā-'bhi-  
 mayā pratimayā (paridadema)<sup>622</sup> svāhe<sup>622</sup> 'ty | anutpūtam

yathā palāśasya pāribhadrakah | āsvatthasya gardabhāṇḍaḥ khadirasya  
 kadira(!) bhavati sāmānyena tu kvacit tatas teṣāṃ aparigrahaḥ | anyatrā  
 'coditavāt pratiśiddhasya ca māśāde(!) aparigraha eva tatrā 'nugrahika  
 ukta-viḥa(!)-javā(!)-puroḍāśasya teṣāṃ alābhe tuṣavatīnām tamḍulavati-  
 nām ośadhīnām puroḍāśān kurvaṃti māśādi-varjam iti . . . ; vgl. auch  
 ibid. 28a: sarvaskanne naṣṭe duṣṭe vā yathāpūrvam punaḥ saṃskaraṇam |  
 und die ganz verderbte Stelle 29 b: āsanneṣu haviḥsu sarvasmin duṣṭe  
 dugdhe vā naṣṭe vā sarvam saṃśodhya vatsāpakaraṇādi-sadyahkriyā  
 ṣoḍāśa-dārvidhmapimḍapitrya . . . vedyāḥ saṃskaraḥ kṛta eva | mṛt pra-  
 diyate | āyatir anumamtraṇam 'nā 'gnihotraṃ dōṣādi siddham | vedam  
 kṛtvā(?) paristarāṇādi-pātrayogaḥ siddham anyat | Vgl. auch K. Ś. 25. 4.  
 13 folg., — verunreinigtes Wasser wird weggegossen: AP 37. 18. 1. Das  
 nirlekhanam resp. saṃśodhanam der Opferinstrumente erfolgt mit der  
 Hand: [suddhir] yajñapātrāṇām pāpinā yajñakarmaṇi (Agnip. 156. 4).

<sup>615</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 15. 14 f.

<sup>616</sup> cf. Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 6b: duṣṭam apo

'bhyavaharet | und Bl. 7a: tathā ca dharmasāstre | vasā śukram aśṛg  
 majjā viṇ mūtram karnavin nakhāḥ | ślemā-'śru dūṣikā(?) svedo dvādaśai  
 'te nṛṇām malāḥ || cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 9 folg., vgl. Anm. 58 und die dort zitierten  
 Stellen.

<sup>617</sup> Āśv. Prāy. 17a folg.: vyāpannam havir jale vinikṣipet ||  
 tatrā 'jyena sviṣṭakṛt || prayājā-'dy-āṅga-havir-nāṣe tu tad dhavir ut-  
 pādyate na yajeta || na tatrā 'gnyanvādhānādi punaḥ prayogaḥ |  
<sup>618</sup> Nur verständlich als Korruptel einer älteren Fassung von Āp. 9.  
 15. 17: yad āryānām abhojanīyam syān na tena yajeta; — statt bhutam  
 l.: pūtam? vgl. unten: anutpūtam

<sup>619</sup> A skandet tad adbhūtayeye  
 svāhe 'ti B made skande ced bhūtamyece cet svāhe 'ti CD skande  
 ced bhūpataye cet svāhe 'ti; vgl. Āp. 9. 13. 6, 7; 14. 28. 6.

<sup>620</sup> A devām janmāṅga nityam B devām janmāṅganityam CD devām  
 janmāṅgam nityam; dieser Vorschrift entspricht genau Āp. 9. 13. 5.

<sup>621</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 30b: devān janam agan . . . iti skannam abhimantryā  
 'po ninayet | Āśv. Prāy. 9a: athe 'ṣṭi-madhye haviṣāṃ skannam abhi-  
 mṛṣet || devān janam agan yajñas . . . amhaso (Āśv. 3. 13. 15). bhūpataye  
 svāhā bhuvanapataye svāhā bhūtānām pataye svāhā yajñasya tvā pramayo  
 'nmayā 'bhimayā pratimayā drapsāś caskamda ceti (RV. 10. 17. 11). . . .  
 Auch des Überlaufens des Opfermuses wird gedacht: Āśv. Prāy. 16a:  
 carau śrāpyamāṇe prāgdīṣi tāpād utsikte . . . dakṣiṇatāś ced . . . paścāc ced  
 . . . uttaratāś cet . . . yugapat sarvataś cet . . . vidikṣu [cet] . . . || utsiktam  
 carum āpyāyati ||

<sup>622</sup> So BC; A liest: yajñasya tvā pramadānmayā-  
 bhimayā paridadema svahe 'ty. Bl.'s Index verzeichnet nur: yajñasya tvā  
 pramayonmayābhimayā pratimayā, so auch die wahre Meinung der korr.  
 Fassung von D; vgl. Āśv. 3. 13. 15; zu vgl. ist ferner: Āp. 9. 13. 6.

ced ājyam skanded<sup>623</sup> vittam<sup>624</sup> prānam<sup>624</sup> dadyāt<sup>625</sup> | tatho  
 'tpūtam<sup>626</sup> utpūyamāram ced ghr̥tam<sup>627</sup> dadyād atho 'tpū-  
 tam<sup>628</sup> utpūyamānam ced ghr̥tam<sup>629</sup> prānam dadyād<sup>630</sup> deva-  
 tāntare<sup>631</sup> ced<sup>631</sup> ghr̥tam<sup>631</sup> | āhutilopavyatyāse<sup>632</sup> | tvam no  
 agne | sa tvam na<sup>633</sup> | iti sarvaprāyaścittam<sup>634</sup> juhuyāt |  
 tvam no agne varuṇasya vidvān<sup>635</sup> devasya heḍo 'vayāsi-  
 siṣṭhāḥ | yajīṣṭho vahnitamah śośucāno viśvā dveṣāmsi pramu-  
 mugdhy asmat || sa tvam no agne 'vamo bhavoti nediṣṭho  
 asyā uṣaṣo vyuṣṭau | ava yakṣva no varuṇam rarāṇo vihi  
 mṛḍikaṁ suhavo na edhi svāhe 'ti | devatā-'vadāne yājyā-  
 'nuvākya-vyatyāsa<sup>636</sup> 'nāmnāta<sup>636</sup>-prāyaścittānam vā<sup>637</sup> yady

<sup>623</sup> AB skandet C skande <sup>624</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 13. 1. <sup>625</sup> cf. Mān. Ś. 3. 1. 2. 1.  
 Auch die Verunreinigung der Schmelzbutter verlangt Sühne (Āsv. Prāy. 17 b):  
 ājyo-'pabatau tajjale prakṣipyā 'nyat saṁskṛtya tena pracārah ||; vgl. ibid.  
 18a: avattadvya-avadānā-'deḥ ślemādinā nāse punar āyatanād eva 'vadāya  
 sarvaprāyaścittam kṛtvā yaṣṭavyam || eka-dvy-ādy-avadāna-vaikalyene 'ṣṭvā  
 tvan no agne sa tvan no agne (Āp. 9. 12. 4) ity etābhyām sruvāhutī hutvā  
 punar avadāya yajete 'ty uktam prāyaścitta-candrikāyām || <sup>626</sup> D anu-  
 pūtam <sup>627</sup> A unklar; BC vṛtam; cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>628</sup> A 'tpūyam  
<sup>629</sup>—<sup>631</sup> Diese und die inzwischensliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. A ve  
 vittam B va cica C ve cinva <sup>630</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 13. 2 yady utpūtam citram  
 deyam. Dieß ist ursprünglich der Sinn des hier gänzlich korrumptierten  
 Passus gewesen. <sup>631</sup> A evatūmtaravedvittam B devatānāmnānarecac-  
 cittam C devatūmtare cec cittam; so D, jedoch: 'tara cec ... <sup>632</sup> Das  
 Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei dem Hersagen von Mantra erheischt Sühne  
 (Āsv. Prāy. 18a): āśrāvaṇa-pratyāśrāvaṇa-vaṣaṭkūreṣu maṁtrāmtara-nyūnā-  
 'tireke sati āśrāvitam atyāśrāvitam (Āp. 3. 11. 2) ity adhvaryuḥ sruveṇa  
 juhuyāt || Des Ausfalls des ganzen Agnihotra-Opfers wird gedacht in  
 Agn. Prāy. 10 b: prasāṅgād dhomaṁ lopaprāyaścittam likhyate | ekasya  
 dvayor bahūnām api vichede caturgr̥hītam manasvatyā juhuyāt | anekā-  
 'gnihotrā-'tipatti-nimittam manasvatyā caturgr̥hītam hoṣyāmi 'ti saṁkalpyā  
 'gnim vihr̥tya manasvatī[r] juhuyāt | kecid yāvaṁtaḥ kāla- [l: lā?] homena  
 vichinnās tāvato(m) ekaikaṁ kalam prati(!) ekaiko homaḥ kartavyaḥ |  
 na manasvaty-āvr̥tīḥ | pakṣahoma-nyāyena tān homān kuryād iti prāya-  
 ścitta-pradīpe | <sup>633</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4f.; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 14 b: ... devatāvadāna-  
 yājyā-'nuvākya-maṁtra-karma-viparyāse 'nāmnāta-prāyaścitt ... āpadi  
 tvam no agne sa tvam no agna ... bhinna-krama-yogo(!)-viparyāsaḥ ...  
 cf. „karmaviparyāsaḥ“ oben in 3. 4. — devatāviparyāsa: K. Ś. 25. 5. 19.  
<sup>634</sup> CD 'prāyaścittim cf. hierzu Āp. 9. 16. 10. <sup>635</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4. <sup>636</sup> A  
 'tyāsenātyāta B 'tyāsenāmnātaḥ C 'tyāseṁnātyāta D 'tyāsenvāmnāta;  
 vgl. Āsv. 3. 13. 14. K. Ś. 25. 5. 19. <sup>637</sup> vgl. Āsv. Prāy. 17 b: yagāt  
 prāg dhotur yājyā-'nuvākya-viparyāse sati ..... und ibid.: kṛte tu yāge  
 anuvākya-viparyāsa-jāte prāyaścittam eva na tu yāgā-'bhyāsaḥ || yājyāyam  
 api avihita-devatāyām tad-devatāyām anyadevatāyām vā vihita-devatā-  
 'deṣaṁ kṛtvā vihitam eva devatām dhyāyan yadi vaṣaṭ kuryān na tadā



rkto<sup>638</sup> 'bhy ābādhaḥ syād<sup>638</sup> bhūr janad iti gārhapatyē juhuyād | yadi yajusta om bhuvo janad iti dakṣiṇāgnau juhuyād | yadi sāmata om svar janad ity āhavanīye juhuyād | yady<sup>639</sup> anājñātā brahmata om bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad om ity āhavanīya eva juhuyād<sup>639</sup> ājyabhāgānte sve<sup>640</sup> devatām āvāhayaṣyan yasyai ('va) havir nirupatam syāt tato-'ntayā yajetā "jyasyai 'tāni nirupya<sup>641</sup> | yadi bhāginīm<sup>642</sup> nā "vāhayed<sup>642</sup> yatra smaret tatrai 'nām upo-'tthāyā "vāhyā<sup>643</sup> "vāpāsthāne<sup>644</sup> yajeta<sup>645</sup> | barhiṣi skanne<sup>646</sup> nā "driyeta | da-

yāgā-'bhyāsaḥ pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittam viṣṇusmaranam ca kāryam' avihitayājyam vadann avihita-devatā-"deśe dhyāne [l. 'nam] kurvan yadi vaśat kuryāt tadā pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittam kṛtvā punar avadāya yajeta || sviṣṭa-kṛd-anantaram smaraṇe ājyene 'tyādi pūrvavat || agniṣomīyena puroḍāśenā "gneye yāge kṛte uktaṃ prāyaścittam kṛtvā "gneyenā 'gniṣomīyayūgaḥ || sarva-prāyaścittam viṣṇusmaranam ca || cf. ibid.: devate anuvākye yājye vā viparihṛtyā "jye avadāne haviṣi vā | devatā-viparyāsa āvāhanā-"diṣu vyutkramah | anuvākyā-viparyāso 'nyadīyam anyasyā 'nubṛūyāt | evaṃ yājyā-viparyāsaḥ | ājya-viparyāso jauhavau-"pabbṛtaylor ity ādi | avadāna-viparyāsaḥ pūrvārdhāt pūrvārdhāt pūrvam ity ādi | havir-viparyāso nirvāpādi | yāge cā 'nyadīyasyā 'nyasya yāgaḥ | eṣeṣam madhye anyatara-nimitte sati prāyaścittam kartavyam | yad vo devā . . . nidhetana svāhe 'ti (Āp. 3. 11. 2) tiṣṭhann ājyāhutiṃ hutvā jānv ācya bhūr iti gārhapatyē juhuyād yadi yajusta bhuva iti dakṣiṇāgnau | vgl. dazu ferner Stellen wie Āśv. Prāy. 9b: atha "vāhanā-"diṣu devatānām viparyāse yājyānuvākyaviparyāse vā juhū-"pabbṛd-dhruvā-"jyānam paryāse vā pūrvārdhā-"vādāna-samaye aparārdhā-"dy-avadāne vā havir-viparyāse vā yad vo devā atipātayāni . . . (Āśv. 3. 13. 18) ity ājyāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanam dadyāt || yāgāt prāg yājyā-"nuvākyā-viparyāsa-jñāne prāyaścittam kṛtvā punaḥ samuccārya yāgaḥ kāryah | yāgānamtarām jñāne prāyaścittam eva | Über die Vertauschung der Opfermaterialien sprechen auch Āśv. Prāy. 16a: juhū-"pabbṛd-dhruvā-"jyānam viparyāse yad vo devā iti sruvāhutiṃ brahmā juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanam dadyāt || vgl. ibid. 16b: haviṣam viparyāseno 'dvāsane brahmā yad vo devā iti pūrvavaj juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanam dadyāt || ka; ālanudvāsane (?) adhvaryur āśrāvayati cet tadā 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrnāhutiḥ ||

<sup>638</sup> A ṛcobhyābādhasyā B ṛkobhyābādha syād om C rcobhyātvādha syād om D ṛcobhyābādha syād om; <sup>639</sup> AD lassen diese und die

inzwischenliegenden Worte aus; vgl. Gop. Br. 1. 3. 3. <sup>640</sup> l.: sva-°?

<sup>641</sup> D nirūpya

<sup>642</sup> A bhāginīmām nāvahayed B bhāginīmāvahayed Brahm. Prāy. 36a: bhāginīm cen nā "vāhayet | bhāgo asyā 'sti 'ti mam-trarthīya iti bhāginī yasyā nirvāpaḥ kṛtaḥ śistreṇa yāgaś coditaḥ sā bhāginī tām cen nāvahayet . . . . . cf. Āśv. Prāy. 18a: hotā yaṣṭavyam devatām anāvāhye 'tarām karma yadi kuryāt tadā yatrai 'va smaret tatrai 'vo 'tthāya tām devatām āvāhayet || na maṇdra-svara-niyamaḥ || manase 'ty eke || yady asthānīm āvāhayet tadā nigameṣu tām nigamayet || sthānīm cā 'dhva-

kṣiṇena ced yajetā 'rddharcāt<sup>647</sup> pratiṣṭhām dadyāt | puro-  
dāśe du[h]śrite<sup>648</sup> sarpiṣy annam catuḥśarāvam odanam  
brāhmaṇebhyo dadyāt<sup>649</sup> | tatas tam eva punar nirvapet |  
purodāśe vikṣāme<sup>650</sup> yato<sup>650</sup> 'syā 'kṣāmaḥ<sup>651</sup> syāt tato  
yajeta<sup>652</sup> | dvesyāya tam dadyād dakṣiṇām ca<sup>653</sup> | puro-

ryuś ca yāgakāle caturgrhītena dhrauvāyena yaṣṭavyām yajet || tad-deva-  
tve yājyānuvākye hotrā paṭhaniye || anumamtraṇaṃ yajamānena || tato  
viṣṇusmarāṇaṃ || viparyāsenā 'vāhane brahmā pūrvavad yad vo devā iti  
juhuyāt || tasmai yajamāno mukhyaṃ dhanam dadyāt || cf. Agn. Prāy. 16a:  
sthāninīm anāvāhya devatām upotthāyā 'vāhayen manase 'ty eka ājyenā  
'sthāninīm yajet | yadi kṣmiṇś cit karmanī yaṣṭavyā[ṃ] devatām anā-  
[vā]hyai 'vo 'ttaram uttaram uttaram karma kuryāt tadā yāvati gate  
smarati tad evo [l.: 'aivo] 'potthāyā 'vāhayet | yady asthāninīm pramadād  
āvāhayet tadā 'sminn eva krameṇa tām ājyena yajet | nigameṣu ca niga-  
mayet | <sup>643</sup> A bāhyā <sup>644</sup> BC vāpasthāne <sup>645</sup> A yajed B yajetta;  
Āśv. 3. 13. 19 cf. Āśv. Prāy. 17b: anubrūhi 'ty atra bhāginy-ullekhe  
hotary api bhāginīm puro 'nu vā vadati prāg vadanūt smaraṇe sati catur-  
grhītena dhruvāyē yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ || avadānā-namtarāṃ smaraṇe saty  
abhāginīm iṣṭvā punar avadāya bhāginyā yāgaḥ kāryaḥ || <sup>646</sup> Āśv. Prāy.  
12b: upari sthāpitam śāke-'dhmā-barhir-ādi yady adhastāt patati tadā  
brahmapratiṣṭhā-manaso brahmavāco brahma-yajñānām haviṣām ājyasya  
cā 'tiriktaṃ manitreṇa pūrvavat samsthāpyā 'jyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruk-  
sruvam sammrjya tenaiva manitreṇa svāhākāraṇtenā 'havanīye 'dhva-  
ryuḥ sruvā-'hutim juhuyāt || yajñāya brahmaṇa idam || ājya-bhāgā-  
'namtarāṃ sthālyājyena hutvā viṣṇu-smaraṇaṃ kuryāt || śāke-'dhmā-bar-  
hiḥ-prastara-veda-paristarāṇa-pavitra-vidhṛti-paridhy-upaveśā-'di-dravyā-  
ṇām dāhā-'dinā nāśe (cf. oben in 2. 5.) viṣ-mūtrā-'dy-upahatau vā  
'dhvāryus taj-jātīyaṃ anyad vidhāya svasthāne niyojayet || tata ājyaṃ  
saṃskṛtyā 'jya-bhāgā-'namtarāṃ vā sruvāhuti juhuyāt || tvam agne ayāsi  
(Āp. 9. 12. 4) 'śajam svāhā || agnaye yasa idam || prajāpate na 'ṇam svā-  
hā || prajā 'idam tato viṣṇusmarāṇaṃ || pavitra-nāśe mṛgadādi-gaṇo prāya-  
ścittam ity uktam prāyaścitta-pradīpe || ājyā-'valokanā-'namtarāṃ etat  
prāyaścittam tat-prāk mṛdā-gaṇa iti kecit || sa cā 'gre vakṣyate || sarvadā  
samuccayo vā || idhmā-barhiṣoḥ prayājā-'nuyājanām ca *nyūnā-tirke* . . .

<sup>647</sup> AD 'rddharātrāt <sup>648</sup> cf. Brahm. Prāy. 31b: yasya purodāśau  
duḥśrtāv iti brāhmaṇoktaṃ prāyaścittam pradhāneṣv eva tad bhavati |  
gemeint ist M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>649</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 15. 18; Āśv. 3. 14. 1.

<sup>650</sup> A vikṣāmapato B vikṣābbeyato cf. M. S. 1. 4. 13. <sup>651</sup> A kṣāma  
BCD kṣāmaṃ <sup>652</sup> cf. oben 2. 1; vgl. Āśv. 3. 14. 2 und Brahm. Prāy. 32a:  
atha yasya purodāśau kṣayata iti śrutidarśanat pīṇapitryajñādiṣu punaḥ-  
saṃskāra eva karttavya ity uktam | Agn. Prāy. 16a: haviṣi duḥśrte catuḥ-  
śarāvam odanam brāhmaṇān bhojayet | yadā havir apakvaṃ bhavati tadā  
tenai 'va haviṣā tat karma samāpya catuḥśarava-parimitam vrihibhū  
odanam paktvā caturo brāhmaṇān bhojayet | dakṣiṇāgniṃ vihrtya ta-  
sminn odanam paktve 'ty āpastambāḥ | <sup>653</sup> Agn. Prāy. 17b: kṣāme  
śiṣṭene 'ṣṭvā punar yajeta | ekadeśa-dagdhe prāyaścittam na bhavati |  
[yadā] 'vadāna-paryāptam nā 'sti cet tada tenaiva mātṛā-'pacāreṇaiva

ḍāṣe sarvaksāme nirvapaṇaprabhṛtyām udāhṛtya<sup>654</sup> | ka-  
pāle<sup>655</sup> naṣṭa<sup>656</sup> ekahāyanam dadyād<sup>657</sup> | dhātā dadhātu pituḥ

yāgaḥ karttavyaḥ | tantram samāpya punar-viharaṇā-"di tasyaiva yāgaḥ  
karttavyaḥ | avadāna-dvaya-paryāptam akṣāma-dravyam asti cen naiva  
prāyaścittam | idam ekadeśam adagdhasya lakṣaṇam | aśeṣe punar-āvṛttiḥ |  
aśeṣa-dagdhe punar-āvṛttiḥ kāryā | sarva-dagdha ity abhiprāyaḥ | punaryā-  
ga-punarāvṛtyor ayam viśeṣaḥ | varttamāna-karma(m) samāpya punar adi-  
ta eva "rabhya 'mtataḥ kriyā punar-yāgaḥ | punar-āvṛttiḥ tu varttamāna-  
prayoge naṣṭasya haviṣaḥ punar-utpādanam iti punar-utpāditena haviṣā  
sa eva prayogaḥ samāpayitavyaḥ | ayam anayor viśeṣaḥ | . . . . . ksāme  
śiṣṭene 'ṣṭ[v]e 'ty asmin prayoge yā dakṣiṇā sā dveṣṭre datavyā |

<sup>654</sup> A nudāhatya B mudāhyatya C 'hṛtya <sup>655</sup> Diese und die dazwischen-  
liegenden Worte fehlen bei D. <sup>656</sup> B neṣṭe ACD naṣṭe; cf. Ait. Brāhm.  
7. 9: yadi kapālam naṣyet . . . aśvibhyām dvikapālam puroḍaṣam nivapet |  
<sup>657</sup> Āśv. 3. 13. 9; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8a: puroḍaṣa-śraṇaṇam ārabhya kapālo-  
'dvāsana-paryantaṁ kapāle naṣṭa idam (nämlich: agnaye vaiśvānarāya  
pūrṇahutiḥ) eva prāyaścittam || udvasanād ūrdhvaṁ na doṣaḥ || pātrā-  
"sādanā-"diśraṇaṇād arvāk kapāla-bhedane gāyatrīyā śatākṣarāyā saṁ-  
dadhāmi 'ti (Āśv. 3. 14. 10) saṁdhāyā 'bhinnō gharṁ . . . . . anusamtarantu  
(ibid.) . . . . . prati dadhmo yad atra svāhā yajñō 'pyetu devān (ibid.) iti  
mamtrābhyām apsu nikṣipet || evaṁ śvā-"dibhir ghrātāny api kapālāni  
pūrva-mamtrābhyām apsu nikṣipet | anyāni mṛnmayāni pātrāni bhinnāni  
asuci-saṁbandhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . . . bhidyatām (Ā. Ś.  
3. 14. 12) iti mamtrenā 'psu nikṣipet || baudhāyanā-"cārya-vāde kapāla-  
nudvāsane adhvaryur āśravayati cet tadā 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇahutiḥ ||  
Āśv. Prāy. 14b: puroḍaṣa-śraṇaṇād ūrdhvaṁ api kapālo-'dvāsana-pary-  
antaṁ kapāle naṣṭe iṣṭy-āsaktau srucam dvādaśa-grhītena caturgrhītena vā  
pūrayitvā juhuyāt || agnaye vaiśvānarāya svāhe 'ti || agnaye [vaiś]vānarāye  
'dam° || pātrā-"sādanā-"di yāvac-chraṇaṇam kapāla-bhedane gāyatrīyā tvā  
śatākṣarāyā saṁdadhāmiti saṁdhāyā 'bhinnō gharṁ . . . . . — anusamcarantu  
(Āśv. 3. 14. 10) || trayastriṁśad devān (ibid.) iti mamtrābhyām apsu prakṣipet ||  
evaṁ śvādibhir āghrātāni kapālāni pūrvamamtrābhyām apsu prakṣipet ||  
tataḥ kapāla-'ntaram prokṣaṇādi kṛtvā yojayet || sarvaprayāścittam viṣṇu-  
smaraṇam ca kuryāt || yathokta-samkhyā-'dhiko-'padhāne nyūno-'padhāne  
vā kapālānām parasparam samyaṅ-melanā-'bhāve vā 'ṁgula-dvayo-"rdhva-  
pramāṇābhāve vā "jyabhāgā-'namtaram adhvaryur vyābṛtibhiḥ sruvāhutir  
juhuyāt || kapālo-'padhānakāle nihitā-'ṁgāre puroḍaṣo-'padhānāt pūrvam  
anugate manasvatim āhavanīye hutvā punaḥ kapāleṣv aṁgaram nida-  
dhyāt || anyāni mṛnmayāni pātrāny akṛta-prayojanāni bhinnāni asuci-saṁ-  
bandhīni vā bhūmir bhūmim agān . . . bhidyatām iti mamtrenā 'psu kṣi-  
pet || sarva-prāyaścittam kṛtvā pūrvavat pātrā-'ntaram yojayet || yasmin-  
kasmimś-cid darumaye pātre tat-sthāne 'nyan nidhāya bhūr āyur me  
dhārayata prāṇam me dhārayata prajāṁ me dhārayata paśūn me dhā-  
rayata āyuh prāṇaḥ prajāḥ paśavaḥ parāsidhyerann (TS. 3. 1. 8. 1) ity abhi-  
mamtrīya mīmāḍādi-gaṇena dvādaśa-grhītena srucam pūrayitvā jātavedasi  
sunavāma-soma mano jyotir (Āśv. 2. 5. 14) [iti] dvābhyām tiṣṭbhir mahā-  
vyābṛtibhir juhuyād eṣa durgādi-gaṇaḥ || durgādi-gaṇena hutvā bhūmir

pitānaṣṭo <sup>655</sup> gharṃo viśvāyur yato jātas tato 'py avām <sup>659</sup> svāhe  
'ti juhuyāt <sup>655</sup> | kapāle bhinne gāyatrīā tvā śatākṣarayā sam-  
dadhāmī 'ti <sup>660</sup> samdhāya dhātā dadhātṽ ity eva juhuyād |  
āgneya[m] ekakapālaṃ nirvaped āśvinam dvikapālaṃ vaiṣṇa-  
vam trikapālaṃ saumyam catuḥkapālaṃ <sup>661</sup> | naṣṭe bhinne ca  
bhārgavo hotā <sup>662</sup> kṛtā-'vapannaṃ <sup>662</sup> sānnāyāṃ madhya-  
mena parṇena mahī dyaur <sup>663</sup> ity antaḥparidhidesē ni-  
nāyen <sup>664</sup> | mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na imāṃ yajñam mimi-

bhūmim ity āhavanīye praharet || pātra-madhye jalādau varttamāna idaṃ  
prāyaścittam || kevala-pātrabhede āhavanīye prāyaścittam mīmāṃsādir eva na  
bhūr āyur ma ity uktam prāyaścittam camdrikāyām || cf. Agn. Prāy. 14 b:  
kapāle naṣṭe 'nudvāsite 'bhyāśrāvite vā | udvāsānāt pūrvaṃ kapālasya  
'śuci-saṃsarga-nimittam | yeṣāṃ śrapaṇā-'namtaram udvāsanaṃ teṣāṃ  
anudvāsite kapāle saty āśrāvaṇādi kṛtam ced ubhaye | nimittayor anya-  
tara-nimitte sati vaiśvānareṣṭiḥ kār्या |

<sup>655</sup> Mān. S. 3. 1. 25. <sup>659</sup> l. agām = agān <sup>660</sup> Āp. Ś.  
9. 13. 8. Āśv. 3. 14. 10. M. S. 1. 4. 13. A wiederholt ksāme yato syā ksā-  
mam syāt tato yajeta dveṣyāyatam dadyād dakṣiṇam ca puroḍāse; cf.  
Brahm. Prāy. 32 b: yadi kapālaṃ bhidyeta gāyatrīā tvā śatākṣarayā sam-  
dadhāmīti samdhāyo 'padadhyāt <sup>661</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 5. 1. — Brahm. Prāy.  
33 a sehen noch folgende Möglichkeit vor: dvayo[h kapālayor] bhinnayo[r]  
bahūnām cai 'vam eva pṛthak samdhāyo 'padhānam ekaikasya tathā  
prakṣepaḥ kecid icha(m) ichamti yato jātam tad apy aryo (?) tayato jāte  
tad apy agātām (?) yato jātāni tad apy agur iti ye tu madhyama-puru-  
ṣeṇa pracaramti tad apy agā svāhe 'ti ... 33 b: atha yasya kapālaṃ  
naśyati 'ti (vgl. M. S. 1. 4. 13) prakṣālya (?) yadā tat (?) haviḥ samptiṣṭhe[t]  
tathā-'gnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvaped iti ... 34 a: naṣṭādhi-  
gataṃ kapālaṃ apsu prahared iti varttate viśvāyur jato (?) tātam tad  
apy agā svāhe 'ti ... namas te rudra ity anumamtramam. — vgl. Agn. Prāy.  
17 a: kapālaṃ bhinnam anapavṛtta-karma gāyatrīā ... samdadhāmī 'ti  
samdhāya 'po 'bhyavahareyuḥ | puroḍāsa-śrapaṇāt prak kapāla-bhede gāya-  
trīā tvā ... 'mi 'ty anena manitreṇa samdhānaka-dravyaiḥ samdhānam  
kṛtvā 'bhinnō gharṃo jiradānūr yata ārttas (nach Āśv. 3. 14. 10) tad  
agan ... yajñō 'pyetu devān (Āśv. S. 3. 14. 10, cf. Āp. 9. 13. 9) iti  
dvābhyām apo 'bhyavahareyuḥ | evam apaliḍhā 'bhikṣipteṣu | svādibhir  
abhikṣiptāni tad-āsanā-'dibhir abhyasyā 'śuci-saṃbaddhāni kapālāny abhi-  
nnāny apy evaṃ kuryāt | abhinno gharṃa ity ādi pūrvavat | tato vaiśvānare-  
'ṣṭiḥ | ata evā 'nyāni mṛṇmayāni | kapālebhyo 'nyāni mṛṇmayāni bhinnāny  
abhinnāni ca | bhūmir bhūmim agān mātā ... bhidyatām ity apa evā  
'bhyavaharet <sup>662</sup> A hotyātākiṭābbiḥ na D hotākidyadyannam; cf. Āp. Ś.  
9. 2. 5; vgl. oben Anm. 119. <sup>663</sup> RV. 1. 22. 13. <sup>664</sup> A niyen B ni-  
nayeta C ninayet; Āśv. 3. 10. 23 f. Āp. Ś. 9. 2. 4; — cf. Agn. Prāy. 5 b: yadi  
havi[h]ṣu muhyeyuḥ pātrīā samayā vibhajyā "nupūrveṇa pracared ity  
evaṃ devayāniḥ (l.: 'yonih) | bhinna-siktāni ca | ... prajāpate na tvad  
etāny anya (RV. 10. 121. 10) iti valmīkavapāyām (vā) sānnāyāṃ duṣṭam  
madhyamena palāsa-parṇena juhuyāt | ... anena svābhakarāntena maṇi-

kṣatām | pipṛtām no bharīmabhiḥ<sup>665</sup> svāhe 'ti | prāk prayāje-  
bhyo<sup>666</sup> 'ṅgāraṃ barhiṣy adhiṣṣkanden<sup>667</sup> namas te astv āya-

treṇa valmikadvāre prasimcet | apsu vā tūṣṇīm | viṣyaṃdamā(da)naṃ  
mahī dyauḥ .... ity antaḥparidhideṣe nirvapeyuh |

<sup>665</sup> cf. Āśv. Prāy. 16a: sānnāyāṃ pāka-samaye kuṃbbhim atītya bahiḥ  
patati cet tadā tat pātrāṃ[ta]re ādāya paridhi-deṣe mahī dyauḥ prthivi ca  
na ity anena ninayet || sarvaprāyaścittāṃ kṛtvā 'vaśiṣṭena yajet || sarva-nāse  
punar-dohā-"di || āmīkṣa-yāge 'py etat samānaṃ || tasyāḥ payo-vikāratvāt ||  
<sup>666</sup> D prayājebhyāṃ <sup>667</sup> cf. Komm. zu Āp. 9.1. 17: .... purā prayājebhyo  
bahisparidhy aṅgāraḥ skandet ... vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 34a: yadi prāk prayā-  
jebhyo bahiḥparidhy aṅgāra skandet tam abhimamtrayeta adhvaryu[m]  
mā "himsir ity evam ādibhiḥ purastād daksīnataḥ pascād uttarata iti  
mamtraviśeṣair uktaṃ abhimamtraṇam | ..... yasyām diśi skanno bhavati  
tatra yo 'vahito mamtraḥ tenaivā 'bhimamtraṇam bhavati | anyeṣāṃ ādi-  
tyaṃ purastāt paridadhātīty aparimānatvād ādityasya purastāt skanne  
prāyaścittāṃ na bhavati ..... 34b: yadi bahavo 'ṅgārā bahisparidhi  
skannā bhavanti tadā 'bhimamtraṇādi-prakṣepāntaṃ karma prthak kartta-  
vyam abhihomās tu ṣaḍ ete ce 'ti abhijuhōtīti brahmaprāyaścittāni  
sruveṇa juhoti 'ti; vgl. auch oben 2. 6 und Āśv. Prāy. 16a: prāk prayā-  
jebhyaḥ paridhi-deśād bahir yady aṅgāraḥ patati purastāt tadā brahmā  
tam aṅgāraṃ sruva-daṃḍena nidadhyāt || mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā ya-  
jñāpatis tapan || namas te astv āyate namo rudrāya te namo yatra niṣi-  
dasi adhvaryuṃ mā himsīr yajamānaṃ mā himsīr iti || yadi daksīnataḥ  
patet sa eva sruvadaṃḍena nidadhyāt || mā tapo 'si brahmānaṃ mā him-  
sīr yajamānaṃ mā himsīr iti || yadi pascād patet tadā .... hotāraṃ mā  
himsīr patnīm mā himsīr yajamānaṃ mā himsīr iti || yady uttarataḥ patet  
tadā .... āgnīdhraṃ mā .... yajamānaṃ mā ... iti || athainam anupra-  
haret | ahaṃ yajñam dadhe nirṛter upasthāt ... māmādanta iha no  
devā .... yacchate 'ti || prahrtaṃ aṅgāraṃ abhijuhuyāt || sahasra-śṛṅgo  
vṛṣabho jātavedā ... pratikāḥ || mā no himsīd dhimsito na tvā jahāmi gopo-  
ṣaṃ ca no vīrapoṣaṃ ca no yaccha svāhe 'ti || tataḥ sarva-prāyaścittāṃ  
viṣṇusmarāṇam ca || cf. Agn. Prāy. 18a folg.: prāk prayājebhyo 'ṅgāraṃ  
bahisparidhi nirvṛttaṃ sruvadaṃḍanā (l.: 'daṃḍenā) 'bhinidadhyāt | yadi  
prayājebhyaḥ prāk bahisparidhy aṅgāraṃ gachet tadā sruva(n)-daṃḍena  
piḍayet | paridhi-grahaṇam deśo-'palakṣaṇā-'rthaṃ | na paridhi-praharaṇo-  
'ttaram eve 'ti niyamah | mā tapo mā yajñas tapan mā yajñāpatis tapas |  
namas te astv āyate namo rudra parāyate namo yatra niṣidasi | iti prati-  
diśaṃ japitvā tato (yadi) purastād ced adhvaryu[m] mā himsi[r] yaja  
[l.: 'jñam] mā himsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsīr iti | yadi pascād hotāraṃ  
mā himsi[r] patnīm mā himsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsīr iti | yady uttarata  
āgnīdhraṃ mā himsīr yaja[mānaṃ] mā himsīr iti | pratidiśaṃ pūrva-  
mamtra-śeṣaḥ | athai 'nam anuprah[ar]jed ahaṃ yajñam dadhe .....  
śarma yacchate 'ti tam abhijuhuyāt sahasraśṛṅgo vṛṣabho jātavedāḥ stoma-  
prsthō ghr̥tavān supratikāḥ | mā no himsīd dhimsito na tvā jahāmi gopo-  
ṣaṃ ca no vīrapoṣaṃ ca yacha (Āśv. Ś. 1.12.37) svāhe 'ti | Dieses Zitat  
ist ein besonders deutlicher Beleg dafür, daß die Agn. Prāy. die Mantra

te<sup>669</sup> namo astu parāyate | namo yatra niṣṭadasi<sup>669</sup> 'ty abhima-  
ntryā "ham yajñam dadhe nirrter upasthāt<sup>670</sup> tam deveṣu pari-  
dadāmi vidvān | suprajās tvam śatam hi māmadata iha no  
devā mahi śarma yachate 'ty ādāya sahasraśṛṅga<sup>671</sup> ity  
anuprahṛtya | mā no mahāntam<sup>672</sup> | tvam no agne<sup>673</sup> | somā-  
nam svaranam kṛṇuhi<sup>674</sup> brahmaṇaspate kakṣivantam ya auṣi-  
jaḥ | sa tvam no 'gne<sup>675</sup> | vṛṣabham carṣaṇinām viśvarūpam  
adābhyam bṛhaspatim vareṇyam<sup>676</sup> | ud uttamam mumugdhi  
no vi pāṣam madhyamam cṛta avādhāmāni bādhatta<sup>677</sup> | ud  
uttamam varuṇe 'ty<sup>678</sup> etābhir juhuyāt || 1 || sarvāṇi<sup>679</sup> ced  
āhutivelāyām<sup>680</sup> patny<sup>681</sup> anā lambhukā<sup>682</sup> syāt tām apa-  
rudhya<sup>683</sup> yajeta<sup>684</sup> | samāpyā 'mo 'ham asmi sā tvam<sup>685</sup>

in der speziellen Fassung des Aśv. S. bringen; statt: „na“ liest unser Ms. hier und Blatt 16a: „ne“, also doch wohl: ne 't.

<sup>669</sup> A. V. 11. 2. 15.

<sup>669</sup> Āp. 9. 2. 9.

<sup>670</sup> Āp. 9. 2. 10.

<sup>671</sup> Gemeint ist wohl: AV. 4. 5. 1.

<sup>672</sup> AV. 11. 2. 29.

<sup>673</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4.

Brahm. Prāy. 34b: saham yajña ity anena mamtrenā "drte sahasraśṛṅga

ity anupraharati <sup>674</sup> RV. 1. 18. 1.

<sup>675</sup> RV. 4. 1. 5.

<sup>676</sup> RV. 3. 62. 6.

<sup>677</sup> RV. 1. 25. 21.

<sup>678</sup> AV. 7. 83. 3.

<sup>679</sup> Korrupt! etwa: savane zu

lesen? <sup>680</sup> BC ahutavelāyām; Āp. 9. 2. 1 ff. T. Br. 3. 7. 1. 9. Die fast wörtliche Übereinstimmung beider Stellen ist textgeschichtlich bemerkenswert.

<sup>681</sup> A palp

<sup>682</sup> A anā lambhukī; Komm. zū Āp.

9. 2. 1: ārtava-vaśad sparsanā-narhā

<sup>683</sup> AC aparudhye B arupādhye

<sup>684</sup> K. Ś. 25. 11. 13 folg. bestimmen, daß die menstruirende Frau die zur

Weihe notwendigen Geräte niederlegen und auf Sand sitzen resp. stehen. nach Ablauf von drei Tagen mit Wasser, dem Kuhurin beigefügt worden ist, sich reinigen und erst alsdann zu bestimmten Diensten zugelassen werden soll; vgl. Aśv. Prāy. 18b: sūtikām putravatīm vimṣati-rātreṇa karmāṇi kārayet || māseṇa strijanīm || tataḥ prāg yajamāna eva rajasvalāyām api ca karmāṇi kuryāt || sūtake (!) yajamānaḥ karmakāle snātva karmāṇi kuryāt || ; (vgl. auch oben Anm. 257). — Aśv. Prāy. 12a: anvādhānā dine patnī ṛtuma[ti] cet tām vibhāye 'ṣṭih || yo kramam [am]tarvedyām (?) udag-agram vidhāya patnī-mamtrān yajamāno japet || etad [d]vitiya-prayoge || vikatiṣu (l.: vikṛtiṣu) dvitiyo 'pakramo na bhavati || upakramo-'ttarakām ṛtumatī cet sarvatra tām vibhāye 'ṣṭih || prathama-prayoge 'nvāram-bhaṇiyāyām vrato-'panayanād ūrdhvaṃ ced ṛtumatī tām vibhāya 'nvāram-bhaṇiyām samāpya yasyā 'nvārambhaṇiyā tat-karma samāpayet || yathā "huḥ || iṣṭy-anvārambhaṇiyāyām pāsuke vaikṛtiṣṭiṣu || vratād ūrdhvaṃ ṛtūm dṛṣtvā kuryāt kāryam na lopayet || proṣite yajamāne vrātye 'hani ṛtumatī cet tadā paṃcame hi yāgaḥ || proṣite 'pi samkalpo-'ttarakālam cet tām aparudhya kuryāt || cāturmāseṣu vaiśvadeva-parvaṇo yāge kṛte varuṇa-praghāsā-'diṣv anvārabdheṣv api malinā-'mbarāyām sve sve kāle 'pa-rudhyai 'va yāga ity uktaṃ śaradvayām || ādhāne dakṣiṇa-pratigrahāt pūrvam ced ṛtumatī tadā 'gnayo laukikā bhavaṃti || sarvam utsṛjyam havir apsu kṣiptvā punaḥ samāyā-'mtare 'gnyādhānam kuryāt | dakṣiṇa-

iti tasyā dakṣiṇaṃ hastam anvālabhyo 'pāhvayitā<sup>686</sup> | "hutiś  
ced bahiṣparidhi<sup>687</sup> skanded āgnidhram<sup>688</sup> brūyuh<sup>689</sup> sam-  
krahīṣyāṃ<sup>690</sup> tvā juhudhī 'ti<sup>691</sup> | tasmai pūrṇapātram da-  
dyāt<sup>692</sup> | puroḍaśaś ced adhiśrita udvijed utpated<sup>693</sup> vā<sup>694</sup>  
tam udvāśya barhiṣy āsādayet kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhāḥ<sup>695</sup>  
śāntaḥ śānter ihā "gahi | aghoro yajñiyo bhūtvā "sīda sadanaṃ

pratigrahā-<sup>2</sup>namtaram ced rtumatī tām aparudhya samāpayet || śudhy-  
anamtaram agnibotrā-<sup>3</sup>rambhah ||<sup>685</sup> AV. 14. 2. 71 cf. Āp. 9. 2. 3.  
<sup>686</sup> A "pākuvitā" D "pā[gr]hñi(yi)tā" <sup>687</sup> ABC bahiṣparidhi (A  
läßt dhi aus) <sup>688</sup> D "dhre" <sup>689</sup> A brūya <sup>690</sup> C unklar;  
wohl: sakrayīṣyān; denkbar wāre samgrahīṣyān; vgl. Āp. 9. 16. 1 und die  
Bestimmung in Āśv. 3. 13. 16. <sup>691</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 36b: yadi bahiṣ-  
paridhy āhutiḥ skandēd agnidhram brūyāt (!) etām samkṣya juhudhī...;  
der folgende Komm. liest samkṣya... kṣyati gatyarthah; zweifellos besser  
samkṣya; wörtlich identisch mit MS. 1. 4. 13; cf. Mān. Ś. 3. 1. 3. 1 vgl.  
Āśv. Prāy. 9b: āhuter bahiṣparidhi-skandane pūrvavad abhimṛśyā "gnidhras  
tām āhutiṃ juhuyād || yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātram tadānim  
eva dadyāt | Agn. Prāy. 16a: āhutiś ced bahiṣparidhy āgnidhra etām  
juhuyād dhutavate pūrṇapātram dadyāt | yadi hūyamānā "hutiḥ bahiṣ-  
paridhy skandet tadā skannā-bhimarśane kṛte āgnidhras tām ādāya tū-  
ṣṇim eva juhuyāt | homaṃ kṛtavate āgnidhrāya tadānim eva yena yena  
kena cid dhānyādinaḥ rasādinaḥ vā pūrṇa-pātraḥ dadyād iti | Der Sühne  
bedarf es, wenn die geopferte Speise auf die Streu herabfällt (Āśv. Prāy.  
18a): āhutiḥ hūyamānā yadi barhiṣy adhipatet tadā "gnidhraḥ devān  
janam agan yajñāḥ caskamde 'ti (Āp. 9. 10. 16) tām anumamtrya tūṣṇim  
eva juhuyāt || yajamānas tasmai dhānyādi-pūrṇapātram dadyāt || sarva-  
prāyaścittam viṣṇusmarāṇaṃ ca kuryāt || — oder wenn sie nicht ins Feuer  
fällt (ibid.): hute haviṣi anagnau patite tvam no agne sa tvam no agne  
(RV. 4. 1. 4 folg.) ity etābhyām adhvaryuḥ sruvāhutiḥ hutvā punar ava-  
dāya yajeta ||<sup>692</sup> Āśv. 3. 13. 17. <sup>693</sup> AB utyuted <sup>694</sup> Āśv.  
Prāy. 18a sieht auch folgende, für die ausgebildete Kasuistik der Sühne-  
zeremonien interessante Möglichkeit vor: ekakapālāḥ puroḍaśaḥ sarva-  
hutaḥ tat-paryāvarttane prāyaścittam || yady ekakapālāḥ puroḍaśaḥ sarva-  
hutaḥ par[y]āva[r]ta[te] ta[t] tam adhvaryu[h] svasthāne pratiṣṭhāpayet ||  
prajāpater varttanim anuvarttasva . . . . . nayantu (Āp. 9. 14. 1) yajamāno  
"numamtrayate || pratikṣatre . . . . . namaḥ (Āp. 9. 14. 2) || adhvaryuḥ sruvāhuti  
juhuyāt || askāṃ dyaur . . . . . prajanayatu (Āp. 9. 6. 7) svāhā || yajñāye  
'dam || askān ajani prājani . . . . . prajāniṣimahi (Āp. 9. 6. 7) svāhā || yajñāye  
'dam ||; cf. Agn. Prāy. 17b: yadi puroḍaśaḥ sphuṭed vo 'tpated vā | yadi  
puroḍaśo bhidyāt | udched (l.: udvijed?) vā tadā kim utpatasi . . . . .  
sadanam svam iti barhiṣi nidhāya tato mā himsir . . . . . asmin āsīda  
barhiṣi ity abhimamtrayet |<sup>695</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 16. 11; Āśv. 3. 14. 13; Āśv.  
Prāy. 16b: puroḍaśasya bhedane patane vā kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhāḥ  
śāntaḥ śānter ihāgāhi . . . . . sadanam svam iti || barhiṣi nidhāyā "bhima-  
mtrayate || tam [m]ā himsir devaprerita . . . . . barhiṣi 'ti || abhimamtrya sarva-  
prāyaścittam juhuyāt ||

svam āsīda sadanam svam || mā himsīr deva preṣita ājyena  
 tejasū "jyasva mā naḥ kiṃcana rīriṣo | yoga-kṣemasya śāntyā  
 asmin asīda barhir iti | taptam cet karma (guṇo) tv<sup>696</sup> an-  
 tariyāt<sup>696</sup> sarvaprayāścittam hutvā mo 'dvijen<sup>697</sup> | (nā 'ngā  
 "hutim<sup>698</sup> antarhitām dadyān | na ta-pa-varga-nimittā-'bhāvāt  
 pradhānalope 'ntarāye<sup>699</sup> vā nirvaped vyāpadyeta) | śeṣ(ād a-  
 vadyeṣ)as ced vyāpadyeta "jyena sviṣṭakṛd-ide samāpnuyāt |  
 samāpte ced duṣṭo<sup>700</sup> na kṛtām antarām vā vidyāt punariṣṭir  
 abhyāvarteta | yajño yajñasya prayāścittir bhavati 'ti || 2  
 agnyādheye samitsv āhitāsu nā 'gnim grhād uddhareyur nā 'nyata  
 āhareyur | na prayāyān nā 'nugached | yadi prayāyād anu-  
 gached vā samvatsaram samvatsarābhiprāyo vā yadi tvared  
 brahmaudanam paktvā punaḥ samidham abhyādadyā | agni-  
 hotram ced anabhyuddhṛtam śaraśarāsyād<sup>701</sup> amum samū-  
 he<sup>702</sup> 'ti brūyād | viṣyannam<sup>703</sup> agne<sup>704</sup> tvam<sup>705</sup> na iti<sup>706</sup> ju-  
 huyān | madhyamena parṇena mahi dyaur<sup>707</sup> iti<sup>708</sup> tan<sup>708</sup>  
 (madhyame palāśāvānaparṇena mahi dyaur iti<sup>709</sup> tan ma-  
 madhyame palāśāvānaparṇena<sup>710</sup> mahi dyaur<sup>709</sup> ity<sup>708</sup>) antaḥ-  
 paridhideṣe ninayed<sup>711</sup> | [d]uhyamānā<sup>712</sup> ced avabhi[n]dyād anya-

<sup>696</sup> A tvāntariyā B 'nvāyāt; D 'nvāntariyāt <sup>697</sup> A madvijetā  
 BC mādviyenā <sup>698</sup> ABC 'hutim <sup>699</sup> D ntaye <sup>700</sup> AD.  
 duṣṭe <sup>701</sup> ABCD śaraśarā (BC 'rāt) syād; s. auch Āp  
 9. 6. 10; cf. Āsv. 3. 11. 19; śaraśarāyat; Komm. in Brahm. Prāy. 43 a  
 faßt dies Wort onomatopöetisch auf: yady adhiśritam . . . śaraśire  
 'ty eva[ṇ] śabdām kuryāt; so auch Āsv. Prāy. 4a: agnihotra-dravyam  
 adhiśritam śaraśarā-śabdām karoti . . . vgl. Agn. Prāy. 8b: agnihotram  
 śaraśarāyat samoṣāmum iti dvestāram udāharet | adhiśrtam agnihotra-  
 dravyam yadi śabdāyet tadā 'bhimaṃtrayeta | <sup>702</sup> Āp. 9. 6. 10.  
<sup>703</sup> A viṣpannam B viṣantam C viṣyamtam <sup>704</sup> A agnis <sup>705</sup> A  
 tam C tvan <sup>706</sup> Zitiert ist: RV. 5. 24. 1. <sup>707</sup> RV. 1. 22. 13;  
 vgl. Āsv. Prāy. 4a: atho "dvāsitam tāpavaśena viṣyandamānam agni-  
 hotra-dravyam tadā mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na iti maṃtreṇa āhavanīyasya  
 bhasmānte ninayet | sthāligatena homaḥ | tad-abhāve dravyāntareṇa  
 homaḥ | atha bibhatse dravye madhyama-palāśa-parṇena valmika-vapā-  
 yām prajāpate na tvad etāny anya ity ṛcā prakṣipyā dravyāntareṇa  
 homaḥ || athavā tūṣṇim prakṣipyā dravyāntareṇa homaḥ | <sup>708</sup> D  
 ityamtam <sup>709</sup> Diese und die inzwischenliegenden Worte fehlen  
 bei B. <sup>710</sup> D palāśaparnena <sup>711</sup> Āp. 9. 2. 5; cf. oben Anm. 93  
 und Agn. Prāy. 8b: viṣyandamānam mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī ca na ity āha-  
 vanīyasya bhasmānte ninayet | viṣyandam tu pūrvavat | adhiśrita-'va-  
 sthāyām pay[o]-yavāgy-ady-agnihotra-dravya-viṣyandamāna yadā 'gnim  
 prāpyate tadā sthāli-gata-dravyo-'pary udakam upasiṃcet | athai 'nad  
 dakṣiṇena paṇinā 'bhimṛṣya jāpati | divam trīyaṃ devān yajño agāt . . . .  
 pūrvahūtau (Ait. Brāhm. 7. 5. 3) | ity etābhyām tata[h] sthāligatam apsu  
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syām sthālyām<sup>713</sup> dohayitvā 'dhiśrayed<sup>714</sup> | adhiśriyamānam<sup>715</sup>  
 ce[t] skanded adhiśritam unniyamānam<sup>716</sup> unnitam punar eva  
 sannam<sup>717</sup> ahutam<sup>717</sup> skandet<sup>718</sup> punar āniyā 'nyām<sup>719</sup> do-  
 hayitvā 'dhiśrityo 'nniya juhuyāt<sup>720</sup> | prācīnam ced dhriyamā-  
 nam skandet prajāpater viśvabhṛtaḥ skannāhutam asi svāhe  
 'ti<sup>721</sup> | dohanaprabhṛtyā homa<sup>722</sup> skandet<sup>723</sup> samudraṁ tvā

prakṣipet | udvāsīte viśyamdane viśyamdanena yadā bhūmim prāpyate  
 tadā mahi dyauḥ . . . . bharimabhir (RV. 1. 22. 13) ity āhavanīyasya  
 bhasma-madhye prakṣipet tataḥ punar-utpattir ubhayatra | <sup>712</sup> ABC  
 uhyamānā; cf. Āp. 9. 5. 7.

<sup>713</sup> cf. AP 37. 3. 1 . . . ājyasthālī cyavate pracalati vā . . . . ibid. 37. 20. 1  
 atha cet (udapātraṁ) prabhajyeta. . . . <sup>714</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 41 b: yadi duhya-  
 mānā 'vabhindyād anyām āryakṛtīm prakṣālya punar dohayet. Daß ārya-  
 kṛtīm statt āryattatīm des Textes zu lesen ist, beweist der unmittelbar  
 folgende Komm.: yadi duhyamānā 'vabhimdyād iti brāhmaṇadarśanād  
 anyām āryakṛtīm . . . Agn. Prāy. 6 b: agnihotraṁ adhiśritam sravad abhi-  
 mamtrayeta | adhiśritam agnihotra-dravyam sthālī-mūlena yadi sravati tadā  
 sravam abhimamtrayeta | garbham sravamtam agadam akarmā 'gnir  
 (akarma nach Āśv. S. 3. 10. 31) . . . . parastād (Āp. S. 9. 4. 1) iti bhinnam  
 aiktaṁ vā 'bhimamtrayeta (soweit wörtlich gleich Āśv. Prāy. 3 a folg.) |  
 sthālī-bhedena vikṣiptam agnihotra-dravyam duṣṭam bhavati | skandana  
 ca vikṣiptam ubhayam yāvat skannam tāvan-mātraṁ duṣṭa[m] bhavati na  
 pātragataṁ (cf. oben Ann. 724) | samudraṁ vāḥ prahīnomi svām yonim  
 api gachata | ariṣṭā asmākaṁ vīrā mayi gāvah samtu gopatāv (Āśv.  
 3. 11. 6; cf. unten in 4. 4) iti mamtreṇa duṣṭasyā 'bhimamtraṇā 'bhi-  
 marśane tamtreṇa kuryāt | tata āpo (!) [']bhyavahareyuh | skanne payasy  
 etad abhimamtraṇam na bhavati agre vakṣyamānatvāt | <sup>715</sup> A adhi-  
 śrayamānam <sup>716</sup> Bei A dittographiert. <sup>717</sup> A sannamahutam  
 B sannamāhutam C samnamamhutam <sup>718</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 42 a  
 werden folgende Möglichkeiten aufgezählt: yady adhiśritam skanded  
 yad udvāsyamānam yad[y ud]vāsitaṁ yadi vo 'nniyamānam (?) yady  
 unnita[m] yadi puraḥ parāhṛtaṁ (?) [cf. Komm. zu Āp. 9. 6. 2] homāya  
 punar avaniyād . . . . vāruṇim nigadya vāruṇyā "jyam juhuyāt (!) imam  
 me varuṇa (RV. 1. 25. 19) ity ādyā . . . . ca nigadya tat tvā yāmī (RV.  
 1. 24. 11) 'ty uttarayā juhuyāt tatra karma pradarśyate; — in den Worten  
 unseres Textes: punar eva . . . . ahutam skandet kann eine Korruption von  
 yadi puraḥ parāhṛtaṁ skandet (s. o.) gesehen werden. <sup>719</sup> ABC anyan  
<sup>720</sup> Āp. 9. 5. 8 f. <sup>721</sup> Vergl. dazu: prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam hutam  
 asi svāhā Āp. 9. 6. 3; Āśv. 3. 11. 11. <sup>722</sup> BCD homā; l.: ā homāt;  
<sup>723</sup> cf. Āśv. Prāy. 3 b: atha dohanādi-prācī[na]-haraṇāt prāg yadi skanne  
 samudraṁ va iti mamtreṇa yad adya dugdham pṛthivīm asṛpta . . . . tan  
 mayi 'ti [Āśv. 3. 11. 7] cābhimamtryo 'pāmsu japed | tad apsu prakṣipyā  
 pātragata-śeṣeṇa homaḥ | homā-samarthe śeṣe 'nyām dugdhvā homaḥ |  
 Der Anfang dieses Passus ermöglicht ein Verständnis, wo nicht eine Re-  
 konstruktion, des obigen Textes; s. auch die unmittelbare Fortsetzung  
 der Āśv. Prāy.: atho 'nnayanādi-pūrvāhuti-paryamtam dugdhā-'di-sādha-

prahiṇomī <sup>724</sup>ty<sup>724</sup> apo<sup>725</sup> niniyo<sup>725</sup> 'd uttamam ity abhima-  
ntryo 'd uttamam mumugdhi na<sup>726</sup> ud uttamam varuṇe<sup>727</sup> 'ti  
vāruṇy(en)ā<sup>728</sup> "jyā-"hutir<sup>728</sup> juhuyā[c]<sup>729</sup> | (chāvali<sup>730</sup> deva)

raṇa-homa-dravye skanne prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam asi 'ty  
[Āp. 9. 6. 3] abhimṛśya apsu prakṣipya homasa[mar]thaśeṣeṇa vāruṇīm  
japitvā vāruṇyā pūrvāhutīm juhuyāt | anya-homakāla-paryantaṃ yajamā-  
nasya 'naśanaṃ bhavati | aśeṣe skanne sthālyāḥ punar-unṇayanam kā-  
rayitvā pūrvavaj juhuyāt | sthālyāṃ apy abhāve ājyam saṃskṛtyo 'nni-  
ya pūrvavad dhomādi kartavyam | athavā śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unniyā 'śeṣe  
ājyam aśeṣe iti nimittatraye prakṛtivad dhomaḥ | vāruṇī japo vāruṇī  
homo 'naśanaṃ ca yajamānasya naimittikaṃ karmatrayaṃ punarhomaṃ  
ca gāṇagāriḥ || ājyam aśeṣa iti tṛtiya eva nimittaṃ tat trayam śeṣa-  
homaḥ punar unniya homa iti kecit | Āśv. Pray. 4 b: prācina-haraṇā-  
'nantaraṃ duṣṭe punar-unṇayanam ||

<sup>724</sup> A V. 10. 5. 23; Āp. 9. 5. 6; daher werden unreine Substanzen dem  
Wasser übergeben; cf. oben Anm. 58. Āśv. 3. 11. 6; Brahm. Prāy. 41 b:  
samudraṃ vaḥ prahiṇomīty anena maṇtrenā 'pa upaniniya niceau [l.:  
nicair] dravyaṃ prāpyaṃ yatra skandet tad apo ninayed iti brāhmaṇam  
yad adya dugdham abhimantrayati . . . Āśv. Prāy.: atha sthālī-bhedād  
bhinnam skannam vā sādharāṇam agnihotra-dravyam abhimantrayet |  
samudraṃ vaḥ . . . . . gopatāv (Āśv. 3. 11. 6) ity apsu prakṣipet |  
<sup>725</sup> AB ayoniniyo C apo miniyo D apo niniyo <sup>726</sup> RV. 1. 25. 21.  
<sup>727</sup> RV. 1. 24. 15; cf. Agn. Prāy. 7 a: āhuti-dvayasya 'paryāptau anyam  
dravyam . . . juhuyāt | etad dohanā-"dy ā prācina-haraṇāt | prācinaharaṇāt  
prāg agnihotra (l.: 'tre) skanne samudraṃ va ity anenā 'bhimṛśya  
yad adya dugdham (cf. Āp. 9. 5. 6) iti payasi | payo-vyatirikte dravye  
adhiśritā-'vasthāyām skanne vakṣyamāṇam brāhmaṇa]oktam viśvaṇḍane  
yad abhimarśanam tad bhavati | tataḥ skannam apo 'bhyavahareyuh |  
prakṛta eva homaḥ | prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvaṃ hutam asi 'ti  
(Āp. 9. 6. 3) tatra skannābhimarśanam śeṣeṇa juhuyāt punar unniyā  
'śeṣa ājyam aśeṣa etad ā homād vāruṇīm japitvā vāruṇyā juhuyād  
anaśanam ā 'nyasmād dhoma-kālāt | tata[h] prayogaḥ | prācina-haraṇādy-  
uttarāhuti-madhye yady agnihotraṃ skandet tadā prajāpater . . . asiti  
payo-'bhimarśanam samudraṃ va ity anena taṇḍulādy-abhimarśanam  
kṛtvā tataḥ skannam apo 'bhyavaharet | tataḥ sruci madhye homa-dvayasya  
paryāpta-dravyam cetainaiva [l.: cet tenaiva] mātṛā-'pacāreṇaiva homaḥ nā  
'trā 'bhyānayanam | yadi sarvaṃ skandet tadā punar unniyā homaḥ |;  
vgl. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 3: yasya 'gnihotry upavasṛṣṭā duhyamānā spandeta  
. . . sā yatra skandayet tad abhimṛśya japet . . . tatra yat pariśiṣṭam  
syāt tena juhuyād yady alam homāya syād | yady u vai sarvaṃ siktaṃ  
syād athā 'nyām āhūya tāṃ dugdhvā tena juhuyāt . . . ; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 3 b:  
pātra-gataṃ tad duṣṭam śeṣā-'bhāve dravyāntareṇa homaḥ | <sup>728</sup> A  
vāruṇye dadyādāyahutir BC vāruṇyo nadyād ājyāhuti D vāruṇyādogdhā-  
dājyāhutir <sup>729</sup> Āp. 9. 6. 1; — Brahm. Prāy. 42 b: vāruṇī prāyaścittaṃ  
karitavyam varuṇo vā etat (!) yajñasya grhṇāti yad ārchati cf. oben Anm. 724.  
<sup>730</sup> D 'vaṇi

sāyam [yasya] skanno<sup>731</sup> homaḥ<sup>732</sup> syāt<sup>732</sup> prātar nā 'śniyāt |  
 prāta[r ya]sya skanno<sup>731</sup> homaḥ<sup>733</sup> [syāt] sāyam nā 'śniyān |  
 (mantraskannam)<sup>734</sup> ced abhivarṣen mitro janān yātayati<sup>735</sup>  
 'ti samidham ādhāyā 'nyā(m) dugdhvā punar juhuyād<sup>736</sup> | mitro  
 janān yātayati bruvāno mitro dādāhā prthivim uta dyām |  
 mitraḥ kṛṣṭir animiṣā 'bhicaṣṭe mitrāya havyam ghṛtavaj  
 juhota svāhe 'ti<sup>737</sup> mantra-samskr̥tam<sup>738</sup> | kiṭā-'vapannam hira-  
 nyagarbha<sup>739</sup> iti valmīkavapāyām<sup>740</sup> avaniyā<sup>741</sup> 'nyām dugdhvā  
 punar juhuyāt<sup>742</sup> || 3 || agnihotraṁ ced anabhyuddhṛtam sūryo

731 ABC skanno D skamnnā 732 A homām syāt B homāsyā  
 C homāt D homā syāt 733 BCD homāt cf. Āp. 9. 6. 9; Agn. Prāy.  
 8 a: varuṇi-japo vāruṇa-homo 'naśanam ca | 734 l. vielleicht:  
 'trasamskr̥tam; s. im folg. 735 RV. 3. 59. 1; Āp. 9. 2. 6 (fast  
 wörtlich übereinstimmend); Āśv. 3. 11. 22; K. Ś. 25. 11. 23. 736 Brahm.  
 Prāy. 42 a: avavr̥ṣtam nā mṛd eva kṛttakasecanam divyādīr adbhīḥ saṁ-  
 sarga ity arthaḥ | paṭalādi-dravya-vihṛtair ity arthaḥ ... tatra bhūr bhūva  
 svar iti purastād dhoto vidad ity evam-ādi brāhmaṇa-darśanāt | vyāhṛtir  
 agnihotraṁ iti vo 'cārya mitra iti pūrvām āhutiṁ juhuyāt parisamāpte  
 tasminn aparahomānte stome ca parisamāpte 'pare punaḥ (!) ahomo vā  
 'parayor ity etat sūtram etad vratam ichaṁti | teṣām iha prāg aparahomād  
 anyām dugdhvā 'tha punar agnihotraṁ juhuyāt (!) anyām dugdh[v]e 'ti vā  
 'n[y]ena dohanam niyamate | kiṁ tu punar agnihotraṁ vidhiyate anyā[d]  
 dravyam upādāya punar agnihotraṁ hotavyam iti payasi vā 'vavr̥ṣte ni-  
 yamaḥ | kiṁ tarhi sarvadravyeṣv eva vṛṣṭeṣu tatra (!) avavr̥ṣṭavaśena  
 etat | nai 'tan naimittikam | cf. Agn. Prāy. 9 a: mitro janān yātayati  
 bruvāna iti samid-ādhanam | sragāte (?) 'gnihotra-dravye yadā varṣet tadā  
 nimittā-'nantaram mitro ... juhote 'ty āhavanīye samidham ādadhyaṭ |  
 tatas tenaiva homaḥ || vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 4 b: agnihotra-dravye vṛṣṭir  
 idaṁ (?) ścota(n)ti tadā mitro ... juhota svāhā || mitrāye 'danḥ || iti samid-  
 antaram nimittā-'nantaram eva juhuyāt || athavā prākṛta-mañtra-sthāne  
 ayam tamtraḥ | 737 ABC 'hote 'ti 738 ABCD mamtram-°  
 739 AV. 4. 2. 7. 740 ABC vapām 741 Mss. apa° resp. api°.

Als Mittel, sich eines unreinen Gegenstandes zu entäußern, gilt das  
 Heraufgießen resp. Aussetzen desselben auf einen Ameisen- oder Maul-  
 wurfhügel, das Aufhängen auf Bäumen, das Fortwerfen in Wasser.  
 Letztere drei Arten bei Beseitigung eines Fötus angewendet: K. Ś. 25.  
 10. 14.

742 Āśv. 3. 10. 23; Brahm. Prāy. 43 b: kiṭāvapannam  
 prajā(va)patyarcā valmīka-vapāyam avaniya bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta ...  
 prajāpatyarcā ... hiranyagarbha ity etayā aparī punaḥ prajāpate na hi  
 tvattāni 'ty etayā ... viṣya (?) saṁivā valmīka-vapāyam kiṭāvapannam  
 amṭahparidhy avavr̥ṣte vā vidhānam avanayed iti ...; cf. Agn. Prāy. 5 b:  
 duṣṭāni havimṣy apsu prakṣipet sarvatra | prajāpate na tvad etāny anya  
 (AV. 7. 80. 3) iti valmīka-vapāyam vā sūnāyām duṣṭam madhyamena  
 palāśa-parpene juhuyāt | prajāpate ... rāyīnām (!) ity anena svāhākārāṇi-  
 tena mamtreṇa valmīka-dvāre prasincet | apsu vā tūṣṇīm |

'bhyudiyād<sup>743</sup> ihai 'va kṣemya edhi<sup>744</sup> mā prahāsir<sup>745</sup> mām  
amum amuṣyāyaṇam<sup>745</sup> iti śamayitvā prañiya pravṛttā<sup>746</sup>-tipa-  
ttau<sup>746</sup> maitraṃ caruṃ nirvāpet sauryam<sup>747</sup> ekakapālaṃ |  
varo<sup>748</sup> dakṣiṇā | 'gnīn upasamādhāya yajamānaḥ patnī vā 'bhuñ-  
jānau vāgyatāv<sup>749</sup> arañipāṇi<sup>750</sup> sarvāhnam<sup>751</sup> upāsiyātām<sup>752</sup> |  
dvayor<sup>753</sup> gavoḥ<sup>753</sup> sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād<sup>754</sup> | agnaye

<sup>743</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 51 a: anuddhṛtaṃ ced abhyudiyād uttarato gārha-  
patyasya samstīryā 'gnihotra-pātrāṇi prayujya samstīrya (?) pavitraṃ  
utpādyā pavitre prākṣa . . . (?) sruvaṃ juhūm ājyasthālīm co 'ttarataḥ  
prayujya agnihotrasya daśahotrābhi . . . rśanāmtaṃ kṛtvā saṃśādanāni  
gārhapatyasya pakayajñadharmenā "jyaṃ saṃsṛutyō 'ttarataḥ agnihotra-  
pātrāṇām avasthāpya caturgr̥hitaṃ gr̥hītvā pavitre gārhapatyē akṛtvā  
"jyasthālīm apañiya siddham | <sup>744</sup> Āp. 9. 7. 6. (Die differenzierenden

Bestimmungen finden sich in 9. 7. 2 ff.; cf. 9. 7. 10); Āśv. 3. 12. 7.

<sup>745</sup> D prahāsīd idam aham amuṣyāyaṇam iti <sup>746</sup> A pravṛttāpītau  
B pravṛttānīpattau C pravṛttāpīpacau ('tvau?) s. hierzu Āp. 9. 7. 6; —  
Brahm. Prāy. 58 a folg. behandeln das gleiche Thema; . . . prātar agni-  
hotraṃ ced abhyudiyād anv agnir uśasām agram akāśād (M. S. 1. 8. 9) ity  
unnitām abhimaṇtrayate | (Komm.) prātar agnihotragrahaṇāt prañite  
gnau prātar agnihotrārtham abhyudiyāt . . . na hi sūryābhyudaya eva  
yasyā 'hutām agnihotraṃ sūryo 'bhyudiyād brāhmaṇa-darśanāt tatṛe 'daṃ  
prāyaścittam anuṣaṃgaṃ kuryād anv agnir ity unnitām abhimaṇtrayate  
brāhmaṇadarśanāt . . . anādesād adhvaryur evābhimaṇtrayate āhavanī-  
[yaṃ] yajamāna ihai 've 'ty abhimaṇtrayate . . . mām amum iti nāma  
gr̥hṇāty amuṣyāyaṇam iti gotraṃ mām yajnadattaṃ bhāradvāja ity evam  
anyatrā 'thā 'mum iti . . . prātar vastor iti anītato 'nuśajed iti sāyam-  
agnihotra-kālātikrama uktaṃ | hutai maitraṃ caruṃ nirvāpet | sauryam  
ekakapālaṃ hute hutamātre sadyahkriyā syād iti | imdhānau dam-  
pati vāgyatāv anāśnāmtau sarvāhnam upāsiyātām | . . . agnisamīpe . . .  
āsiyātām dvayor gavoḥ sāyam agnihotraṃ juhuyād . . . sāyam patny  
anvāste na prātar iti patnyā pratar-anvāsanam eva pratiśidhyate . . . prātar  
agnihotraṃ ced abhyudiyād . . . anuddhṛtaṃ . . . uddharanād ārabhya  
prāk pūrvasyā "huter idam prāyaścittam . . . vgl. oben 1. 2. <sup>747</sup> ABCD

saurya; cf. Āp. 9. 7. 7. <sup>748</sup> A vanaro B caro; cf. Āśv. 3. 12. 8.

<sup>749</sup> Auch der Bruch der Schweigepflicht verlangt Sühne (Āśv. Prāy. 17 a):  
yatra vāgyamo vihitas tad-bhreṣe ato devā (RV. 1. 22. 16) iti japed api  
vā 'nyāṃ vaiṣṇavīm || upāṃśu-madhyamā—"dir yatra svarō vihitas tad-  
bhreṣe 'dhvaryur ābhīr gīrbhīr . . . syāma (Taitt. Brāhm. 3. 7. 11. 4—5)  
svāhe 'ti sruvāhutiṃ juhuyāt || yatra ekaśruty-ādi vihitaṃ tad-bhreṣe  
viṣṇuṃ śrutvā tad eva punaḥ paṭhet || <sup>750</sup> BC arañipāṇi D arañi-  
yāni <sup>751</sup> A sarvātsam BC sarvāhnam <sup>752</sup> B upāsiḍhātām; cf. Āśv.

3. 12. 9. <sup>753</sup> BC dvayokamchoḥ; ddvayor gaṭhoḥ; verbessert nach  
Āp. 9. 7. 9. <sup>754</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 47 a: yadi rudraḥ paśūn abhimanyeta

dvayo gavo sthālyā dohane ca dohayitvā samāniya sajūr jātavedā (M. S.  
1. 8. 6) iti pūrvām āhutiṃ juhuyāt | . . . dvayor gavyo sthālyā dohanena  
ca (?) dohayitvā . . . atha sthālyāṃ samāniya bhūr bhuvah svar agni-

vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālam puroḍāśam nirvaped | yadi hy  
 ayam divā prajāsu hi manyeta sajur jātavedo<sup>755</sup> divā prthi-  
 vyā haviṣo vihi<sup>756</sup> svāhe 'ti sajūruho<sup>757</sup> vā syāt sajur agnaye  
 divā prthivyā haviṣo vihi svāhe 'ti dvādaśarātram agnihotraṁ  
 juhuyād | yadi na viramayē agnaye<sup>758</sup> suśīryatamo<sup>759</sup> juṣasva  
 svāhe 'ty aparaṁ dvādaśarātram<sup>758</sup> niśāyāḥ sāyamāhuter  
 atipattir<sup>760</sup> prātarāśe prātārāhuter āsādyā 'gnihotraṁ a<sup>761</sup> ta-

hotraṁ sajur iti co 'kt[*v*]ā pūrvām āhutiṁ juhuyāt Bl. 48 a: dvayor  
 gavor ekasyā dvayor vā niśidane punaḥ prāyaścittam ity upajātam iti  
 kṛtvā prāyaścittam bha[*va*]ti. Bl. 60 b: dvayor gavoh sāyam agnihotraṁ  
 hutvā ...

<sup>755</sup> Āp. 6. 14. 12. <sup>756</sup> C vrihi <sup>757</sup> A sajūrudvo B sajūruho  
 D sajūsaho gemeint: sajur u hai 'va? <sup>758</sup> Statt dieser und  
 der inzwischienliegenden Worte setzt D: niśā <sup>759</sup> A suśīryatapto  
 B suśīryatamo C sruśīryatamo <sup>760</sup> cf. K. Ś. 25. 10. 23; Agn. Prāy. 4 b:  
 atha rātreḥ prathamāḥ praharāḥ sāyamhoma-kālāḥ || dāśa ghaṭikāḥ prā-  
 tarhoma-kālāḥ || svakāle prapīteṣv agniṣu (!) uktakālā-'tikrame prāyaścittam  
 ucyate | sāyamkāla-'tipattau ājyam ... saṁskṛtya caturgrhitaṁ grhītvā  
 āhavanīye juhuyāt | doṣā vast[o]r namaḥ svāhe 'ti maṇṭreṇa | pariśa-  
 muhanādikuṣeṣū 'pasādanāṁtaṁ kṛtvā bhūr bhuvāḥ svar iti jāpitvā  
 brāhmaṇāya gāṁ dattvā samid-ādhānā-'di-homa-śeṣaṁ samāpya teṣv evā  
 'gniṣu vāruṇim iṣṭiṁ pūrṇāhutiṁ vā kuryāt | atha prātaḥ-kālā-'tipattau  
 prātar vast(o)r namaḥ svāhe 'ti caturgrhitaṁ hutvā kuṣeṣū 'pasādanāṁ-  
 taṁ kṛtvā gāṁ dattvā homaśeṣaṁ samāpya (!) āhavanīyam evā 'nuga-  
 mayen na dakṣiṇāgniṁ || punar gārhapatyād āhavanīyam prānayet | ihaiva  
 kṣemya edhi mā prahāsīd [d]evadattaṁ mā bhāradvājaṁ iti prānayet |  
 atra maṇṭre yajamāna-nāma ..... iṣṭir mitraḥ sūrya iti devate ||  
 abhi yo mahinā divaṁ ..... prthiviṁ (RV. 3. 59. 7) | pra sa mitra  
 marto ..... dūrāt (RV. 3. 59. 2) iti mitrasya caror yājyānuvākye |  
 taraṇir viśvadarśataś ..... anikam (RV. 1. 50. 4) iti sūryasya || pūr-  
 ṇāhutyau vā kārye | tato daṇḍpati vāgyatau (s. oben 4. 4) tān evā 'gnin  
 jvalaya(m)to upāsiyātāṁ | homakāle anaśnāntau ekasyā gor dugdham  
 adhiśritya tasmin dvitīya-gor dugdham ānayet | tenā 'gnihotraṁ hutvā  
 dakṣiṇāgny-āhavanīyayor na dhāraṇaṁ | tataḥ prātaḥkāle agnihotraṁ  
 hutve 'ṣṭiḥ | agnir vratabhṛd devatā | tvam agne vratabhṛc ..... jātave-  
 daḥ | (A. Ś. 3. 12. 14) || pūrṇamāsavad ānyat || pūrṇāhutiṁ vā || athā pra-  
 pīteṣu homakālātipattau agnir vihrtyā 'jyam saṁskṛtya juhvaṁ catur-  
 grhitaṁ grhītvā manasvatyā 'havanīye juhuyāt | evam aneka-kālā-'tipattāv  
 apy eṣaiva prāyaścittih || atita-homā api pakṣa-homa-nyāyena kartavyā  
 ity eke |. Die Versäumnis eines Manenopfers muß rituell gesühnt wer-  
 den (Agn. Prāy. 19 a): apastambo-kṛta-piṇḍapitṛyajña-lopa-prāyaścittam |  
 piṇḍapitṛyajña-'tipatti-nimittam caturgrhitenā 'jyena saptahotārāḥ ho-  
 syāmi 'ti saṁkalpya caturgrhitaṁ grhītvā | mahā(m)-haviṁ hotā | satya-  
 haviṁ adhvaryuḥ | acyuta-pajā agnir | acyuta-manā upavaktā | anādhṛṣyaś  
 cā 'pratidhṛṣyaś ca yajñasyā 'bhīgarau | ayāsyā udgātā | vācaspate hr̥dvidhe  
 nāman vidhema te nāma | vidhes tvam asmākaṁ nāma | vācaspatiḥ somam

mitor <sup>761</sup> āsita | samsthāpyau <sup>762</sup> 'm bhūr bhuvaḥ svar janad  
[d]oṣā vastoh <sup>763</sup> svāhe 'ti juhuyād | atha prātar ahar-aha <sup>764</sup>  
rātrim <sup>764</sup> rātrim ity upasthāne syād | agnaye 'bhyujjuṣasva  
svāhe 'ti sruveṇa gārhapatyē juhuyād <sup>765</sup> | yasyā 'nnam <sup>766</sup> nā  
'dyāt <sup>766</sup> tasmai brāhmaṇāya <sup>767</sup> dadyāt <sup>767</sup> adhastāt samidham  
āharet | smṛtāgnihotri tiraśco darbhān dakṣiṇāgrān <sup>768</sup> kuryād |  
yasyo 'bhāv anugatau sūryo 'bhinimlocēd <sup>769</sup> abhyudiyād vā  
'raṇim <sup>770</sup> gatā vā naśyeyur <sup>771</sup> asamārūdhā <sup>771</sup> vā prakṛtyai

apād mā daivyaś tamtuś chedi mā manuṣyaḥ | namo dive namaḥ pṛthi-  
vyai (M. S. 1. 9. 1 Text variiert vgl. TA. 3. 5. 1) svāhā vācaspataye brah-  
maṇa idam ta ity āhavanīye juhōti | Das Verfehlen des richtigen Zeit-  
punktes ist selbst bei Einzelheiten des Opfervollzuges ominös (Āśv. Prāy.  
18 a): *vaṣatkāre* anāgate atite vā . . . . . Noch mehr bedarf das ver-  
sehentliche Auslassen eines Opfers oder Opfergliedes der Sühne (Āśv.  
Prāy. 18 b): *prayājā-*"dy-amgā-"karaṇe . . . . . aṣtau vyāhṛtiś ca sruveṇa  
juhuyāt || *pīṇadapitṛyajñā-*"karaṇe 'py etat prāyaścittam || tad etat samīṣṭa-  
yajjuṣaḥ pūrvaṃ kāryam || sarvatrā 'karaṇe . . . . Die versäumte heilige  
Handlung muß nachgeholt werden (ibid.): *prāyaścitte* kṛte paścād  
atitam api karma vai kāryam ity eka ācāryā ne 'ty ane[ke] 'pi  
vipaścitaḥ || *pathikṛn-mukhenā* 'tipanna-yāgaṃ vā juhuyād iti kecit || tad  
etat iṣṭy-amtārā-"rambhāt prāg yadā tatra kāraṇa-vaśan na kṛtam tadā  
*pathikṛn-mukhene* 'ṣṭy-amtaraṃ kāryam || Auch bedarf es der Sühne,  
wenn gegen die beim Opfer vorgeschriebene Observanz in irgend einer  
Weise verstoßen wird (Agn. Prāy. 14 a): athā "gneyyā iṣṭayo vrata-  
'tipattau vratapataye vrata-lopa-nimitta eve 'ṣṭiḥ kāryā | sāgnāv agni-  
praṇayane 'gnivate | oder wenn die heiligen Feuer bei ihrer Anlegung  
verwechselt werden: yady anyo 'gnir āhavanīyāyatane āhavanīyārtham  
uddhriyate tam agnim anidhāyai 'va smarati cet tadā "yatanastham  
udhye "dānim uddhṛtam nidadhyāt | tathā 'sati 'ṣṭir na bhavati | eta-  
sminn api pakṣe yady anapavṛtta-karmo 'duhyeta tadā vyāhṛtihoṃaḥ  
kartavyaḥ || apavṛttam tu na kimcid api prāyaścittam || tadā smṛtau  
etasmin pūrva-praṇīte nidadhyāt tadā 'gnivate 'ṣṭiḥ kāryā ||

<sup>761</sup> A aptamitor<sup>762</sup> A samānya BCD sāmāny<sup>763</sup> B

"vāstāḥ

<sup>764</sup> ABCD "aha rātrim<sup>765</sup> Brāhm. Prāy. 2 b

zitiert als maßgebend für alle Sühnezeremonien: brahmā prāyaścittāni  
sruveṇa juhōty etat sūtram. Agn. Prāy. 19 a: sruveṇa juhuyād brahmā |  
sarvatre 'ṣṭika-prāyaścitteṣu brahmaiva kartā | Śrauta-prāy. Candrikā 1 a:  
homa-sādhana-pātra-"nuktau *juhuh* | caturgrhīta-"di-viśeṣā-"nuktau ju-  
hām ekagrhitam | vahni-viśeṣā-"nuktāv āhavanīyaḥ | kartṛ-viśeṣā-"nuktāv  
adhvaryuḥ | karma-madhye patitāni prāyaścittāni tu ājyena bha-  
vaṃti |

<sup>766</sup> A yasyānnamāsyāt B yasyānnamāsyāt C yatyānnamā-  
nādyāt D yasyānnamādyāt

<sup>767</sup> A "dayadyād; BCD "yadadyāt<sup>768</sup> BC dakṣiṇāgnān<sup>769</sup> BC bhimlocēd; D bhiniproced<sup>770</sup> C "yānim<sup>771</sup> B "yu samā C yuh samā D yurasā-

mārūdhō

"va punar ādadhīta<sup>772</sup> || 4 || iti yajñaprāyaścitte *caturtho*  
*'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ*<sup>773</sup> ||

<sup>772</sup> Āśv. 3. 12. 29 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 51 b: yasyo 'bhā[v] . . . gārhapatyā-  
'havaniyāv anugatau sūryo 'bhyastam iyāt abhyudiyād vā punarā-  
dheyam eva tasya prāyaścittiḥ; K. Ś. 25. 3. 24; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 10 b:  
gārhapatyā-"havaniyayor nāse tū 'bhaya-niṣṭha-bhasmanā 'raṇi ayaṇi  
ta (RV. 3. 29. 10) iti mamtreṇa saṃsprśye 'taḥ prathamam jāñe agniḥ  
svād yoner . . . . . prajānan (Kaus. S. 133. 6) mathitvā gārhapatya ābhāya  
tata āhavaniyaṃ praṇiya pūrvoktaṃ prāyaścittaṃ [d. h.: die beim Er-  
löschen des gārhapatya-Feuers angewandte] kuryāt || ubhayor ubhaya-  
sāpekṣatvena kramā-'nupatteḥ || tata ubhayatrā 'nvādhāno-'pasthāne ||  
<sup>773</sup> BC lesen statt dieses Kolophons: ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāya-  
ścitta-prasaṃge dvādaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ || 12 || ; B beginnt sodann mit: oṃ  
D ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṃge dvādaśo 'dhyāyaḥ |

*Atharvaprāyaścittāni. Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.  
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agnihotram<sup>774</sup> ced anabhyuddhṛtam sūryo 'bhinimloced<sup>775</sup>  
brāhmaṇo bahuvid<sup>776</sup> uddhared<sup>776</sup> | yo brāhmaṇo bahuvit syāt  
samuddharet<sup>776</sup> | sarveṇai 'vai 'naṃ tad brāhmaṇa uddhared  
yenā 'mtarhita[m]<sup>777</sup> hiranyam agrato hared<sup>778</sup> | vāruṇam yava-  
mayam carum nirvaped<sup>779</sup> ita eva prathamam iti | ita eva

774 D °tre 775 BD bhimloced C bhimloce; cf. Āp. 9. 6. 12.  
776 A liest statt bāhu\*: ba°; B bahuvid yo brāhmaṇo bahuddhā\*; CD  
bahuvid uddhared yo brāhmaṇo [ba]huvit syāt; cf. Āsv. 3. 12. 16.  
777 A yo nyamta°; die Stelle ist zweifellos verderbt. 778 Brahm.  
Prāy. 49a: yasyā 'gnim anuddhṛtam sūryo 'bhinimrocet(!) yo brāhmaṇo  
bahuvit sa uddharet(!) yasya yajamānasyā 'gnim anuddhṛtam gārhapatyād  
aviyojitam ity arthaḥ | . . . ṛtvig-vyatirikto 'pi yo bahuvit sa uddhared  
iti . . . anyeno 'ddhṛtam apy anuddhṛtam iti hiranyam baddhvā darbheṇā  
'grato haretā paścād agnihotreṇā 'nviyāt(!) | hiranyam baddhvā darbheṇā  
'ddhṛtir iti vyākhyātam | yatra yatra hiranyam baddh[v]jeti tatra tatro  
'ddharaṇam iti tene 'hai 'ke agnīm tam baddhvā(?) 'grato hared iti agner  
uddharaṇam prakṛtam tasyā 'grato nayed ity arthaḥ | paścād agnihotreṇā  
'nviyād anugacched ity arthaḥ . . . tatra bahuvit kecd ācakṣate | caturdaśa-  
bhīr vidyāsthānair adhitair vijñātāis ca bhavaṃti | Bl. 51a: iyāms tu  
viśeṣaḥ | caturgrhītam ājyam agrato haret caturgrhītena hiranyam bādhyā-  
te(!) tathā kecd iti purastāt pratyaṇmukha ājyam juhuyāt | cf. Āsv. Prāy.  
5 b: athā "havanīye 'pranīte yadi sūryā 'stamānam(!) tadā bahuvidam  
brāhmaṇam ānīya teno 'ddharaṇādini . . . nāntam kārayet | agnipraṇayana-  
kāle hiranyam darbhair baddhvā 'nyaḥ purastān nayet | tataḥ paścād  
bahuvid agnim praṇayet | tataḥ sāyam-kālā-'tipatti-prāyaścittam vāruṇi-  
'ṣṭy-antaṃ sarvaṃ kāryam ity eke | kuśeṣū 'pasādanā-"di-vāruṇi-'ṣṭy-antaṃ  
ity apare | athā "havanīye 'pranīte yadi sūryodayas tadā saṃskṛtam ca-  
turgrhītam ājyam ekaḥ purastān nayet | tataḥ paścād dhiranyavad raja-  
tam eko nayet | tataḥ paścād bahuvid agnim praṇayet | tata āyatane  
'gnim nidhāya purastāt pratyaṇmukha upaviśya jānav ājya (l.: jānū ājya)  
uśāḥ ketunā svāhe 'ti [Ā. S. 9. 7. 10] hutvā prātaḥkālā-'tipatti-prātar-vrāta-  
bhṛtīṣṭy-antaṃ āhavanīyā-'nugamavarjam kuryāt | kuśeṣū 'pasādanādi-  
prātar-vrātabhṛtīṣṭy-antaṃ kuryād ity eke | 779 Āp. 9. 7. 1.



prathamam jājñe<sup>780</sup> agnir ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ | sa  
gāyatrīyā triṣṭubhā jagatyā 'nuṣṭubhā devo devebhyo havyam  
vahatu prajānann<sup>781</sup> iti paścād gārhapatya-lakṣaṇasyā 'rañi  
nidhāya mathitve 'še rāyayai ramaṣve 'ty ādadhyāt | iṣe rāyayai  
ramasva<sup>782</sup> saḥase dyumna ūrje 'patyāya | samrād asi sva-  
rād<sup>783</sup> asi sārasyatau tvo 'tsau prāvātām iti | yaḥ kaś cā  
'gninām anugachen<sup>784</sup> nirmanthyaś<sup>785</sup> ced<sup>785</sup> dakṣiṇāgnim |

<sup>780</sup> D yajñe      <sup>781</sup> Kauś. S. 133. 6; die Mss. fügen hinter 'nuṣṭubhā ein:  
brhatyā paṁktyā guptaḥ (D uṣṇiḥ) punar.      <sup>782</sup> Ap. Śr. 9. 9. 1, wo aber  
die Vorbedingung für die Zitierung dieser Sprüche eine andere ist; vgl.  
V. S. 13. 35.      <sup>783</sup> fehlt bei A.      <sup>784</sup> Für das Erlöschen aller Opfer-  
feuer schreiben Āsv. Prāy. 6 a vor: sarvavahninām nāse sūryā-'stamayo-  
'dayāt (!) prāg bhasmanā 'rañi samspṛśya mamtreṇa mathitvā prañīya  
pūrvoktā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭis ca kartavyā | idam iṣṭidvayaṁ ho-  
mam kṛtvā teṣv evā 'gniṣu kartavyaṁ | athavā sūryā-'stamayo-'dayā[t]  
prān mamthanopakramam kṛtvā pratinidhiṁ laukikāgni-pramukhaṁ gā-  
rhapatyā-'yatane pratiṣṭhāpya vihr̥tya homaṁ kṛtvā 'gnīn utśṛjya mathi-  
tvā tapasvatīṣṭir jyotiṣmatīṣṭis ca kartavyā pūrnāhuti vā | sarveṣāṁ nāse  
sūryā-'stamayo-'dayāt prān mamthanopakramā-'bhāve 'gnyādheyam pu-  
narādheyam vā kartavyaṁ | . . . sūryā-'stamayo-'dayā-'namtaram sarvā-  
nugatau pūrvavan mathitvā 'gnihotraṁ hutvā tapasvatīṣṭi[r] jyotiṣmati-  
ṣṭis ca pūrnāhuti vā | vgl. Āsv. Prāy. 10 b: evaṁ sarva-nāse āyatana-tri-  
taya-niṣṭha-bhasmanā 'rañi ayaṁ ta (RV. 3. 29. 10) iti mamtreṇa sam-  
spṛśya pūrvavan mathitvā 'gnidvayaṁ vihr̥tya pūrvavat prāyaścittam  
tamtreṇa kṛtvā paścād dakṣiṇāgnim vihr̥tya prāyaścittim kuryāt | tasya  
'bhaya-sāpekṣatvāt | tata sarvatrā 'nvādhāno-'pasthānāni | sarvanāse bha-  
smanā 'rañi samsparsā-'bhāve ca yadi sūryā-'stamayo-'dayau bhavatas tadā  
'gnivichittih | anvāhitānām ajasrāṇāṁ yadā kadācin nāso 'pi etad eva  
prāyaścittam | tatrā 'nvādhānādi nā 'sti | pakṣāntaram uktvā "ha bhaga-  
vān baudhāyanaḥ | manasvatim ced āhavanīye juhuyāt sai 'śā 'jasrāṇāṁ  
anvāhitānām savana-gatānām cā 'gninām udvātānām prāyaścittir etad eva  
homakāle 'nvādhāna-varjam | etayaivā "vṛtai 'kasminn udvāte dvayor ve  
'ti | vikṛtiṣu anvāhita-nāse etad eva prāyaścittam | vgl. Agn. Prāy. 13 a:  
uddharāṇo-'ttaram udayāstamayāt prāk sarvaṁ (!) yugapad anugaccheyus  
tadā gārhapatyasya pūrvavan mamthanā-'dy-utpattim kṛtvā "havanīyaṁ  
prañīya tapasvatī[m] pūrnāhutiṁ kṛtvā 'gnim parityajya tato hiraṇyaṁ  
puraskṛtye 'ty ādi vāruṇāya svāhe 'ty aṁta[m] kṛtvā tato dakṣiṇāgner  
utpattiḥ | tataḥ karmaśeṣam samāpayet | udayā-'stamayā-'namtaram iyam  
evo 'tpattiḥ | udayāstamaye yugapad-anugamane sarvā-'nugatis tatra tu  
punarādhanam eva | karmaṇas tretā-'gni-sādhyatvād āhavanīya-homa-kale  
trayāṇām agnīnām samyak samimḍhanam kṛtvā homaḥ (!) kuryāt | yasya  
kasya cit karmano 'rthāya vihr̥teṣv agniṣu yat kiṁcid agnisādhyā[m]  
naimittikam utpādyate tasya naimittika-sahitasya ta evā 'gnayo bhaveyuh |  
na punaḥ-punar vihartavyaḥ | sarvāṁś ced anugatān ādityo 'bhyudiyād vā  
'bhyastam iyād vā 'gny ādheyam punar-ādheyam vā yadi sarveṣv agniṣv  
anugateṣv ādityo 'stam udayam vā gacheta tadā 'gnyādheyam punar-

ahute<sup>786</sup> cet<sup>787</sup> sāyam pūrvo 'nugached agnihotram adhiśrityo  
'nriyā 'gninā pūrveṇo<sup>788</sup> 'ddhṛtyā<sup>788</sup> 'gnihotreṇā 'nudraved<sup>789</sup> |  
adattapūrva-dhanam<sup>790</sup> dadyāc | chvas tapasvatim nirvaped |  
āyāhi tapasā janiṣv<sup>791</sup> ā 'gne<sup>792</sup> pāvako arciṣā | upe 'mām suṣtutim  
mama | ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣv āgne<sup>793</sup> pāvaka dīdyat | havyā  
deveṣu no dadhad iti havimṣi dadyāt | sāyam ahutam ati 'tara-  
sminn<sup>794</sup> etad eva prāyaścittam anyatrā 'pi śnutyā<sup>795</sup> ced |  
ahute cet prātaḥ pūrvo<sup>796</sup> 'nugacched avadāheṣum<sup>797</sup> aśni-  
yāt | teṣv alabhyamāneṣu bhasmanā 'raṇim samsprīṣya ma-  
thitvā 'vadadhyād<sup>798</sup> | agnaye jyotiṣmata iṣṭim nirvaped | ahute

ādheyam vā prāyaścittam bhavet | Mit dem Fall, das irgendetwas Opfer-  
feuer erlischt, beschäftigen sich Agn. Prāy. 18a: anugate tu mamthanādi-  
tapasvatī-ṣṭy-aptam tatra prāyaścittam | tatra tu yāvajanma tā(n)van ma-  
thit[v]ā yadi laukikāgni-sthāpane anavakāśas tadā yāvad-utpattis tāvan  
ma[m]thanam eva tata āyatane nidhāyā 'nuddharāṇa-prāyaścitta-pūrvaka-  
homaḥ karttavya[s] ca | tato 'nuddharāṇa-prāyaścittena saha yadi kālō  
'tipannas tadā manasvatihomaś ca kāryaḥ | <sup>785</sup> AD nirmathyaś ce  
B nirmamthyaś ca C nirmamthyaś ce

<sup>786</sup> B āhute; cf. Āp. 9. 9. 6. <sup>787</sup> A ce <sup>788</sup> A 'nodvṛtyā  
<sup>789</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 51 b folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet |  
svapradhāne 'gnihotreṇa prāsamgike 'gninā ca sabā 'gnihotreṇa co [d]dra-  
vet | atrā 'nugached iti svayam anugataya(?) tad(?) bhavati nānugameti  
yathānugamayya pūrvam iti āhuta iti prāk pūrvasyā 'hute ita eva pra-  
thamam jajña (MŚ. 3. 3. 1) uddhṛtam abhimamtrayate pradhānatvād anya-  
sya cā 'nādeśād adhvaryūr abhimamtranādini karoti | iṣe rāye ramaṣve  
ty (MŚ. ibid.) ādhāsyamāne uddhṛtam ādhāsyamānam cā 'gnim abhimam-  
trayate samprād asīty (ibid.) ādadhāti | amṛtāhutim ity asyā 'dhānamam-  
trasyā 'yam apacādadyāmbādhakam | sārasyatau tvā (ibid.) ity āhitam  
avasthāpitam agnim abhimamtrayata iti vyavahitam apy anuvarttate  
[']hute [']gnaye jyotiṣmate 'ṣṭakapālam nirvaped vāruṇam yavamayam  
caruṇ hutasyā mātṛe upavasatho na syāt idam sāyam agnihotre vā  
viśeṣā-'bhidhānāt ubhayam tu bhavati | <sup>790</sup> B '-pūrve-' <sup>791</sup> M. S. 4.  
10. 2. Āp. 9. 9. 3; vgl. auch Āśv. 3. 12. 27. <sup>792</sup> A agne <sup>793</sup> Die  
Worte von arciṣā bis āgne fehlen bei C; AD lesen: agne. <sup>794</sup> A  
ahutemititi itarāściṣminn <sup>795</sup> BCD sutyā <sup>796</sup> A  
aparvā <sup>797</sup> A läßt diese und die zwischenliegenden Worte aus;  
vgl. Āp. 9. 9. 7; Brahm. Prāy. 68 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre [']paro 'gnir  
anugached iti ... AP. 37. 10. 1: apraṇito 'huto 'gnir upaśāmyati; vgl.  
ibid. 37. 13. 1: praṇito 'gnir upaśāmyati ... <sup>798</sup> Brahm.  
Prāy. 52 a folg.: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotra uddharāṇād ārabhya prāk  
pūrvasyā 'huteḥ svapradhāna ity uktam | tatrā 'bhimarśanāntam kṛtvo  
'ddharet | ... agnim adhvaryūr grhṇīyād agnihotradravayam soma  
śarmā grhṇīyāt sahanāyanam somaśarmā udya chattram kṛtvo 'pāste  
adhvaryuḥ | paristarāṇāntam kṛtvo 'pasādyam juhuyāt tam sadya jyoti-  
ṣmatī bhūyo bhūyaḥ praṇite 'nugame sakṛd eve 'ṣṭiḥ bahuvidā praṇi-  
yamāne 'nugate sa eka(?) bhūyaḥ praṇayed abhimamtranādini ca kuryat(!)

cet prātar aparo<sup>799</sup> vā 'nugacched<sup>797</sup> anugamayitvā pūrvam mathitvā 'param uddhṛtya juhuyāt | tvaramāṇaḥ pūrvam agnim anvasasāya tataḥ paścāt prāñcam uddhṛtya juhuyāt<sup>800</sup> || 1 || uparuddhe cen mathyamāno na jāyeta<sup>801</sup> yatra dīpyamānam

ā paristarapād āyur mecheti sādite 'nugate agne(?) eva dakṣiṇato 'gnihotradravyasya prayogaḥ(!) yadi hutāyām samidhā(?) 'nugachet(!) bhūyo 'nugata abhimamtrāṇādayo mamtrā āvartante sakṛd eva samid bhūyo bhūyo 'nugata ekaṭra bhasmany avasthāpīte 'gner darśane tatāśaṇdehaṇ na jyotiṣmatī(!) agnimatī(!) āditaś ce 'yam eva sthāpīte bhūyo bhūyaḥ praṇīte prathamasyā 'gner darśane 'bhyuddhṛtadhāraṇalakṣaṇānāgnimatī jyotiṣmatī bhavati gataśriya uddharapābhāvād ita eve 'ty abhimamtrāṇaḥ bhavati iṣe rāya iti ca mamtrātrayaḥ bhavati | yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre pūrvo 'gnir anugachet tamo vā etasya yajñam yuvata iti brāhmaṇam

<sup>799</sup> D ayaste cf. Kauś. S. 7. 3. 4: abhyuddhṛto '[huto 'gnir pramādād upaśamyati mathite vyāhṛtir juhuyāt . . . <sup>800</sup> Āp. 9. 9. 8;

vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt Brahm. Prāy. 46 b folg.: yadi pūrvasyām hutāyām skandeta yatra ve 'ty arthaḥ | ity anena mamtreṇa samidham ādhāyo 'ttarām yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt(!) vyākhyātam punar āgnihotra-vidhanam | yadi pūrvasyām hutāyām āhavanīyo 'nugached agnir dārau dārāv agnir [M. Ś. 3. 2. 9] iti hiraṇyam nidhāyo 'ttarām yathāvidhiṃ juhuyāt(!) hiraṇyam nidhāye 'ty agnisampādanārthaṃ hiraṇyam nidhāya juhoty agnimaty eva juhoti 'ti darśanāt | uktam punaragnihotraṃ yatra pūrvasyām hutāyām skanded āhavanīyā-'nugamaś co 'bhayaṃ bhavati tatā 'gnisampādanāya pūrvam hiraṇyam ādhāya samidham āda-dhyād . . . . .; vgl. ferner ibid. 53 a: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugached ahuta iti prāk pūrvasyā "huteḥ(!) agnihotra iti . . . anugamayya pūrvasmin mathitvā praṇayed anugamayya pūrvam aparasmān mathitve 'ti yena nyāyena mamthanam samāropya mathitvā praṇayed iti viśeṣa uktaḥ siddham agnihotraṃ śvo bhūte 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pāvakavate 'ṣṭākāpālaṃ nirvapet śvo bhūta iti yena prakāreṇa śvo bhūto nirvāpaḥ svastha evam arthaṃ kṛtvā 'nyedur nirvāpaḥ | yadi tvareta eva prāñcam uddhṛtya dakṣiṇāgnim anvāniya sāyamprātar juhuyāt . . . Bl. 54 b: yasyā 'hute 'gnihotre 'paro 'gnir anugached svapradhāne uddharapād ārabhya prāk pūrvasyā "huter gārhapatyānugame anugamayya pūrvam gārhapatyam samāropya nirmathya praṇayanād ārabhya 'gnihotraṃ siddham | upavasathaṃ kṛtvā 'gnaye tapasvata iṣṭi uddhṛtamātra āhavanīye gārhapatyānugame pātryām evā 'nugamayet(!) anugamite yady aparo drśyate tapasvati jyotiṣmatī(!) uktam anugate jyotiṣmatī uktam anugate jyotiṣmatī nā 'nugamita iti . . . <sup>801</sup> cf. Āsv. Prāy. 7 a: atha samārūḍheṣu mathyamāno na jāyeta | tadā laukikāgni-brāhmaṇapāny-ajakarṇa-darbhastambā'psu kṣāṭheṣu pṛthivyām hutvā 'namtaram eva mamthanam kuryāt | pṛthivyām pūrvasamid api na bhavati | homaḥ kāryaḥ | kṣāṭhe parisamimhanādayo lupyante | brāhmaṇa-pāny-ādau tisras tisraḥ samidho na bhavanti | tadānīm yajamānasya yāvajjivam samyatsaram vā vratam brāhmaṇapāni-home brāhmaṇāya vasati-dānam | ajakarṇa-home aja-māṃsam nā 'śniyāt | darbha-stamba-home darbhāsane no 'paviśet | apsu home viveko na kāryaḥ | cf. Agn. Prāy. 18 a: agnihotrāya

parāpaśyet tata āhr̥tyā 'gnihotraṃ juhuyād<sup>802</sup> | yadi taṃ na vinded brāhmaṇasya dakṣiṇe pāṇau juhuyāt | tato brāhmaṇaṃ na paricakṣīta | yadi taṃ na vinded ajāyā dakṣiṇe karṇe juhuyāt | tato 'jām nā 'śniyād | yadi tāṃ<sup>803</sup> na vinded darbha-stambeṣu<sup>804</sup> juhuyāt | tato darbheṣu nā 'sīta | yadi tān<sup>805</sup> na vinded apsu juhuyāt | tato 'dbhiḥ pāḍau na prakṣālayita<sup>806</sup> | yadi tān na vinded dhirānye juhuyāt | tato hiraṇyaṃ na bibhryād | āpadi mathitvā vihr̥tyā<sup>807</sup> 'gnihotraṃ juhuyād | agnihotre ced anabhyuddhr̥te haviṣi vā nirupte śakuniḥ śyenaḥ śvā vā 'ntareṇa vyaveyād<sup>808</sup> idam viṣṇur<sup>809</sup> iti | idam viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā, nidadhe padam | samūḍham asya pāmsure | pra tad viṣṇur<sup>810</sup> | iti bhasmanā padam upavaped<sup>811</sup> | ano<sup>812</sup> rathā 'sya<sup>813</sup> puruṣo<sup>814</sup> [vā] vyaveyād<sup>815</sup> yad agne pūrvam nihitaṃ<sup>816</sup> padam hi te sūryasya raśmīn anvātātāna | tatra rayiṣṭhām anusambharai 'tām sam naḥ sṛja sumatyā vājavatyē<sup>817</sup> 'ty āda-dhyāt<sup>818</sup> || 2 || anvāhitāgniś cet<sup>819</sup> prayāyāt<sup>819</sup> tubhyaṃ tā

kāle 'gnāv ajāyamāne 'py anyam āniya juhuyuh | agnihomārthaṃ praṇa-yana-kāle samārūḍho 'gnir mathyamāno na jāyeta anyam laukikam agnim āniya praṇīya tatraiva homa[h] kartavyaḥ | etad anugate na bhavati | cf. Āśv. 3. 14. 14 ff.; K. Ś. 25. 4. 1 folg. <sup>802</sup> Āp. 9. 3. 3 ff.

<sup>803</sup> Es handelt sich aber offenbar um das männliche Wesen; s. K. Ś. 25. 4. 5; — D tan <sup>804</sup> K. Ś. 25. 4. 6: kuśa-stambe <sup>805</sup> D taṃ

<sup>806</sup> Das Gleiche lehrt Āp. 9. 3. 14. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 9 soll das Wasser in den zugehörigen Gefäßen an die Feuerstätten gestellt werden. Denn „vor dem Wasser darf man nicht Ekel empfinden, so lehrt der Veda“.

<sup>807</sup> AB vihatyā. — Die obige Aufzählung der Substitutionsopfer lehrt eindringlich den Glauben an die absolute Notwendigkeit des Vollzuges des Agnihotra. <sup>808</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 6. 11; vgl. auch Āp. 9. 10. 15, 11. 24; Āśv. 3. 10. 10. <sup>809</sup> AV. 7. 26. 4. <sup>810</sup> AV. 7. 26. 2.

<sup>811</sup> Āśv. 3. 10. 14. <sup>812</sup> ABD ato <sup>813</sup> D rathāśva <sup>814</sup> ABCD oṣa <sup>815</sup> A vyavāped; Bvyavāye C vyavāyo; vgl. Āp. 9. 10. 17; 1. ano-rathā-'śva-puruṣa-vyavāye? <sup>816</sup> So die Mss. mit M. Ś. 3. 4. 10. <sup>817</sup> T. B. 1. 4. 4. 10. Ap. Ś. 9. 10. 17; Āśv. 3. 10. 16. <sup>818</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 70 a: yasyā 'dhiśrite 'gnihotre haviṣi vā nirupte some vā pratatte 'no ratho 'śvaḥ puruṣa śvā kṛṣṇaḥ śakunir anyad vā saḥtvam aṃtarā viyāyā[t] trayastrimśat taṃtava (MŚ. 3. 4. 9) ity āhavanīye hutvā gām anva[ve]tyā "varttayet . . . Bl. 70 b: yady ano vā ratho vā 'ntarā viyāyād iti katham punar atha śakataṃ vā vinā vāhair aṃtarā gachet . . . ; daß unter dem śakuni der Ath. Prāy. der kṛṣṇaśakuni, also etwa der Rabe, zu verstehen sei, lehrt auch der Komm. zu dieser Stelle, der den Text erweiternd interpretiert: pu-ruṣagrahaṇa[m] dvipadāprasidhy-arthaṃ . . . śva-grahaṇa[m] siṃha-śṛgāla-śvāpada-prasidhy-arthaṃ kṛṣṇaśakuni[h] kākāḥ (!) tasya grahaṇaṃ . . . ano-rathābhi pratyekam abhimamtraṇaṃ trayastrimśat taṃtava iti; Bl.

āṅgirasastama<sup>820</sup> viśvāḥ suksitayah prthag agne kāmāya  
yemire iti hutvā prayāyād<sup>821</sup> | anvāhitaś ced anugached anv  
agnir<sup>822</sup> ity anyam prañiyā 'gnyanvādhāna<sup>823</sup> -vrato-'pāyanā-  
bhyām manaso 'pasthāya bhūr iti vyāharet<sup>824</sup> | pāthikṛti<sup>825</sup>  
syāt<sup>826</sup> patho 'ntikād darbhān āhared | anadṛvān dakṣiṇā | sa-

71 a folg.: idam viṣṇur vicakrama iti padam khyāpayaty āpo 'nvaṭiṣcet  
[l. 'siñcet?'] | padam yopayitve 'ti padanyāsenā 'ntarāgamanam prāyaś-  
cittam iti darśayati; vgl. oben 2. 2 und Text von 1. 3; s. auch Agn.  
Prāy. 3 b: śvavyavāye tv ayam apy aparo viśeṣaḥ | idam viṣṇur . . .  
pāmsure [cf. unten 5. 2] iti mamtreṇa śuno yāni padāni tāni bhasmanā  
pūrayet | pratipadam mamtrā-"vṛttiḥ | tataḥ(!) āhavanīyam punaḥ prañayed  
uddhriyamānam iti | tata upatiṣṭheta tad(?) yad agne pūrvam . . . vājavyatā  
(s. Text) tvam agne . . . aśi 'ti (cf. oben 2. 1, 3, 8) ca . . . etābhyām  
tato 'gnaye pathikṛte svāhe 'ti pūrṇāhutiḥ | iṣṭipakṣe varṭtamānam karma  
samāpya tasminn evā 'gnau iṣṭiḥ karttavye [ti] prati darvi-homeṣv eṣa  
vidhiḥ | <sup>819</sup> A ce mriyāyāt B cet prāyāyāt C cet prathayāt D cet  
prāpunyāt <sup>820</sup> RV. 8. 43. 18. <sup>821</sup> Agn. Prāy. 1 b: anvāhitāgneḥ  
prayāṇo-'papattau prthag agnīn nayeyuḥ | . . . tubhyam tā āṅgirasastame  
'ti (!) (RV. 8. 43. 18) vā "jyā-"hutiṃ hutvā samāropayet | tubhyam . . .  
're | ity ājyā-"hutiṃ hutvā samāropayed vā | ayam te yonir ṛtviya ity  
araṇī gārhapatyē pratitapet | . . . ayam te . . . girāḥ (RV. 3. 20. 10) iti  
nā 'gny-āmtare | pāṇi vā | yā te agne yajñīyā tanūs taye 'hy āroḥā "tmā-  
nam achā vasūni kṛṇvann aryā . . . rūṇi yajño bhūtvā yajñam āsīda iti  
(gemeint ist etwa TB. 2. 5. 8. 8) pāṇi pratitapet | dvayor api samāropanam  
yajamānaḥ kuryāt | varṇa-svarā-"di samyag uccārya samāropanam kartta-  
vyam | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11 b: iṣṭi-madhye prayāṇa-prāptau gārhapatyē  
ājyam saṃskṛtya jānav ācyā "havanīye sruveṇa juhōti | tubhyam tāni  
āṅgirasastama . . . yemire svāhā | agnaya idam | araṇī gārhapatyē yajamā-  
naḥ pratitapet | ayam te . . . rayim | tūṣṇim itarayoh pratitapet | tata  
sthala-'mṭaram gatvā vihāram kalpayitvā uddhanyamāna (gemeint: 'manam  
Āp. 5. 4. 1) ity uddhṛtya śam no devīr (RV. 10. 9. 4) ity avokṣya  
araṇī pratyavaroh[y]a śam yor (RV. 10. 9. 4) iti mamtreṇa mam-  
thayet | svayam vā mamthet | pratiyatnam mamtrāvṛttiḥ | jātam agniṃ  
gārhapatyē ādhāya tata ubhayatrā 'pi vihrītyā 'raṇigata-prāyaścittam  
karoti | tac caivam | gārhapatyē smārtavad ājyam saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvam  
niṣṭapya sruci caturgrhītam grhītvā juhōti mano jyotir (VS. 2. 13) iti |  
tata sām gatā-siddhy-arthaṃ sruvā-"hutiṃ viṣṇu-smaraṇam ca kṛtve 'ṣti-  
śeṣam samāpayet | <sup>822</sup> AV. 7. 82. 4; 18. 1. 27. <sup>823</sup> A 'gnyam-  
nādhāna B 'gnyavādhāna C gnyamvādhāna; cf. dazu etwa Brahm.  
Prāy. 28 b: agner api nāṣe yathāpūrvam eva saṃskaranam. <sup>824</sup> Brahm.  
Prāy. 15 b: vratopetasya ced āhavanīyo 'nugacchet prañite manasā vratam  
upetya bhūr ity upatiṣṭheta <sup>825</sup> BC pāthikṛtvām; cf. Brāhm. Prāy.  
3 a: kālātipattau pāthikṛti kartavye 'ti śrutiyarthāḥ <sup>826</sup> Āśv. Prāy. 2a:  
yadi . . . āhavanīyah śamyā-pa[rā]śād apy atiyāt | yadi vā (!) amāvāsyām  
paurṇamāsīm vā 'tīyāt | yadi vā 'nyasyā 'gniṣu svayam yajet | yadi vā (!)  
asyā 'gniṣv anyo yajeta | yadi vā 'syā 'nyo gñir agnīn vyaveyāt | tadā

rvatra<sup>827</sup> pāthikṛtyām<sup>828</sup> anaḍvān | agninām cet kaścīd upa-  
 vakṣ(ay)et<sup>829</sup> sa śam[yā]yā[h]<sup>830</sup> prāg vasaṃ<sup>831</sup> pāthikṛti<sup>832</sup>  
 syāc | cham[yā]yāh<sup>833</sup> parū(k) parās(y)āc ced idam ta ekam<sup>834</sup>  
 iti tānt<sup>835</sup> sambharet<sup>836</sup> para<sup>837</sup> ū ta<sup>837</sup> ekam iti dvitīyaṃ dviti-  
 yena<sup>838</sup> | tṛtīyaṃ tṛtīyena jyotiṣe 'ti<sup>839</sup> | tasmād<sup>840</sup> avakhyā-  
 yās<sup>841</sup> tatra nirvaped | adhi ced anuprāyāya<sup>842</sup> mathitvā  
 tatrai 'kān vaset<sup>843</sup> kālā-'tipāte<sup>844</sup> ca darśapūrnāmāsayor |

bhinna-kālinam prati nimittam pāthikṛti kār्या | abhinna-kālinā-'neka-  
 nimitta-sambhaye sakṛt pāthikṛti kār्या | aṣṭakapālāḥ | vetthā hi (RV.  
 6. 16. 3) . . . om ye agniṃ pathikṛtaṃ ā devānām . . . (RV. 10. 2. 3)  
 anaḍvān daksiṇā | <sup>827</sup> A sa sarvatra <sup>828</sup> BCD 'kṛtvām  
<sup>829</sup> bei A unklar <sup>830</sup> bei A unklar <sup>831</sup> A vātaṃ l.: parā-  
 sāt? <sup>832</sup> B schiebt ein ['ti] syām anaddhān agninām cet kaksid  
 upavakṣayet saśamyā prāg vasaṃ pāthikṛti <sup>833</sup> B chamyā  
 C chammyā <sup>834</sup> AV 18. 3. 7. <sup>835</sup> A tān B tāṃ <sup>836</sup> cf.  
 Agn. Prāy. 2 b: yady utpādanī prayatno niḥphala[h] syāt (cf. oben 5. 2)  
 tadā-tadā punar-ārambhā-'vasare maṃtra āvarttayitavyaḥ | evaṃ punaḥ-  
 punar āvarttayet | āhavanīyam avadīpyamānam arvāva (l.: arvāk) śamyā-  
 parāsād idam ta ekam para ū ta ekam iti samvapeṭ | Comm.: āhavanī-  
 yasyai 'kadeśaḥ samasto vā yady āyatanād bahir gachet [ta]dā 'śamyā-  
 parāsāt tadā idam ta ekam para ū ta ekam tṛtīyena jyotiṣā samviśasva |  
 samveśane tanvāś cārur edhi priyo devānām parame janitre (RV. 10. 56. 1) |  
 iti tam ādāya 'yatane prakṣīpya tato vyāhṛti-homaḥ |. In unserem Texte  
 werden wir dem entsprechend zu lesen haben: sa [agniḥ] śamyā-parāg-  
 āsād (besser: śamyāyāḥ parāg āsād) [yadi syāt] pāthikṛti syāc | chamyā-  
 prāg-āsāc (besser: chamyāyāḥ prāg āsāc) ced [agniḥ] syāt | idam te . . .  
 Ap. Ś. 9. 1. 17 erwähnt den gleichen Fall; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 2a: āhavanī-  
 yasyai 'kadeśaḥ samasto vā yady āyatanād bahir arvāk śam[y]āparāsyat  
 patati tadā idam te . . . ekam maṃtreṇa punaḥ svāyatane kṣīpet | samasta-  
 vyāhṛti-homaḥ kār्या ity eke | na visphuliṅgaṃ vā 'trā 'syaitat prāya-  
 ścittam | gārhapatya-dakṣiṇāgnyoḥ sva-svāyatanād bahiḥ-patane tūṣṇīm  
 prakṣīpya vyāhṛti-homaḥ kār्याḥ | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 15 b: gārhapatya-da-  
 kṣiṇāgnyor āyatanād bahiḥ-pāte tūṣṇīm prakṣīpya brahmā vyāhṛtibhir  
 juhuyāt |; ibid. 16 b: prāk prayājebhya iti srug-ādāpanād arvāk sarvaṃ  
 grhyata iti vṛttikṛto-'ktaṃ (cf. oben 4. 1) | etat-kālā-'tiriktā-'ngāra-ska-  
 mḍane idam ta ekam . . . . . parame janitre iti maṃtreṇa svāyatane  
 punaḥ kṣīpet | tataḥ sarva-prāyaścittam na visphuliṅga-mātrasyai 'tat  
 prāyaścittam | etad āhavanīyasyā 'rvāk śamyā-parāsāt patane | yadi śamyā-  
 parāsād apy atīyāt tadā pāthikṛti | aśaktau pūrnāhutiḥ | agnaye pathikṛte  
 svāhe 'ti | <sup>837</sup> ABCD paratra <sup>838</sup> B dvitīyaṃṣṭa  
 C fehlte <sup>839</sup> A 'ti tṛtīyaṃ <sup>840</sup> A yasmād <sup>841</sup> l. etwa  
 avakṣayāne? A acakṣayās D avakṣayās <sup>842</sup> A anuprāyā B anu-  
 prāya <sup>843</sup> l.: vāsayet <sup>844</sup> D 'pāti B '-tipāttve; vom  
 Verstreichenlassen der zum Opfer festgesetzten Zeit scheint auch AP  
 37. 12. 1 zu reden.

vidhy-ardha-samāpte ced aparādham vidyāt (samāpte cet s)trīn  
 haviṣyād<sup>845</sup> | agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśa-kapālam puroḍāśam  
 nirvaped<sup>846</sup> | yasya havir niruptam purastāc candramā abhyu-  
 diyāt tāms tredhā taṇḍulān vibhajed<sup>847</sup> | ye madhyamās<sup>848</sup>  
 tān<sup>848</sup> agnaye dātre 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāśam nirvaped | ye  
 sthaviṣṭhās tān indrāya pradātre dadhani<sup>849</sup> carum | ye kṣo-  
 diṣṭhās tān viṣṇave śipiviṣṭāya | śrite<sup>850</sup> prāg ukte<sup>851</sup> taṇḍulā-  
 'bhāvād ardham vā vidyāt || 3 || agnaye vitaye<sup>852</sup> 'ṣṭākapālam  
 puroḍāśam nirvaped<sup>853</sup> yasyā 'gnayo mithaḥ samsrjyerann | ag-  
 naye vivicaye 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāśam nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo<sup>854</sup>  
 grāmyenā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye śucaye<sup>855</sup> 'ṣṭākapālam  
 puroḍāśam nirvaped yasyā 'gnayaḥ śāvenā 'gninā samsrjye-  
 rann | agnaye 'nnādāyā<sup>856</sup> 'nnapataye 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāśam  
 nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo dāvenā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye  
 jyotiṣmate 'ṣṭākapālam puroḍāśam nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo di-  
 vyenā 'gninā samsrjyerann | agnaye 'gnimate<sup>857</sup> 'ṣṭākapālam  
 puroḍāśam nirvaped yasyā 'gnayo<sup>858</sup> 'bhiplaverann | agnaye

<sup>845</sup> BCD havi syād; cf. Brahm. Prāy. 37 b: kalātīpattau pāthikṛty  
 anāgate ca (!) atra nityaviśeṣam etad [d]raṣṭavyam; dazu ausführ-  
 licher, korrupt überlieferter Comm.; l. oben im Text: cet trir haviḥ  
 syāt?

<sup>846</sup> Diesem wohl nicht hierher gehörigen Satze fehlt  
 der Vordersatz, der nach Āśv. Prāy. 8 a zu ergänzen sein dürfte:  
 āhitāgneḥ śātrūṇāṃ bhojane 'gnaye vaiśvānarāya pūrṇāhutiḥ | <sup>847</sup> vgl.  
 oben 2. 2; 4. 1; Brahm. Prāy. 26 a behandelt den gleichen Fall und  
 stellt die spezielle Möglichkeit auf: yadai 'ko muṣṭi[r] dvau vā  
 prakṛtīnāṃ niruptau bhavataḥ (!) tadā candramaso 'bhyudaye vijñāte  
 katham kartavyam

<sup>848</sup> B 'mā syus tād <sup>849</sup> B  
 dadhati <sup>850</sup> B śrute CD śrte <sup>851</sup> BC prakte?  
 prätte?

<sup>852</sup> fehlt bei A; cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārhapatyā-  
 'havanīyayoḥ samsarge 'gnaye vitaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | <sup>853</sup> Āp.

9. 3. 21; vgl. zu diesem Abschnitt die im Brāhmaṇa-Stil ausgeführte  
 Reproduktion in 2. 7. <sup>854</sup> Āp. 9. 3. 18; K. Ś. 25. 4. 31—32; „yasyā

'gnayo“ d. h.: die zum Opfer nötigen Feuer; vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: gārha-  
 patya-dakṣiṇāgni-mukhānāṃ samsarge samāropya mathitvā 'gnaye vivicaye  
 pūrṇāhutiḥ | <sup>855</sup> Āp. 9. 3. 22; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 29—30; danach

kann in diesem Falle von einer Sühne Abstand genommen werden; cf.  
 oben 2. 7; Āśv. Prāy. 8 a: agninā śāvāgni-samsarge samāropya ma-  
 thitvā 'gnaye śucaye pūrṇāhutiḥ | <sup>856</sup> Auch in diesem Falle ist

nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 folg. eine Sühne nicht unbedingt notwendig. Das  
 Sühneopfer soll vielmehr nur bei religiöser Überängstlichkeit stattfinden  
 und dann dem Agni samvarga gelten. Eben dieser devatā soll es im ähn-  
 lichen Falle nach Ait. Brāhm. 7. 7 geweiht sein. <sup>857</sup> AD psumate;

vgl. Āp. 9. 3. 22. K. Ś. 25. 4. 33. <sup>858</sup> bei B fehlen diese und die  
 dazwischenliegenden Worte; vgl. Āp. 9. 10. 11.

'gnimate<sup>859</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālām puroḍāśām nirvaped<sup>858</sup> ya āhavanīyam anugatam abhyuddhared | agnaye kṣāmavate<sup>860</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālām puroḍāśām nirvaped yasyā "hitāgner<sup>861</sup> agnigrhān<sup>862</sup> agnir dahed anagnir grhān vā | 'gnaye<sup>862</sup> vratapataye 'ṣṭākāpālām puroḍāśām ni[r]vaped<sup>863</sup> ya āhitāgnir ārtijam<sup>864</sup> āsru<sup>864</sup> kuryāt<sup>865</sup> tataḥ<sup>865</sup> pravased<sup>866</sup> | agnaye vratabhr̥te 'ṣṭākāpālām puroḍāśām nirvaped<sup>867</sup> parvaṇi yo vrata-velāyām avra-

<sup>859</sup> cf. aber Āśv. Prāy. 8a: sāgnāv āyatane 'gñim prañīya sthāpane 'gnaye agnimate pūrṇāhutīḥ | pūrvaprañitāgñim niḥkāśya sthāpane prāyaścittam nā 'sti | aranyoḥ samārūḍha-vahnīnām ucchiṣṭādy-upagṛhāte caturgr̥hītenā "havanīye manasvatī-homaḥ | ātma-samārūḍhāgnir yadi bhojanādi kuryāt tadā 'raṇyor laukikāgnau vā 'varohya viḥṛtya pūrvoktam eva prāyaścittam | punas tvā "ditye 'ti (Āp. 9. 10. 9) samimḍhanam vā | <sup>860</sup> K. Ś.

25. 4. 36 gehādāhe 'gnaye kṣāmavate puroḍāśāḥ <sup>861</sup> A. 'gnir

<sup>862</sup> Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte sind korrumpiert. Der Rekonstruktionsversuch schließt sich vorzugsweise an A an. A agnigrhādd agni hedata (na?) gnigrhān ca (va?) B agnigrabāṃn dahed anagnigrabān vā 'gnaye C agnigrhān dahed anagnigrhān vā gñaye D agnigrhādaheddanagnigr̥he nvāgnaye; unter anagnir wäre dann etwa „Phosphorescenz“ zu verstehen. <sup>863</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 66 b:

yasyā "hitāgner iti vyākhyātam brāhmaṇe 'gnaye kāmavate 'ṣṭākāpālām nirvapat | yasyā "hitāgneḥ sattognir grhān dahed agnir vāi 'tasya kṣāmo grhān abhyacyatam iti sa dahaty evā 'param iti . . . . kṣāmo grhān abhyacyati [ucaḥ samavāye samavaiti] dahanāya sa kṣāmaḥ sa[m]-bhūyā (\*pā?) enam api dahati | . . . . adāhuko 'syā 'param agnir grhān bhavati | cf. Āśv. Prāy. 8a, welches — offenbar ursprünglicher und vernünftiger — den Vratapati bei Verletzungen der religiösen Enthaltensvorschriften empfiehlt: anvādhānā-'naṃtaram grāmāntaram na gacchet (cf. oben 4. 3) | madhu-māmsā-"di nā 'śniyāt | na buddhi-pūrvam retāḥ skamdayet | ityādi vrata-lope vratapataye pūrṇāhutīḥ | — Zur Rekonstruktion des Textes sind Āśv. Prāy. 8a wichtig: grhādāhe 'gnaye kṣāmavate pūrṇāhutīḥ | . Zu obigem vgl. Āśv. Prāy. 12a: anvādhānā-'naṃtaram buddhi-pūrvaka-retāḥ-pāte imaṃ me varuṇa [V. S. 21. 1] tat tvā "yāmī 'ty [VS. 21. 2] etābhyām sruvā-"hutī ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaram juhuyāt | buddhi-pūrvakaretāḥ-pāte ārtiā 'śru-pāte madhu-māmsā-"di-bhākṣaṇe vā vrātapatiṣṭīḥ | aśaktāy ājyabhāgā-'naṃtaram sruci dvādaśa-gr̥hītam caturgr̥hītam vā gr̥hītvā "havanīye juhuyāt | agnaye vratapataye svāhe 'ti tato viṣṇusmaranam | ; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 14a: kṣāmāyā (erg.: 'gnaye) "gāra-dāhe śucaye saṃsarjane 'gninā | anyene 'ti sarvāgnibhiḥ | mithas ced vivicaye | gārhapatyādayaḥ sarve dvau dvau vā parasparam yadi saṃsr̥jyeran tadā vivicaya iṣṭīḥ kār्या | grāmyeṇa saṃvargāya pacanāgnīḥ | vaidyutenā 'psumate | vaiśvānarāya vimatānām anna-bhojane | <sup>864</sup> A āvirjam āsru BD ārtvijam āsru C tvijam āsru; verbessert nach Āp. 9. 4. 16; cf. K. Ś. 25. 4. 28, 11. 30. <sup>865</sup> A kuryāstat

B kuryāts C kuryā <sup>866</sup> B prasaved; cf. Āp. 9. 4. 15. <sup>867</sup> ABCD wiederholen hinter \*ped: ya āhitāgnir ārtvijam āsru kuryāt pravaset; C läßt āsru aus.



tyam<sup>868</sup> cared agnaye tantumate<sup>868</sup> 'ṣṭākāpālam puroḍāsam nirvaped yasya samtatam<sup>869</sup> agnihotram juhuyuh || 4 || atha samnīpatiteṣu prāyaścittiteṣu vaivicim<sup>870</sup> prathamām kuryāt | tato 'gnaye śucaye | vrātapatim antataḥ kṣāmatim<sup>871</sup> parivarttayad<sup>872</sup> yasyā 'gniṣv<sup>873</sup> anyam<sup>873</sup> yājayed<sup>874</sup> yo<sup>874</sup> vā<sup>874</sup> yajen<sup>874</sup> | mārutam trayodaśa-kapālam puroḍāsam nirvaped yasya yamau<sup>875</sup> putrau jāyeyātām gāvo vā | yamasūr dakṣiṇā dhenur bhāryā vā<sup>876</sup> | prṣadājyam cet skannam<sup>877</sup> skannā dyaur<sup>878</sup> ity abhimantrīya | skannā dyauh skannā prthivī skannam viśvam

<sup>868</sup> A avrātyam caret tantumate dagnaye tantumate B vrātyam caret tantumatā agnaye tantumate C wie A, jedoch agnaye; cf. Ait. Brāhm. 7. 8.

<sup>869</sup> B tatam C tamtam; cf. Āp. 9. 4. 15.

<sup>870</sup> Nach Brahm. Prāy. 65 a folg. wird aber die Vaivicī vollzogen, wenn die Opferfeuer sich mit einander vermengen oder wenn deren Asche sich vermischt; ebenso Ait. Brāhm. 7. 6. Nach K. Ś. 25. 4. 32 ist das Opfer für Agni vivici in gleichem Falle fakultativ.

<sup>871</sup> A kṣāmatavātā <sup>872</sup> B pativarttayad C parivartayed <sup>873</sup> B sv anyam fehlt bei C; bei A unklar.

<sup>874</sup> A yājaye vā yajen B yājayed yo vā jayan C yājaye yo vā jayen; cf. Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 62 a: yo 'nyāgniṣu yajeta yasya cānye 'gniṣu yajeran yasyāgnayaḥ samśrījyeran . . ; cf. K. Ś. 25. 8. 16.

<sup>875</sup> Āp. 9. 14. 7, 17. 1; Āśv. 3. 13. 12, Ait. Brāhm. 7. 9.

<sup>876</sup> cf. den sehr korrupten Passus Brahm. Prāy. 68 b; ferner Āśv. Prāy. 8 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayet tadā marudbhyaḥ pūrṇāhutiḥ | Agn. Prāy. 14 b: yasya bhāryā gaur vā yamau janayed iṣṭir marutah |

<sup>877</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 72 a folg.: yadi prṣadājyam skandet (!) hiraṇyam antarddhāya bhūyo [!] bhyūnnīyo (!) 'śveno (!) 'paghrāpya mano jyotir varddhatām bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutiḥ juhuyāt | . . . Bl. 72 b: yadi prṣadājyam skandet iti prṣaskannam ājyo prṣadājyam ājyam dadhimīśram ghr̥tam śadgunavīṣiṣṭam prṣadājyam ity abhidhiyate | . . . hiraṇyam antarddhāya hiraṇyam tatṛā 'vasthāpya yadi skanno bhūyo bhyūnnīyaḥ bhūya tatṛai 'vā 'bhīmukhyena nīyeti vacanāt | . . . Bl. 73 a: asvena gaṃdho pādān kārayitvā mano jyotir varddhatām bhūtir ity etābhyām āhutiḥ juhuyād . . . trayastriṃśat tamtava ity āhavanīye hutvā . . . Bl. 73 a folg.: tatṛai 'vā 'ntarddhāyā 'vasthāpya yat skannam hiraṇyam apanīya prṣadājyam asveno 'paghrāpya [a]śvam apanīya brahmā "hutiḥ juhoti . . . Es ist von einigem Interesse, daß der Vers „trayastriṃśat tamtavas“ als Zauberei bei Zerreibungen verschiedener Art angewendet wird, z. B. (Bl. 75 b folg.): yadi raśanām chidyād yadi dvidhā kuryāt paśuvikārāt paśor (?) eva trayastriṃśat tamtava ity etayā gramthi[nā] samdhā[ya?] . . . jyaitayai 'va juhuyāt (cf. AP. 37. 16. 1, 17. 1) . . . . . patnī-raśanāyā[m] mekhalāyam vā dvidho kṛtāyam punaḥ sannahanam brahmacāriṇo mekhalāchede kṛtasya gopri 'tyādayas trayo mantrā bhavaṃti | . . . Bl. 94 b: yadi soma skandē vyākhyātam prṣadājyena soma skandet iti; cf. K. Ś. 25. 6. 6–7, 10; prṣadājya-skandane caike catustriṃśad-dhomam ichanti.

idaṃ jagat skannādo<sup>879</sup> viśve devāḥ prā skannā[t] prāyatām<sup>880</sup>  
 havir ity abhimantrye 'ha gāvāḥ<sup>881</sup> prajāyadhvam<sup>881</sup> ity  
 anyasya prṣadājyasya juhuyāt paśugavā<sup>882</sup> cet sruvair<sup>883</sup> hut-  
 vā "śrāvaṃ<sup>884</sup> yāty<sup>885</sup> avadānam<sup>886</sup> akarme<sup>886</sup> 'ty anyasyām  
 dr̥dhatarāyām śrapayeyur<sup>887</sup> | [yady] avadānam na viṃdet tadā  
 "jyasyā 'vadyed<sup>888</sup> | upākṛtaś cet paśuḥ prapated<sup>889</sup> vāyavyām  
 yavāgūṃ nirupyā 'nyam tad-rūpam tad-varṇam iti samā-  
 nam || 5 || atha yasyā 'hargane<sup>890</sup> [']visamāpte yūpo virohet<sup>891</sup>  
 pravṛhya yūpavirūdhāny avalopya tapo hy agne<sup>892</sup> am̐tarām  
 amitrām<sup>893</sup> tapa śamsam ararusāḥ parasya tapo vaso cikitāno  
 acittān vi te tiṣṭhantām ajarā ayāsaḥ | yo naḥ sanutyo abhi-  
 dāsad agne<sup>894</sup> yo am̐taro mitramaho vanuṣyāt<sup>895</sup> | tam ajare-  
 bhir vṛṣabhis tava<sup>896</sup> svais<sup>896</sup> tapā<sup>897</sup> tapīṣṭha tapasā tapas-  
 vān | yasmāt<sup>898</sup> kṛṇoti ketum ā naktam cid dūra ā sate |  
 pāvako yad vanaspatīn<sup>899</sup> yasmān minoty ajaro (nabhi-  
 hita)<sup>900</sup> iti dve | pañcabhir aparam paryukṣya suparnā vā-  
 cam<sup>901</sup> iti virūdhāni hutvā punaḥsamāyāt tasmīṃs tvāṣṭram  
 ajam piṅgalam paśum bahurūpam ālabhetā | 'gninā tapo 'nva-  
 bhavad<sup>902</sup> | vācā brahma | mañinā<sup>903</sup> rūpāni | 'ndreṇa devān |  
 vātena prānānt<sup>904</sup> | sūryeṇa dyām | candramasā nakṣatrāni |  
 yamena<sup>905</sup> pitṛn | rājñā manuṣyaṇ | upalena nādeyaṇ | ajaga-  
 reṇa sarpān | vyāghreṇā "raṇyaṇ paśum | chyenenena patatrīṇo |  
 vṛṣṇā 'śvān | ṛṣabheṇa gā | bastenā 'jā | vṛṣṇinā 'vir | vrihiṇā

<sup>878</sup> Ap. Ś. 9. 17. 1.    <sup>879</sup> A skannādyau    <sup>880</sup> A prāyatā B prāyepṛatam  
 C prāyeyātām; gemeint vielleicht: prajāyatām    <sup>881</sup> A gāvogham  
 B yā vo yaṃ C yāvo ya D gāvo yaṃ; — gemeint: AV. 20. 127. 12;  
 RV. 1. 177. 4. Ap. Śr. 9. 17. 1.    <sup>882</sup> B 'gāvā; paśugavā ist  
 offenbar eine Interpolation, die das Subjekt des Satzes verdrängt hat.  
<sup>883</sup> A sruvair B bruvai C survai    <sup>884</sup> A śrāvaṃ BC sruvaṃ  
<sup>885</sup> ABD yāti    <sup>886</sup> A madāvāmakarme B mavadāmakarme  
 C mavādāmakarme    <sup>887</sup> cf. Āp. 9. 4. 1.    <sup>888</sup> Brahm.  
 Prāy. 77 b: . . . . avadānāny api yadi na viṃdet tadā "jyasyā 'vadyet . . .  
 praiṣa im̐drāgnibhyām ājyasyā 'nubṛūhi 'ti darśanāt(!) ājyena sam̐sthā-  
 pya punar yajeta atra kecid ācakṣate sarvaviṣayam etad bhavati |  
<sup>889</sup> cf. oben 2. 9.    <sup>890</sup> D ahavisargane    <sup>891</sup> Vgl. oben  
 2. 6; K. Ś. 25. 10. 1 folg.    <sup>892</sup> RV. 3. 18. 2.    <sup>893</sup> A  
 amitrāya    <sup>894</sup> B agner; RV. 6. 5. 4.    <sup>895</sup> Mss.: manuṣyāt  
<sup>896</sup> AD varāhais; B tavasyais C tāpastes    <sup>897</sup> AD tapo    <sup>898</sup> A  
 yasmā; bei C fehlen die Worte yasmāt bis vanaspatīn    <sup>899</sup> RV.  
 5. 7. 4; Ap. Ś. 14. 29. 3.    <sup>900</sup> l.: nā 'bhīhite?    <sup>901</sup> AV. 6. 49. 3.  
<sup>902</sup> Ap. Ś. 20. 11. 10.    <sup>903</sup> Die Mss. lesen: balinā    <sup>904</sup> A  
 prāṇa C prāṇaḥ

'nnāni | yavenau 'ṣadhir | nyagrodhena<sup>905</sup> vanaspatin | udu-  
mbareṇo "rjaṃ | gāyatrī chandāmsi | trivṛtā stomān | brā-  
hmaṇena vācam iti brahmā pūrṇāhutim juhuyāt | || 6 || iti<sup>906</sup>  
yajñaprāyaścitte pañcamo 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ<sup>906</sup> |

athā 'taḥ saumikāni vyākhyāsyāmo | havirdhāne cet pra-  
pateyātām purā bahiṣpavamānād adhvaryur dakṣiṇam ud-  
grhṇīyāt | pratiprasthāto 'pastabhnuyāt<sup>907</sup> | pratiprasthāto  
'ttaram udgrhṇīyād | adhvaryur upastabhnuyād<sup>907</sup> yathā-  
prakṛti stambhāno 'pamānau<sup>908</sup> (!) sam aśvinor avasā nūtanena<sup>909</sup>  
mayobhuvā supraṇīti<sup>910</sup> gamema | ā no rayim vahatam ota  
virān ā viśvāny amṛtā saubhagāni<sup>911</sup> | śiro yajñasya pratidhi-  
yatām<sup>912</sup> amṛtaṃ devatāmayam<sup>912</sup> | vaiṣṇavyāḥ | (kriyatām<sup>913</sup>  
śira aśvinyāḥ<sup>914</sup> pratihriyatām<sup>915</sup> amṛtām<sup>916</sup>) dyubhir aktubhiḥ  
paripātām<sup>917</sup> asmān<sup>918</sup> ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhiḥ | tan  
no mitro varuṇo māmāhantām aditiḥ sindhuḥ pṛthivī<sup>919</sup> uta  
dyaur | ity āgnidhriye<sup>920</sup> juhuyād | audumbarim ced apahareyur  
yām eva kāmicit prachidyā 'vadadhyād adhvaryur udgātā yaja-  
māna | ūrg asy ūrjaṃ mayi dhehi | śriyām tiṣṭha pratiṣṭhitā |  
divam stabdhvā 'ntarikṣam ca pṛthivyām ca drdḥā bhava 'ti<sup>921</sup> |

<sup>905</sup> Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte sind in den Mss. ganz  
entstellt. A yamena pīna yajñā manuṣyā phalena nādeyātrajagareṇa sarpān  
grāmyeṇāranyān paśvānnāpanena patatiniṇo vṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛnāvī  
vrihiṇāntābi yavenauṣadhīnyagrodhena [vanaspatin] B yamena pitṛn rājñā  
manuṣyān phalena nādeyāny ajagareṇa sarpān vyāghreṇā "raṇyān paśūn  
chyenena patatiniṇo vṛṣṇāśvān ṛṣabhopyagā vastenājā vṛṣṇināvin vrihiṇā  
'nnāni pavanenuṣadhinir nyagrodhena; C (ähnlich B und D) yamena pitṛn  
ājñā manuṣyān upalena nādeyān ajagareṇa sapān vyāghreṇāranyān paśvaṃ  
chenena patatiniṇo vṛṣṇyāśvān ṛṣabheṇa gā vastenājā vṛṣṇināvin vrihiṇā-  
nnāni yastvoṣadhīnyagrodhena; auch die folgenden Worte sind bei A  
und B sehr inkorrekt geschrieben.

<sup>906</sup> Bei BCD lautet der Ko-  
lophon: ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścitta-prasaṃge trayodaśo  
'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ <sup>907</sup> ABCD 'pastha brīyāt <sup>908</sup> A

pasamāne BD pamāne C pamāno vielleicht Imperative plus „anas“.  
<sup>909</sup> RV. 5. 42. 18. <sup>910</sup> A 'ṇitaṃ <sup>911</sup> A 'bharāṇi

<sup>912</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 8; Mss.: pratihriyatām (A 'hūyatām) <sup>913</sup> B  
akriyatā C kṛyatām; gemeint ist: dhīyatām <sup>914</sup> C upādhiyā

<sup>915</sup> A pratihudayatām; gemeint ist: pratidhīyatām <sup>916</sup> fehlt  
bei BCD; der in Klammern gesetzte Passus ist offenbar eine Wieder-  
holung der letzten Worte des vorausgegangenen Mantra. <sup>917</sup> C

'pātum <sup>918</sup> RV. 1. 112. 25. <sup>919</sup> AC 'vīr <sup>920</sup> Vgl.  
K. Ś. 25. 6. 8. <sup>921</sup> AD bhavati BC bhava

dhartri dharitri janitri yamitri<sup>922</sup> 'ti brahmā<sup>923</sup> | 'ntaḥ<sup>923</sup>-sada-  
so<sup>924</sup> bahiṣpavamānena stūyur<sup>925</sup> | dikṣitasya gārhapatyō 'nte<sup>926</sup>  
gārhapatyō 'nugacched<sup>927</sup> agniṃ naro dīdhitibhir aranyor<sup>928</sup>  
hastacyuti janayanta praśastam | dūredrśam grhapatim atharyum  
iti mathitvā 'vadadhyād | āśv anupranītaś<sup>929</sup> ced anugached etayai  
'va<sup>930</sup> mathitvā 'vadadhyād | agnayaś cen mithaḥ samsrjye-  
raun<sup>931</sup> agninā 'gniḥ samsrjyata<sup>932</sup> ity ete<sup>933</sup> japec | chālāmukhī-  
yaś ced anugacched gārhapatyāt prāṇīya bhadraṃ karṇebhir<sup>934</sup>  
iti catasro japet | bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śrṇuyāma devā bhadraṃ  
paśyemā 'ksabhir yajatrāḥ | sthirair aṅgaḥ tuṣṭuvāmsas tanū-  
bhir vyaśema devahitam yad āyuh | svasti na indro vṛddha-  
śravāḥ<sup>935</sup> svasti naḥ pūṣā viśvavedāḥ<sup>936</sup> | svasti nas tārksyo  
'riṣṭa-nemiḥ svasti no brhaspatir dadhātu | prśadaśvā ma-  
rutaḥ prśnimātaraḥ<sup>935</sup> śubhamyāvāno vidatheṣu jagmayāḥ<sup>937</sup> |  
agni-jihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣaso viśve no devā avasā gamann  
iha | śatam in nu śarado anti devā yatra naś cakrā jara-  
sam tanūnām | putrāso yatra pitaro bhavanti mā no ma-  
dhyā rīṣatāyur gantoḥ | iti | preddho agna<sup>938</sup> iti ca-  
tasr̥bhir juhuyāt | preddho agne dīdhi puro no 'jasrayā  
sūrmyā yaviṣṭha | tvām śaśvanta upa yanti vājāḥ | sapta  
te agne samidhaḥ sapta jihvāḥ<sup>939</sup> sapta ṛṣayaḥ sapta dhāma  
priyāṇi | sapta hotrāḥ saptadhā tvā yajanti sapta yonir  
āpr̥nasva gṛtēna svāhā | yan me manasaś chidraṃ yad vāco  
yac<sup>940</sup> ca me hr̥daḥ<sup>940</sup> | ayaṃ devo brhaspatiḥ sam tat  
siñcatu rādhasā<sup>941</sup> | mamā 'gne varca<sup>942</sup> ity ekā-'gnidhriyaś ced  
anugacched gārhapatyāt prāṇīya mamā 'gne varca iti ṣaḍbhir

<sup>922</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 33. 2; das Zitat ist in der Wiedergabe der Mss. völlig  
korrumpiert; es lesen BCD: dharti dharitri janitrity amitriti haritry  
adharitri janitry amitriti janitri hanitriti

<sup>923</sup> BD brahmātaḥ; AC brahmātra; korrump! <sup>924</sup> ABCD svaraso <sup>925</sup> A

brūyuh B stayur <sup>926</sup> A 'tyotpate B 'tyo 'nve C tyomte; l.:

'patyo-'tpāte? <sup>927</sup> Vom Erlöschen der Opferfeuer handelt zu-

sammenhängend K. Ś. 25. 3. 1 folg.; cf. oben 1. 5; 2. 7. <sup>928</sup> RV.

7. 1. 1; Āp. 14. 16. 1. <sup>929</sup> C 'nīta; A 'nīte B 'niti D 'nī

<sup>930</sup> C etayiva <sup>931</sup> cf. oben 2. 7; 5. 4. <sup>932</sup> Kauś. S.

108. 2; dagegen Āp. a. a. O.: agninā 'gniḥ samidhyate <sup>933</sup> A ate

<sup>934</sup> RV. 1. 89. 8; Āp. 14. 16. 1. Von dieser Eventualität scheinen auch

Brahm. Prāy. Bl. 114a zu handeln (durch Korruption fast völlig unver-

stündlich geworden). <sup>935</sup> RV. 1. 89. 6, 7, 9. <sup>936</sup> C viś-

vatejaḥ <sup>937</sup> A jāmayah <sup>938</sup> RV. 7. 1. 3. <sup>939</sup> VS. 17. 79.

<sup>940</sup> AC yat svagne hr̥laḥ B yas tv agne hr̥daḥ <sup>941</sup> ABCD rādhasa

<sup>942</sup> AV. 5. 3. 1.

juhuyād | auttaravedikaś<sup>943</sup> ced anugacchec chālāmukhiyāt  
 praṇīye 'mo agna<sup>944</sup> iti trayodaśabhir juhuyāt | imo agne vita-  
 tamāni havyājasro vakṣi devatātim achā prati na im surabhīni  
 vyantu | sapta te agne samidho<sup>945</sup> | yan me manasaś chi-  
 draṃ<sup>946</sup> | mamā 'gne varca<sup>942</sup> iti juhuyāt | paśuśrapaṇaś ced  
 anugacched auttaravedikāt praṇīya tvam no agne<sup>947</sup> sa tvam  
 na<sup>948</sup> iti sarvaprayāścittam hutvā | yady ukhyo<sup>949</sup> 'nugacchet  
 punaḥ punaḥ prajvālya || 1 || kāyamāno vanā tvam<sup>950</sup> yan mātṛ  
 ajagann apaḥ | na tat te agne pramrṣe nivartanam yad  
 dūre sann ihā 'bhavaḥ | yās te agna ādrā yonayo yāḥ ku-  
 lāyiniḥ<sup>951</sup> | ye te agna indavo yā u nābhayaḥ | yās te agne

<sup>943</sup> cf. Āśv. Prāy. 11 a: varuṇapraghāseṣv auttaravedikasyā 'gner da-  
 kṣiṇa-vihārasthasya vā nāse śālāmukhāt praṇīya pūrvoktam prāyaścittam  
 kuryāt | („pūrvokta“ s. den Schluß des im Ms. unmittelbar vorhergehenden  
 Passus Anm. 784 Cit. 2) nā 'trā 'nvādhānam | śālāmukhiyā-'nvādhāna-vya-  
 tirekeṇa pṛthag anvādhānasya pūrvam ananuṣṭhānāt | na caivam anvā-  
 hita-prāyaścittam na syād iti vācyaṃ | anvāhita-śālāmukhiyāt praṇitvena  
 dvayor apy anvāhitatvāt | anvāhita-śālāmukhiyā-nāse tu purāṇa-gārha-  
 patyāt tam praṇīya pūrvoktam prāyaścittam kṛtvā 'nvādhānādi kuryāt |  
<sup>944</sup> RV. 7. 1. 18. <sup>945</sup> VS. 17. 79. <sup>946</sup> Āp. 14. 16. 1, 17. 1.  
<sup>947</sup> RV. 4. 1. 4. <sup>948</sup> AV. 20. 98. 2. <sup>949</sup> Des in anderen  
 Traktaten häufig erwähnten Ausgehens des dakṣiṇāgni gedenkt unser  
 Text nicht; s. z. B. Āśv. Prāy. 9 b: anvādhānā-'nantaram dakṣiṇāgni-nāse  
 śucir bhūtvā vihāram praviśya gārhapatyam tam praṇīya prāṇan āyamyā  
 dakṣiṇāgni-nāsa-nimittam prāśayec cittam (l.: 'nimitta-prāyaścittam)  
 kariṣya iti saṃkalpya gārhapatyē smārtavad ājyaṃ saṃskṛtya sruk-sruvaṃ  
 niṣṭapya saṃmrjya srucci caturgrhītam grhītvā "havanīye samidham  
 ādhāya juhōti | mano jyotir juṣatām ājyaṃ (Ā. Ś. 2. 5. 14) haviṣā grhītena  
 svāhā | manase jyotiṣa idam na mama (gemeint: AV. 18. 2. 2?) | sāṃgatā-  
 sidhyartham ekam sruvāhutim juhuyāt | bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ svāhā | tato  
 viṣṇu-smaraṇam | adhvaryu-sannidhau sa eva sarvaṃ kuryāt | saṃkalpaṃ  
 tyāgam ca yajamānaḥ | viṣṇu-smaraṇam ubhayoh | aiśtikājye sati na  
 smārtavaj ājya-saṃskāraḥ | aiśti-saṃmārge sati na punaḥ pātra-saṃmārge  
 ity uktam prayāścitta-caṃdrikāyām | tato dakṣiṇāgneḥ paścād ūrddhvaṃ  
 jānu(r) upaviśya mahyam yajantv (AV. 5. 3. 4) ity ādi tātri (?) -kāṣṭhāny  
 ādhāya vyābṛtibhir upasthānam kuryāt | evam anvāhita-"havanīya-nāse  
 'pi |; ibid. 10 a folg. findet sich eine Sühnezeremonie "gārhapatya-dakṣiṇā-  
 'gnyor nāse"; vgl. Agn. Prāy. 12 b: dakṣiṇāgny-anugamanam (l.: 'ne)  
 tūṣṇīm gārhapatyāt praṇīya bhūr ity upasthānādi samānam | homas tu (!)  
 āhavanīye ta[t]-tad-agnau vā sarva-prāyaścittam tu (!) āhavanīya eva |  
 ity anvāhita-prāyaścittam | ibid. 13 a: atha dakṣiṇāgner anugatiḥ | anu-  
 gatam dakṣiṇāgnim utpādayiṣyāmī 'ti saṃkalpya yonitāḥ praṇayet | tata  
 āhavanīye 'gnaye tapasvate janadvate pāvakavate svāhe 'ti pūrnāhutim  
 juhuyāt | <sup>950</sup> RV. 3. 9. 2. <sup>951</sup> M. S. 2. 7. 15: 98. 11; Āp.  
 15. 17. 5.

tanva ūrjo nāma tābhiḥ tvaṃ ubhayībhiḥ samvidānaḥ śataṃ cinvānas tanvā niśidata | śakam hi śucinā śuciḥ<sup>952</sup> praśastā kratunā 'jani | vidvān<sup>953</sup> asya vrata dhruvā vayā<sup>953</sup> ivā 'nuhata ity<sup>954</sup> ādhāya samidham kṛṣṇam dadyād | vāso-yugam<sup>955</sup> dhenum<sup>955</sup> vā | yady ukhā vā<sup>956</sup> bhidyeta tair eva kapālahi samcityā 'nyām kṛtvā syūtā devebhir amṛtenā<sup>957</sup> gā<sup>957</sup> ukhām svasāram adhi vedim asthāt satyaṃ pūrvair ṛṣibhiḥ cākupāno<sup>958</sup> | agniḥ pravidvān iha tat karotu | stavādejarudharanamadrir<sup>959</sup> ity anumantryet<sup>960</sup> | vasatīvarīś<sup>961</sup> cet skandeyuḥ<sup>962</sup> prthivī vibhūvarī<sup>963</sup> 'ti | cālyakam<sup>964</sup> cety<sup>964</sup> āvṛtte | namas te bhuvo viśva[m] tad grhītvā mādā vāśā<sup>965</sup> iti catasṛbhir āgnīdhriye juhuyāt | mādā vāśāḥ śundhyūr ajirāḥ | undatiḥ suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatīś tamasvatīr | mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭrā iha mā'vata | vṛṣṇo āsvasya samdānam asi vṛṣṭyai tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavā agne indra sūrya<sup>966</sup> | devā udno datto 'dadhīm bhintta divas pa-

<sup>952</sup> RV. 2. 5. 4; Āp. 16. 15. 7.

<sup>953</sup> C viddhā ārtvijyā

dhruvā vrata

<sup>954</sup> Das Zitat ist in den Mss. sehr korrupt. AC lesen statt: 'rohate ity: 'rohasaty; B 'rohasity

<sup>955</sup> AC 'yugam dhenu BD 'gām dhenum <sup>956</sup> A läßt vā aus. <sup>957</sup> M. S. 2. 7. 16. Āp. 16. 26. 6. <sup>958</sup> AD cā kūrṇā; B cākuryā C cā kūrṇā;

gemeint ist wohl die Fassung von K. Ś. 39. 3. <sup>959</sup> Infolge seiner Korruption für mich nicht identifizierbar. BD: stavādejarudhiramadrir C wie B, nur: stadeja<sup>960</sup> A 'yeta <sup>961</sup> A 'varīyāś <sup>962</sup> Āśv.

Prāy. 13a erwähnen einen in der Opferpraxis sicherlich sehr häufig auftretenden analogen Fall: prauṭānām prokṣaṇām cā 'mbuskandane samśrāve vā ... <sup>963</sup> K. Ś. 35. 3; Āp. 14. 17. 3. <sup>964</sup> Durch Korruption unverständlich geworden. Statt des ca-Lautes vielleicht (mit A)

va zu lesen; D statt dessen sinīvaly urumḍhe ity <sup>965</sup> Ap. Ś. 14. 18. 1. <sup>966</sup> TS. 2. 4. 8. 1. Das Zitat, wohl aus abweichender Rezension hervorgegangen, ist verunstaltet; A liest: mādā vāsasadumḍbhejirā umḍarī

suphedāḥ | jyotiṣmatīś tamasvatīr mitrabhṛtaḥ kṣatrabhṛtaḥ svarāṣṭra ihamāvataḥ | vṛṣṭyam samdānam asi vṛṣṭye tvo 'panahyāmi | devā vasavo 'gni sūryo tro danno dadhibhurddivaspūrvjanyāmdamtarikṣā samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvān | devām yujo mitravaruṇaryamā śukra tadevātsavitāyāhayā

tantrannapām nārāśamsohnodatto dadhikinam divaḥ syur janyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyāvān iti BC māṇḍavāśā śrudhyū (? C śrudhyū) iṣa bhejirāṇḍamḍūtiḥ suphetāḥ | jyotiṣmatīś tamasvatīr mitrabhṛtā kṣatrabhṛtā svarāṣṭra ity amāyata | vṛṣṇo (C 'ṣṇe) āsvasya samdānam

asi vṛṣṭyai (C vṛṣṇyau) tvopanahyāmi | devatā vasavo agna (C āgna) indrasūryo hnodatto (nho<sup>6</sup>) dadhibhit | divas phū(syū)-rjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṭyāvāt | devā yujo mitravaruṇaryamā yuktam

(C fügt no ein) devaḥ sapitayo apām napāt tanūnapām nārāśamso 'hnodatto dabbimbhit (C dadhibimbhit) diva spūrvjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vṛṣṇyāvān iti

tato no vṛṣṇyāvān iti

rjanyād antarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vrṣtyā 'vata | devā yujo  
 mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yuktam devāḥ sapitayo apām napāt tanū-  
 napān naraśamsa udno datto 'dadhīm bhintta divas parjanya  
 āntarikṣāt samudrāt tato no vrṣtyā 'vate 'ti | pravṛttās cet  
 syuḥ samāsiñcantv<sup>967</sup> iti samsiñcen<sup>968</sup> | nivṛttās cet syur apām  
 ūrmī<sup>969</sup> 'ti grhitvā ṣaḍbhir āhavanīye juhuyād | indriyāvān  
 madintamas tam vo mā 'va kramiṣam | achinnaṃ tantum  
 prthivyā anu geṣam<sup>970</sup> iti hutvā || 2 || abhivṛṣte<sup>971</sup> some dyauś  
 ca tvā prthivi ca śṛṇitām antarikṣam ca | indur indum avāgād  
 imdora imdro 'pāt<sup>972</sup> | yajñāś ca tvā vāyuś ca śṛṇitām ahaś ca  
 tvā rātriś ca śṛṇitām darśaś ca tvā paurnamāsaś ca śṛṇitām  
 yajñāś ca tvā dakṣiṇā ca śṛṇitām dakṣaś ca tvā mānaś ca  
 śṛṇitām arkaś ca tvā 'śvamedhaś ca śṛṇitām | . . . . ś ca  
 tvā . . . .<sup>973</sup> imdur indum upāgāt<sup>974</sup> sāyame so ma<sup>975</sup> bhūt  
 sarva<sup>976</sup> tasya<sup>976</sup> ta<sup>976</sup> imdava<sup>976</sup> | indrapitasyo 'pahūtasyo  
 'pahūto bhakṣayāmī<sup>977</sup> 'ty abhimṛṣtasya<sup>978</sup> bhakṣayet | saso-  
 mam cec camasaṃ sadasi stotreṇā 'bhyupākuryād dhiranya-  
 garbhas tad<sup>979</sup> it<sup>979</sup> padam<sup>979</sup> iti<sup>979</sup> dvābhyām<sup>979</sup> juhuyāt<sup>980</sup> |  
 tad it padam na viciketa vidvān<sup>981</sup> yan<sup>982</sup> mṛtaḥ<sup>982</sup> punar apy  
 eti jīvān | pravṛttā<sup>983</sup> ca sthali syāt<sup>983</sup> trivṛd yad bhuvanasya  
 rathavṛj jīvo garbho na mṛtasya jīvāt svāhe 'ty | anyaś ced<sup>984</sup>  
 āgrāyaṇād<sup>984</sup> grhṇīyād<sup>984</sup> āgrāyaṇaś<sup>985</sup> ced upadasyed āgrā-  
 yaṇād grhṇīyād grahebhyo<sup>986</sup> vā 'hrtya<sup>987</sup> śukra-dhruvau<sup>988</sup>

<sup>967</sup> Gemeint ist AV. 7. 33. 1.

<sup>968</sup> AD samvām

B siṃcaṃ C samgnicam

<sup>969</sup> AV. 20. 28. 4; Vait.

31. 22. <sup>970</sup> Ap. Ś. 10. 19. 10.

<sup>971</sup> A abhipṛṣta

<sup>972</sup> K. S. 35. 11; Āp. 14. 29. 2.

<sup>973</sup> die Mss. geben nur diese Silben

als Rest des Textfragments; AD śrutvā

<sup>974</sup> MŚ. 3. 6. 15.

<sup>975</sup> BCD

somā <sup>976</sup> A: (somas) tat savita imdavaḥ | BC (\*mā) bhūt sarva tasya

ta imdava | D bhūs tat savitasya ta

<sup>977</sup> vgl. V. S. 38. 28.

<sup>978</sup> l.:

abhivṛṣtasya?

<sup>979</sup> BC aditidvābhyām

<sup>980</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 93 a:

cec camasaṃ abhyupākuryāt (!) hiraṇyarbha ity āgnīdhriye pūrṇāhutiṃ

juhuyāt.... [Comm.] yadi sadasy avasthitam camasaṃ abhyupākuryāt (!)

hiraṇyagarbha ity.....

<sup>981</sup> TB. 3. 7. 10. 6.

<sup>982</sup> A yad amṛtaḥ

B yan mataḥ C yan ataḥ

<sup>983</sup> Diese und die inzwischenliegenden

Worte fehlen bei BCD; statt ca lies A va; cf. AP 37. 19. 1 yasya 'samāpte

karman y upadātram pravarttate

<sup>984</sup> hinter ced etwa: upadasyed

zu ergänzen. A nyaścehāprāyaṇāhunīyād B anyaś cedāgrāyaṇād grh-

ṇīyād C anyaś cedāgrāyaṇāt grhṇīyād; vgl. K. S. 25. 12. 25. folg.

<sup>985</sup> BC nāc

<sup>986</sup> ABC grhebhyo

<sup>987</sup> ABC 'hṛtya cf. Brahm.

Prāy. 82 a: yady āgrāyaṇaḥ skandēd upa vā dasyed itarebhyo grahebhyo

nirgrhṇīyāt | ... yadi 'tare grahā skandeyur upa vā dasyeyur puro grāya

apo nirgrhṇīyāt.

<sup>988</sup> A dhruvo

varjam | ā tvā yajñasye<sup>989</sup> 'ti catasr̥bhīr juhuyād | ā tvā  
 yajñasya ramhyā[t] suṣvāṇaḥ pavate sutaḥ | pratnāni pāti kā-  
 vyaḥ | goṣā<sup>990</sup> indo nṛṣā asy aśvasā vājasā uta<sup>990</sup> | pratnāni  
 pāti kāvyaḥ | devānām deva<sup>991</sup> iti dve | dhruvaś ced upadasyet  
 pravṛttā cet sthāli syād vasavas tvā "dis tarpayantu rudrās tvā  
 tarpayantu | ādityās tvā tarpayantv ity utsrjya dhruvā dyaur<sup>992</sup>  
 ity abhimantrya dhruvam<sup>993</sup> dhruvene<sup>994</sup> 'ti gr̥hitvā "yurdā asi  
 dhruva iti catasr̥bhīr āgnīdhriye juhuyāt | āyurdā asi dhruva  
 āyur me dāḥ<sup>995</sup> svāhā | varcodā asi dhruvo varco me dāḥ  
 svāhā | tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ svāhā | sahodā asi  
 dhruvaḥ saho me dāḥ svāhā | grāvni<sup>996</sup> śirne<sup>996</sup> dyotānasya<sup>996</sup>  
 mārutasya brahmasāmena stuviram<sup>997</sup> ity eke bhakṣaṇīyam<sup>998</sup>  
 uparaveṣv apinayet || 3 apidagdhe<sup>999</sup> some kṛtāmtvād<sup>1000</sup>  
 upakrameranyaṃ<sup>1001</sup> vacanāt<sup>1002</sup> | japtvā purā dvādaśyā<sup>1003</sup>  
 punar<sup>1004</sup> dikṣāvāmtādviti<sup>1005</sup> | tatra tā dadyād<sup>1006</sup> yāḥ<sup>1007</sup>  
 kasyai tvā<sup>1008</sup> dāsyā<sup>1008</sup> bhavati | tathai 'vai 'nām<sup>1009</sup> ṛtvijo<sup>1009</sup>  
 yājāyeyur<sup>1009</sup> | yady akrīta-somam<sup>1010</sup> apahareyur<sup>1011</sup> anyāḥ<sup>1012</sup>  
 kṛitavyo | yadi kṛito<sup>1013</sup> naṣṭaḥ<sup>1014</sup> syāt sā nityā 'bhiṣi-  
 cyo | rājā-'hāra<sup>1015</sup> iti kimcid deyaṃ<sup>1016</sup> | tenā 'sya sa

<sup>989</sup> RV. 9. 6. 8. ACD ātvāsyeti B ātmāyajñāsceti <sup>990</sup> RV. 9. 2. 10;  
 fehlt bei B. <sup>991</sup> Kauś. S. 74. 12. <sup>992</sup> AV. 6. 88. 1; Āp. 14. 27. 7.  
<sup>993</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>994</sup> AV. 6. 87. 3; Āp. 14. 27. 7. <sup>995</sup> Āp. 14. 27. 6;  
 Ś. Ś. 4. 12. 10. <sup>996</sup> A gnāhi śirne rghotāsyā BC grāvni śirne  
 dyotā asya; D dhyātā asya <sup>997</sup> A suviram <sup>998</sup> ABCD  
 'yām <sup>999</sup> A apidagve BCD apidagdham <sup>1000</sup> A kṛte tā  
 B kṛtām tvā C vṛttām tvā?; l. wahrscheinlich: kṛitātvād <sup>1001</sup> Brahm.  
 Prāy. 95 a: yadi rājā 'bhīdahyeta grāhān adhvar[ur] sparsāyeta stotrāny  
 udgātā śāstrāṇi hotā 'tha [a]dhvar[yur] yajñam sa[m]bbṛtyā purva ceṣṭe-  
 ram . . . . Bl. 96 b folg.: yadi rājā 'bhīdahyeta krayāt prāg dakṣiṇakālāt  
 sarveṣv evā 'vadhīṣu prāptam kāmam vipracārād eka ichamti <sup>1002</sup> BD  
 cavanām; zu diesem völlig verderbten Passus scheint Āśv. 6. 8. 1 parallel  
 zu sein. <sup>1003</sup> A 'daśā <sup>1004</sup> A punad B puna <sup>1005</sup> A  
 'ddhiti A wiederholt: tatra krameranyaṃ vacanān japtvā purā daśā pu-  
 naddikṣāvāddhiti; s. K. Ś. 25. 14. 30. <sup>1006</sup> B dr̥dyād <sup>1007</sup> fehlt  
 bei BCD <sup>1008</sup> A tvasya tad; zu verbessern nach K. Ś. 25. 14. 31.  
<sup>1009</sup> AD tayaivanā ṛtvir yājāyeyur B tathaiva nām ṛtvijo ryajajñeyur  
 C wie B; nur: ryajaya <sup>1010</sup> A 'kṛitah so° <sup>1011</sup> AC upa°  
<sup>1012</sup> BC anya AD anyatra <sup>1013</sup> A kṛitam yo BCD kṛitavyo <sup>1014</sup> BC  
 ceṣṭa AD neṣṭa <sup>1015</sup> D rajohāra <sup>1016</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 82 a:  
 cet kṛitam apahareyur iti yasya krayeṇā 'bhisambandhaḥ (!) upariṣṭāt  
 somagrahanāt . . . dvaṃ somaprakārau haimavato 'sau javanakha tatra  
 haimavate (!) ālohitā-varṇako maujavato babhruvarṇakaḥ | . . . mauja-  
 vatasyā 'pahāre kecit haimavata āhartavya tam abhiṣunuyāt | . . . cf. K. Ś.



parikrito bhavati | yadi somam na vindeyuh pütikān abhiṣu-  
 nuyur<sup>1017</sup> | yadi na pütikān arjunāny<sup>1018</sup> atha<sup>1018</sup> yā<sup>1018</sup>  
 eva kās cau 'śadhīr āhṛtyā 'bhiṣunuyuh<sup>1019</sup> | pañcadakṣiṇam  
 kratum samsthāpayeyur ekadakṣiṇam vā | yena yajñena kāma-  
 yeta tena yajeta | [a]tra yat kāmayeta tatra tad dadyāt | prā-  
 taḥsavanāc cet kalaśo vidīryeta vaiṣṇaviṣu śipiviṣṭavatīṣu tṛcā<sup>1020</sup>  
 stūyur<sup>1021</sup> | (mādhyamdinaś cet<sup>1022</sup> pavamāne sa-mādhyam-  
 dināt<sup>1023</sup> pavamānā<sup>1024</sup>) yadi mādhyamdina<sup>1025</sup> 'rbhavyasya<sup>1025</sup>  
 pavamānasya purastād vaṣaṭ-kāra-nidhanam sāmā<sup>1026</sup> ku-  
 ryād | yadi tṛtīya-savana etad<sup>1027</sup> eva<sup>1028</sup> 4 | bhūmir bhū-  
 mim agān<sup>1029</sup> mātā mātaram apy agāt | rdyāsma putraiḥ  
 paśubhir yo no dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām iti | yan mārṭtikam  
 bhidyeta<sup>1030</sup> tadā 'po gamayet<sup>1031</sup> tathaiva dārumayam ya  
 rte cid abhiśriṣa<sup>1032</sup> ity etayā "labhyā 'bhimantrayate |

25. 12. 17 folg. Dem ālohita entspricht hier vollständig: avyaktarāga-  
 puṣpāṇi tṛṇāni. Als Surrogate werden genannt (der Stufenfolge nach  
 eins für das andere) śyenahrta, pütika, ādāra, aruṇadūrvā, haritakuṣa; die  
 Schilderung dieser Pflanzen ist von Wichtigkeit. <sup>1017</sup> Wörtlich gleich  
 PB 9. 5. 3; cf. Āśv. 6. 8. 5 f.; Brahm. Prāy. 83 a; K. Ś. 25. 12. 18; Pet. Wb.  
 u. pratinidhi: somā-bhāve bhavet pūtidhiḥ pratinidhāv uta | <sup>1018</sup> A  
 arjananaithāyā B arjanānaithāyā C arjunānaisyāyā D arjunānairthāyā  
<sup>1019</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 83 a: yadi na pütikān athā 'rjunāni yadi na pütika-  
 tṛṇāni ca vinde[t] tata abhiṣunuyād iti varttate lohita-tūlāni haima-  
 vatasya sthāne haimavato lohitākāra iti bhāvaḥ . . . maujavatasthāne  
 babhrutālāny arjunāni varttate . . . yadi nā 'rjunāni na vinde[t] iti  
 varttate ca ca (?) yā kās co 'śadhīn āraṇyā abhiṣunuyād vā 'rjunāni na . . .  
 vinde[t] yāḥ kāmāś cau 'śadhīr āraṇyā darbhakās ādikā abhiṣunuyāt soma-  
 vikrayiṇaś ca kiṃcid dadyād iti . . . 93 a gedenkt noch des Falles: droṇa-  
 kalaśe cet somam na vinde[t] skanded (?) upadasyed (?) vā . . . tad dhi-  
 ranāya[m] ṛjīṣe 'py asya prakṣipyā 'bhiṣunuyād . . . <sup>1020-1021</sup> cf. unten  
 6. 6; statt tṛcā erwarten wir ṛkṣu <sup>1022</sup> B ci C cit <sup>1023</sup> A  
 'dinā BC dināt <sup>1024</sup> fehlt bei A. <sup>1025</sup> 'dina  
 ārbha° wäre grammatisch richtig. <sup>1026</sup> A sama B samāna  
 C samā me <sup>1027</sup> fehlt bei C <sup>1028</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 87 a: (yadi  
 mādhyamdine grāvā śīryate [cf. oben 6. 3] . . .) . . . yadi prātaḥsavane  
 kalaśo dīryeta vaṣaṭkāranidhanam . . . . . ekasmin dārumaye kalaśe  
 droṇakalaśa iti prayoga . . . . . eteṣām aṣṭānām yadi kaścid dīryeta . . .  
 87 b [ganz verderbt]: yadi prātaḥsavane droṇakalaśam kalaśo dīryetā  
 'bhīmarśanākāle tatra somasūryā 'smin pātre samāvapati ya tritīya (?)  
 sthānā[t] tu kṛtvo 'dgātrbhiḥ prahitam sammrṣṭam avasthāpya tasmin  
 somam avanayet . . . . . <sup>1029</sup> Āp. 3. 20. 9; 9. 16. 2. <sup>1030</sup> cf.  
 Āp. 9. 16. 2 f.; Āśv. 3. 14. 12; cf. oben 3. 7—8. <sup>1031</sup> A yogamayait  
 BC yo maye; D yo gamayet <sup>1032</sup> AV. 14. 2. 47; vgl. K. Ś.  
 25. 5. 29 f. und unten Note 1147.

sarvatra śīrṇe bhinne naṣṭe 'nyam kṛtvā punar mai 'tv indriyam<sup>1033</sup> ity ādadīta<sup>1034</sup> | bahiṣpavamānam cet sarpatām<sup>1035</sup> prastotā vichidyeta brahmaṇe varam dattvā tatas tam eva punar vṛṇiyād | yad udgātā vichidyeta sarvavedasa-dakṣiṇena yajñena yajetai | 'vam sarveṣām vichinnānām sarpatām ekai-kasmin kuryād | dyaus ca ma indraś ca me<sup>1036</sup> | tantum tan-van<sup>1037</sup> | mā pragāma patho vayam<sup>1038</sup> iti | śāstrāc<sup>1039</sup> cec chastram anuśamsan<sup>1040</sup> vyāpadyeta mā<sup>1041</sup> pragāma patho vayam<sup>1038</sup> iti pañcabhir juhuyād | rāthamtaram cet stūyamānam<sup>1042</sup> vyāpadyeta samyag digbhya<sup>1043</sup> iti dvābhyām juhu-yād<sup>1044</sup> | yavā-'dinām avapannānām<sup>1045</sup> vyāvṛttānām uttarā-sām<sup>1046</sup> yathāliṅgam dvābhyām juhuyān | nārāśamsā(d) unne-tād<sup>1047</sup> upadasyerann<sup>1048</sup> ayam no agnir adhyakṣa<sup>1049</sup> iti dvābhy-ām | pāñneyanyāś ced upadasyet samāsiñcantv<sup>1050</sup> it isamsincet<sup>1051</sup> 5 || atha ced dhutā-'hutau somau pitā-'pitau vā samsrjeyātām<sup>1052</sup> yajñasya hi stha rtvijā<sup>1053</sup> gavimdrāgnī kalpatā yuvam hutā 'hutasya cā 'syā yasye 'ndrāgnivitaṃ pibata ghṛtam imām ghṛtam iti dvābhyām juhuyāt | prātaḥsavanāc<sup>1054</sup> cet<sup>1055</sup> kalaśo<sup>1056</sup> vidiryeta vaiṣṇavatīṣu<sup>1057</sup> śipiviṣṭavatīṣu gaurivitena stūyuh<sup>1058</sup> | samāna-janapadau cet somau samsavau syātām pūrvo

1033 Kauś. 9. 2. 1034 AD 'dhīta; K. Ś. 25. 6. 1 folg. lehrt die Entstehungsgeschichte irdener Gefäße in interessanter Weise.  
1035 ABC sarpatātām 1036 TS. 4. 7. 6. 2. 1037 RV. 10. 53. 6; Āp. 9. 8. 7. 1038 AV. 13. 1. 59. 1039 A śāstrām 1040 AC 'sa B 'sam 1041 Diese und die dazwischenliegenden Worte fehlen bei D. 1042 AB sūya  
1043 BC samādigbhya AD samādiśya; cf. Paipp. S. 15. 1. 1044 A āpavannānām B apannānām C āpannānām 1045 A uttarāsām C uttasasām; l.: uttarābhyām? 1046 l. unnitā? cf. K. Ś. 25. 12. 11; vgl. Brahm. Prāy. 89 a: yadi nārāśamsā upadasyeyuh yaṃ yaṃ hamanu-patiṣṭhara tasya bīḍum avanayet 1047 Kauś. 89. 13. 1048 Gemeint ist jedenfalls AV. 7. 33. 1; cf. Āp. 7. 17. 1: asmāñ avantu payasā | 1049 Brahm. Prāy. 90 a (ganz korrupt): yadi hutāhutātopapitau va somau samsrjeyātām amtaparidhy amgārā dakṣiṇāho hy ahutasye 'ti juhuyāt yadi hṛtād āhrte hute [']hute pitarupiti apitād vā 'pi 'ti samsargo bhavet tam yat samsrṣṭe 'dam tataḥ paridhy amgārām dakṣiṇā 'po hyu 'hutasya ce 'ti juhuyāt 1050 cf. RV. 8. 38. 1; (Text nach BC); hinter rtvijā liest A: gavimdrāgnivitaṃ pivata ghṛtam imām chṛtam tam pibata ghṛtam imām ghṛtam 1051 ABC 'vanam 1052 D ca tad 1053 B 'se; vgl. K. Ś. 25. 12. 22. 1054 ABC 'viṣu cf. 6. 4 1055 Brahm. Prāy. 103 b folg. behandeln in überaus korrupter Form das gleiche oder ein ähnliches Thema: yadi prātaḥsavanavesomer ity etāsti so somo iya stuta itī marutvatīṣu gāyatṛeṇa stuyuh | . . . . yadi madhyandine somā  
10\*

'gnim<sup>1056</sup> parigrhñiyāt<sup>1056</sup> pūrvo devatāḥ parigrhñiyāt | nā 'tirā-  
 tryā<sup>1057</sup> prātar-anuvākam upākuryād | abhiṣṭāvyā 'tha<sup>1058</sup> sam-  
 veśāyo<sup>1059</sup> 'paveśāya gāyatrīyai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe<sup>1060</sup> 'ti  
 purastāt prātaranuvākasya juhuyāt | triṣṭubha<sup>1061</sup> iti mādhyam-  
 dine<sup>1062</sup> vidviṣānayoḥ samsavāv<sup>1063</sup> iti vijñāyate<sup>1064</sup> | savaniyā-  
 'nantaram agnaye yaviṣṭhāyā śṭakapālam ity āhavanīye<sup>1065</sup> ma-  
 had<sup>1065</sup> abhyādadhya<sup>1065</sup> | sambhārāṇām caturbhiḥ caturbhiḥ  
 pratidiśam juhuyād | uttamam<sup>1066</sup> āgnidhriye somabhāga[m] brāh-  
 maṇeṣu śamse[t]<sup>1067</sup> | vajrāṇām śyena viṣamasya<sup>1068</sup> ca phaṭkāra-  
 prabhṛty<sup>1069</sup> anujāniyāt | sarveṣu cā 'bhicārikeṣu samdikṣitāṇām  
 ca vyāvartteta 'gneran brāhmaṇaḥ<sup>1070</sup> procya jivā nāma sthā  
 tā imam jivet(v)o<sup>1071</sup> | 'pajivā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta |  
 jivikā nāma sthā tā imam jiveta samjiveta | jivalā nāma sthā  
 tā imam jiveta samjiveta | samjivikā nāma sthā tā imam  
 jive(s)t(v)e | 'ty<sup>1072</sup> apaḥ<sup>1072</sup> paribrūyāt<sup>1072</sup> | tāsām udag-  
 arvāk<sup>1073</sup> kuryād | upāṁśv-antaryāmau<sup>1074</sup> ca cet te<sup>1074</sup> prāṇā-  
 pānau<sup>1074</sup> pātām | upāṁśu-savanas te vyāṇam pātu | śrotram cā  
 'śvinau pātām | dakṣakratū te mitrāvaruṇau pātām | stana ity  
 ṛtupātre<sup>1075</sup> | ātmānam ta āgrayaṇaḥ pātv | āṅāni ca ta ukthyaḥ  
 pātv | āyuṣ te dhruvaḥ pātu | vīryam te lakṣmīḥ pātv iti juhu-

'tiridhyeti . . . vaṇ mahāsti sūrye 'ty ādityavatiṣu gauriviteṇa sapte  
 suyuḥ | yadi trītyasavane somo tiricyeta viṣṇo śipiviṣṭavatiṣu gaurivatena  
 sāmnā s[t]uyuh . . . yady atirātraviṣṭośapaviṣṭavatiṣu brhataḥ stuyu yady  
 atirātrād itiricyati viṣṇo śipiviṣṭavatiṣu vahanāśāstrādayaḥ | vgl. K. S.  
 25. 13. 6 folg.

<sup>1056</sup> ACD gnir grhñiyāt B gnir grhñiyā. Vgl.  
 K. Ś. 25. 14. 8 folg.; P. B. 9. 4. 2.

<sup>1057</sup> A tāni rātryāḥ B tāni  
 rātryā C tāni rātryāt

<sup>1058</sup> A abhiṣṭāvyarthēḥ BC atīṣṭāvyātha  
 D iti bhiṣṭāvyātha

<sup>1059</sup> C samdeśātho B saveśāyo D samveśāyo

<sup>1060</sup> P. B. 9. 4. 6.

<sup>1061</sup> fehlt bei A.

<sup>1062</sup> ACD

\*nenā D \*nevā

<sup>1063</sup> A samavov; BCD samāvāv; zu ergänzen hinter

mādhyamdine: samveśāyo 'paveśāya jagatryai chandase 'bhibhūtyai svāhe

'ti trītya-savane; l. sodann: nānā-vidviṣānayoḥ samsava iti

<sup>1064</sup> BC

\*yamte D jñāyamte; cf. TS. 2. 2. 9. 6: traīṣṭubham mādhyamdinaṁ

savanam

<sup>1065</sup> A \*ñiyamahṛdabhyāmdadhya<sup>1065</sup>

<sup>1066</sup> A \*mamam

<sup>1067</sup> A samse B śamse B śamse

<sup>1068</sup> A \*sayanasya BC \*viṣanasya

<sup>1069</sup> B vaṣaṭkāra CD vaṣaṭkāraḥ

<sup>1070</sup> CD brāhmaṇaḥ

<sup>1071</sup> Āp.

14. 20. 8 in erweiterter Fassung; cf. AV. 19. 69. 2 ff.; in den Mss. kor-

rumpiert; vgl. Āśv. 6. 9. 1. Die Fehlerhaftigkeit des vorausgegangenen

Textes macht es schwer verständlich, daß es sich bei diesen Sprüchen

um die Abwehr von Krankheiten, die den dikṣita befallen haben, handelt.

<sup>1072</sup> BC, dessen Textfassung wir im übrigen gefolgt sind, liest: ity ayaḥ  
 paribrūyāt; AD ity ayaḥ paridhi brūyāt; A läßt die Worte samjiveta jivalā  
 nāma bis ayaḥ pari° aus.

<sup>1073</sup> A arvām B ārcā C ācā; l. udakārtham?

<sup>1074</sup> Āp. 14. 21. 4; Āśv. 6. 9. 3; AB \*yāmo cet prā° C \*yāmau ce prācet-  
 prācet prā°

<sup>1075</sup> AB kratupātre (l.: ṛtu?) C ṛcupātre

yāt | puṣṭinā puṣṭim<sup>1076</sup> prāṇena prāṇam tejasā tejaś cakṣuṣā  
 cakṣuḥ śrotreṇa śrotram āyuṣā "yuh punar dehi"ti sakṛd etāni  
 juhuyād brahmāṇi sūktāni | 6 | brahmā brāhmaṇacchamsi vai  
 "ndra-vāyavād<sup>1077</sup> graham grhṇīyāt<sup>1078</sup> | sa cen<sup>1079</sup> mri-  
 yetā<sup>1080</sup> 'gnibhya<sup>1081</sup> eva<sup>1081</sup> trin āṅgārān uddhṛtya dakṣiṇam  
 pāṇim<sup>1082</sup> śroṇim<sup>1083</sup> prati<sup>1084</sup> dagdhvā<sup>1084</sup> 'sthīny<sup>1085</sup> upani-  
 dadhyus<sup>1086</sup> | tasya putram bhrātaram vo 'padikṣām<sup>1087</sup>  
 samāpnuyuh<sup>1088</sup> | sa cen mriyetā 'gnibhya eva trin āṅgārān  
 uddhṛtya dakṣiṇam pāṇim śroṇim pratitapyai 'va dagdhvā<sup>1085</sup> <sup>1089</sup>  
 hotuḥ<sup>1090</sup> pramukhā<sup>1091</sup> ṛtvijaḥ<sup>1092</sup> prācīnāvītam kṛtvā da-  
 kṣiṇān ūrūn āghnānāḥ sarparājñinām (ūrtyā)<sup>1093</sup> kirttaya-  
 ntaḥ<sup>1094</sup> stotre<sup>1094</sup> stotre<sup>1095</sup> 'sthi-putam<sup>1096</sup> upanidadhyuh |  
 samvatsare<sup>1097</sup> 'sthipuṭam<sup>1097</sup> nidadhyuh<sup>1098</sup> | samvatsare  
 'sthīni yājayet | samāpte samvatsare dikṣitānām ced upadikṣeta  
 somam<sup>1099</sup> vibhajya<sup>1099</sup> viśvajitā<sup>1100</sup> 'tirātrena | yady āśvi-  
 ni[ṣu]<sup>1101</sup> śasyamānāsv<sup>1102</sup> ādityam purastān na paśyeyur āsvam  
 śvetam rukmapratihitam<sup>1103</sup> purastād avasthāpya<sup>1104</sup> sauryam  
 śvetam (g)ajam<sup>1105</sup> upālambhyam ālabheta tasya<sup>1106</sup> tāny eva

<sup>1076</sup> cf. Āp. 10. 10. 6. <sup>1077</sup> A vempdra° BCD  
 caimdra° <sup>1078</sup> ACD grhṇāti yāt <sup>1079</sup> A ven C te  
<sup>1080</sup> A mriyetā° C bhāyetā° <sup>1081</sup> A 'bhyas C 'bhāva <sup>1082</sup> A  
 'pāṇiḥ <sup>1083</sup> B dam CD fehlt <sup>1084</sup> A tathaiva dagdhā  
 C dadhyā; l.: pratidhyā; der völlig korrupte Text Brahm. Prāy. 112a  
 gibt die gleichen Worte wieder. <sup>1085</sup> Diese und die dazwischen-  
 liegenden Worte fehlen bei A. <sup>1086</sup> B uyannidhyus <sup>1087</sup> D  
 'dikṣeram <sup>1088</sup> K. Ś. 25. 13. 28 folg.; dieser Satz ist zweifellos  
 eine Duplik des Folgenden. <sup>1089</sup> B daśvā C läßt dagdhvā aus.  
<sup>1090</sup> B hotṛḥ <sup>1091</sup> CD 'kha <sup>1092</sup> fehlt bei C <sup>1093</sup> AD  
 sāyamrajñināmūrttāya B sāyamājñināmūrttāya C sāyamrajñināmūrttāya  
<sup>1094</sup> A kirttanastotre BD kirttiyantastotre C kirttiyannastotre <sup>1095</sup> fehlt  
 bei AC. <sup>1096</sup> AD sthipuṭa BC sthiputrim <sup>1097</sup> A 'tsarāsthīpumṭha  
 C 'puram <sup>1098</sup> vgl. hierzu K. Ś. 25. 13. 31—36. <sup>1099</sup> A  
 somam avibhajya <sup>1100</sup> K. Ś. 25. 10. 4 folg. <sup>1101</sup> A āśvinī  
<sup>1102</sup> C 'nāstv D 'nāhsv <sup>1103</sup> ABCD ohatam <sup>1104</sup> Brahm.  
 Prāy. 101a: yasyā 'śvine śasyamāne sūryo no 'diyād āsvam śvetam  
 rukma-pratimuktaṁ purastāt pratyānmukham avasthāpayet kūrmeṇa pūr-  
 vām avedam naimittikam abhidhiyate yasya yajamānasyā 'śvina śasya-  
 māne sūryo no 'diyāt tatro 'ktam udite sūryo nīti tad yadi no 'dgīyāt(?)  
 tato gachet tasmin kāle sūryas tata iti naimittikam āśva śveta-rukma-  
 pratimuktaṁ pratipūrvam ukṭābandhane [']śvavadva rukma prāpnoti  
 purastād varṣavidvātāṣṭ tasmin eva kāle sūryasapatny(?)rthaprasrutam  
 mukham avasthāpayet . . . <sup>1105</sup> Statt des sachlich unmöglichen  
 gajam von ABC ist vielmehr: ajam zu lesen, wie z. B. aus Brahm. Prāy.  
 102a hervorgeht: sauryo ja śvetam apālambhyā . . . <sup>1106</sup> A tasyā

tantrāṇi yāni savanīyasyuḥ purastāt saṃdhi camasā <sup>1107</sup>  
 "savānām <sup>1108</sup> anupradānam syād | aśvamedhe ced aśvo nā  
 "gacched āgneyo 'śtākāpāla iti mrgākḥare <sup>1109</sup> śaḍdhaviṣkām <sup>1109</sup>  
 iṣṭim <sup>1109</sup> nirvaped daśa-haviṣam ity eke <sup>1110</sup> | vaḍavām ced aśvo  
 'bhiyād agnaye 'mhomuce 'śtākāpālam sauryam payo <sup>1111</sup> vā-  
 yavyāv ājyabhāgau || 7 || somarūpeṣū 'kta ācāryakalpo | brā-  
 hmaṇam tu bhavati | trayastriṃśad vai yajñasya tanva |  
 ity ekāṇna <sup>1112</sup> - triṃśo <sup>1113</sup> pākanagnim <sup>1114</sup> aśvanām <sup>1115</sup> ity  
 arthalopān nirvrttis | triṇi vā catur-grhitāny anuvākasye 'ty  
 ācāryā ete nityakalpāyā "rtvijyetarūpayasām <sup>1116</sup> tanvām  
 ārttim ārchatām co'ttarām vā saṃdhiṃ <sup>1117</sup> saṃdhāya juhuyād  
 iti taittirīyabrāhmaṇam iṣṭvā tad-daivatyām <sup>1118</sup> - edhikīyatām <sup>1119</sup>  
 arttir vidyā jāmim puruṣavidhiṃ māyāyā vā yajñasamba-  
 mḍhinim vān-manas-cintāyām <sup>1120</sup> prāg viharanād ārtāya prajā-  
 patir manasi sārāsvato vāci viśrṣṭāyām vidhānam dikṣāyām  
 brahmavrate svāhe 'ty etena nyāyena vājasaneyibrāhmaṇa-  
 moghena mantrāḥ <sup>1121</sup> klptāḥ <sup>1121</sup> | prajāpataye svāhā dhātre  
 svāhā pūṣṇe svāhe <sup>1122</sup> 'ty | aparāhṇikaś cet pravargyo 'bhyastam  
 iyāc chukro <sup>1123</sup> 'si <sup>1124</sup> divo 'chata <sup>1125</sup> iti juhuyād vyāhrtibhiś  
 ca | śvaḥsutyām <sup>1126</sup> ced ahutāyām tad-ahartāv <sup>1127</sup> apāga-  
 ched <sup>1128</sup> indrāya harivata <sup>1129</sup> iti brūyād ihā 'nvicamatibhir  
 iti tiṣṭbhiḥ | prātaranuvākam ced duritam upākuryāt pra vām  
 dāmsāmsy aśvināv avocam <sup>1130</sup> iti pañcabhir juhuyāt || 8 ||  
 pra vām dāmsāmsy aśvināv avocam asya patiḥ syām sugavaḥ  
 suvīraḥ | uta paśyann aśnuvan dīrgham āyur astam ive 'j

<sup>1107</sup> AB vamatsā C vamasā<sup>1108</sup> ABD asāvānām C asāvān<sup>1109</sup> AD mrgākḥaṣaṃḍadhaviṣāyām iṣṭim BC mrgāravareṣaḍdhaviṣyābhiṣṭim<sup>1110</sup> Einen allgemeinen Fall dieser Art erwähnten Brahṃ. Prāy. 73 b: yadi daivān mānuṣād vā pramādāt paśur upākṛtāḥ palāyeta . . . upo devān daivir viśa iti darbhyābhyām (śāṣayā) co 'pasprṣatī 'ti . . . dhvajā- "dibhāve vātam apaniā yāvavyām yavāgūm nirupye 'ty ānantaryām darśayati . . .<sup>1111</sup> B pavo<sup>1112</sup> AD ekām na B ekānta;

cf. G. B. 2. 2. 10.

<sup>1113</sup> A triśo<sup>1114</sup> C 'kajagnim

D pākamagnim

<sup>1115</sup> BD 'nāyām<sup>1116</sup> C 'rupa° A 'kalpārgghijeta°<sup>1117</sup> A saṃdhit B saṃdviṃ C saṃddhim<sup>1118</sup> B devatyām<sup>1119</sup> BD ekikīyati C ekīyati; beide mit der Wiederholung: tavatyā mehi-yatim<sup>1120</sup> D cintaniyām<sup>1121</sup> A mantra luptā;

gedacht ist an VS. 8. 54, das Zitat aber deckt sich mit M. Ś. 3. 6. 2; cf. Ś. B. 12. 6. 1. 3 folg.

<sup>1122</sup> VS. 18. 28; 22. 32.<sup>1123</sup> ABD

chakro

<sup>1124</sup> AV. 2. 11. 5; 17. 1. 20.<sup>1125</sup> B deva 'cha

CD divocha

<sup>1126</sup> A sutyām B sutyā C sutyām<sup>1127</sup> A

'rttāv B 'rttav C 'rtav

<sup>1128</sup> A adhyāgached<sup>1129</sup> Ap. Ś.

13. 17. 2.

<sup>1130</sup> RV. 1. 116. 25.

jarimāṇam jagamyām 1 madhvaḥ somasyāśvinā madāya<sup>1131</sup>  
 pratno hotā vivāsatē vām | barhiṣmati rātrir viśritā gir iṣā  
 yātam nāsatyō 'pa vājaiḥ 2 yo vām aśvinā manaso javiṣān  
 rathaḥ svasō viśa ājigāti | yena gachathaḥ sukrto duroṇam  
 tena narā vartir asmabhyam yātam || 3 || ṛṣim narāv amhasaḥ  
 pāñcājanyaṁ ṛbiṣād atrim mumcatho gaṇena | minantā dasyor  
 aśivasya māyā anupūrvam vṛṣaṇā codayantā || 4 || aśvam na  
 gūḍham aśvinā durevair ṛṣim narā vṛṣaṇā rebham apsu | sam  
 tam riñitho viprutam dāmsobhir na vām jūryanti pūrvyā  
 kṛtāni 5 iti | prātaḥsavanam cen mādhyamdinam savanam abhy-  
 astamiyād agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastād<sup>1132</sup> iti juhuyād |  
 agnaye svāhā vasubhyaḥ svāhā gāyatriyai svāhā | mādhyamdinam  
 cet ṛtīyasavanam abhyastamiyāt somo mā rudrair dakṣiṇāyā  
 diśaḥ pātṛ<sup>1133</sup> iti juhuyāt | somāya svāhā<sup>1134</sup> rudrebhyaḥ svāhā  
 triṣṭubhe svāhā | ṛtīyasavanam ced abhyastamiyād varuṇo  
 mā 'dityaiḥ<sup>1135</sup> sūryo mā dyāvāprthivibhyām pratiçyā diśaḥ  
 pātṛ iti juhuyād | varuṇāya svāhā 'dityebhyaḥ svāhā jagatyai  
 svāhā | ā bharataṁ śikṣataṁ vajrabāhū<sup>1136</sup> asmān indrāgnī ava-  
 taṁ śacībhiḥ | ime nu te raśmayāḥ sūryasya yebhiḥ sapitvam  
 pitaro na āsan | indrāgnibhyām svāhe | 'ndrāviṣṇubhyām svāhā |  
 rātriparyāyās ced abhivichidyerann indrāya svāhe | 'ndrānyai  
 svāhā | chandobhyaḥ svāhā | ṛtvijām<sup>1137</sup> ced<sup>1138</sup> duritam upā-  
 kuryād agnaye rathamtarāya svāho | 'śase svāhā | pañktaye  
 svāhā | 'śvibhyām svāhā | mā naḥ piparid aśvine 'ti | sarvatra  
 'nājñātesv<sup>1139</sup> agnaye svāhā | yajñāya svāhā | brahmaṇe svāhā |  
 viṣṇave svāhā | prajāpataye svāhā | 'numataye svāhā | 'gnaye  
 sviṣṭakṛte svāhe 'ti | trātāram indram<sup>1140</sup> | yayor ojase<sup>1141</sup>  
 'ti cai | 'tā viṣṇu-varuṇa-devatyā | uktāni prāyaścittāny | athai  
 'kāgnau yatra puroḍāśa uktā<sup>1142</sup> sthālīpākāms<sup>1143</sup> tatra<sup>1143</sup>  
 kuryāt | puroḍāśeṣu japair eva<sup>1144</sup> kuryāt | sarvatra chedanabhe-  
 danā-vadāraṇa-dahaneṣū<sup>1145</sup> 'khāsu<sup>1145</sup> somakalaśa-mahāvira-

<sup>1131</sup> RV. 1. 117. 1.<sup>1132</sup> AV. 19. 17. 1.<sup>1133</sup> AV. 19. 17. 3.<sup>1134</sup> VS. 22. 27 ff.<sup>1135</sup> AV. 19. 17. 4.<sup>1136</sup> RV. 1. 109. 7.<sup>1137</sup> B ṛtvijo C ṛtvijoc<sup>1138</sup> A ce D ca<sup>1139</sup> cf. 760; vgl.

ferner Ásv. Prāy. 18 b: anājñātaṁ yathātathaṁ svāhā | agnaya idam |  
 puruṣa-sammito yajño | agnaya idam vyāhrtihomaṁ viṣṇusmarāṇaṁ ca  
 kuryāt |

<sup>1140</sup> AV. 7. 86. 1.<sup>1141</sup> AV.

7. 25. 1.

<sup>1142</sup> B uptā (?)<sup>1143</sup> B 'kāmsū . . .

(unklar) [kuryāt]; AC 'kāś tatra

<sup>1144</sup> AB ava<sup>1145</sup> A

chedanabhedanāvadānaḍahaneṣūṣāsu BC chedanāvadānaḍahaneṣukhāsu

yajña-bhāṇḍeṣu sarvatra śirṇe bhinne <sup>1146</sup> naṣṭe <sup>1147</sup> 'nyam kṛtvā  
 punar mai 'tv indriyam <sup>1148</sup> ity ādadīta | sarvatra mā no  
 vidann <sup>1149</sup> ity abhayair <sup>1150</sup> aparājitair <sup>1151</sup> juhuyād | abhayair  
 aparājitair juhuyāt || 9 || śaṣṭho <sup>1152</sup> 'dhyāyaḥ <sup>1152</sup> | atha yatrai  
 'tat pāṛthivam āntarikṣam divyam devair asurair vā prayuktaṃ  
 tad adbhutaṃ śamayaty atharvā prabhur adbhutanām | so  
 dūrvā-"jyam <sup>1153</sup> grhitvā "havanīye juhōti | pṛthivyai śrotrāyā  
 'ntarikṣāya prāṇāya vayobhyo dive cakṣuṣe nakṣatrebhyāḥ  
 sūryāyā 'dhipataye svāhe | 'ti sūtraprāyaścittis <sup>1154</sup> | tatra  
 ślokaḥ |

prāyaścittānām parimāṇam na yajña upalabhyate | tasmād  
 dr̥ṣṭaḥ samāso 'tra taṃ nibodhata yājñikāḥ |

ity atharvavede vaitānasūtre prāyaścittaprakaraṇam <sup>1155</sup> sa-  
 māptam <sup>1155</sup> |

<sup>1146</sup> Agn. Prāy. 5 b: kathina-dravyeṣu bhedanam dru(?) va-dravyeṣu  
 kṣaraṇam ubhayatra bhūmi-gatam eva duṣṭam bhavati | ; die auf die  
 Erde oder ins Feuer gefallene Opfergabe ist unrein.

<sup>1147</sup> Brahm. Prāy. 105 a: ukhā yady (a)sra[vaṃ] gache[t] (cf. oben 6. 2; vgl. AP. 45. 2. 19) tataḥ praṇīyā . . . "havanīye punaḥ . . . . . Bl. 107 b: yady  
 ukhā 'bhībhidyaeta mahāvīro vā kapālāni cūrṇapeṣaṃ piṣṭ[v]ā mṛdā  
 saṃsrjya yo dhyā . . . vitiśraya ity (vergl. oben Note 1032) ukhāṃ kṛtvā  
 tathā mahāvīrya ukhāmarthavīrayonulye naimittikam ity ataḥ (!) ubhayor  
 abhidhiyate . . . Bl. 108 a folg.: karma pradarśyate [yady ukhā 'bhībhi-  
 dyeta] . . . . . agnim anyasmin pātre [v]asthā . . . . . pya pravṛtti[m] kṛtvā  
 kapālāni pūrṇatpeṣaṃ piṣṭvā mṛdā saṃsrjya yatrātevadabhiśratha ity  
 ukhāṃ kuryāt . . . pūrṇapeṣaṃ piṣṭety evam-ādina 'dya tatedabhiśiṣṭa  
 iti . . . Vgl. auch Brahm. Prāy. 109 a: prāg dikṣābhyaḥ . . . yad bhi-  
 dyeta . . . sakṛtyāhutir(?) juhuyāt (!) yadi dikṣitasyo 'paramed . . . .  
<sup>1148</sup> AV. 7. 67. 1. <sup>1149</sup> AV. 1. 19. 1. <sup>1150</sup> fehlt bei BC;

D 'bhayā <sup>1151</sup> D parā <sup>1152</sup> fehlt bei BC. <sup>1153</sup> C

dūrvāṃjyam <sup>1154</sup> D 'cittisūtra <sup>1155</sup> A prāyaścittih prasaṅge

caturdaśamo 'dhyāyaḥ; B wie A; nur: 'ścitta' und hinter 'dhyāyaḥ 14  
 Bei C fehlt von 'ścitta an der ganze Rest; A fügt hinter 'dhyāyaḥ hin-  
 zu: | śubham astu | siddhir astu | kalyāṇam astu | śrī-viśveśvarāya namaḥ |  
 śrī-sarvavidyānidhāna-kavīndra-"cārya-sarasvatīnām atharvavede vaita(ya)  
 nasūtre prāyaścitti-prasaṅga-pustakam | B fügt hinter || 14 || hinzu: śrī-  
 yajña-puruṣa-'rpaṇam astu | śrī-guru-ramadāsa-caraṇi-tat-para-viṣṇu-  
 nārāya devadhara | śeke || 1785 || randranāma-sampvatsare mūhemāgha-  
 śuddha induvāra idaṃ pustakam samāptam | ; Colophon zu D s. bei  
 Weber, Berl. Handschr. Cat.

*Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic.*—By TRUMAN MICHELSON. Ethnologist in the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D. C.<sup>1</sup>

In an interesting paper (JAOS. 32, pp. 414—428) Mr. W. Petersen has discussed the general interrelations of Vedic, Sanskrit, and Middle Indic. It may be noted that he uses 'Prakrit' in the sense of 'Mittelindisch'. The following criticism is presented by the writer as he believes that Petersen has overlooked the evidence of the Asokan dialects in a number of cases.

In the discussion as to whether Prākṛit is derived from Vedic or Sanskrit, it should have been mentioned that it has been demonstrated that not a single dialect of the Asokan inscriptions can be derived from either the literary Vedic or Sanskrit. See Johansson, *Shb.* ii, § 88; Michelson, JAOS. 31, pp. 232, 241; IF. 24, p. 54; TAPA. 40, p. 26.

The position taken, that during the period of the composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indic dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf does not seem probable by the analogy of the Asokan dialects. Johansson and the writer have made it clear that the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Fourteen Edicts (for their speech is essentially one) is far closer to Vedic or Sanskrit than the other dialects are. There is no uncrossable bridge. It can be confidently asserted that this dialect, though it has certain ear-marks of the Middle Indic stage of development, such as the assimilation of stops of one order to those of another order, yet as a whole belongs to an earlier stage of development. Now if it is not feasible to draw hard and fast lines in the time of Asoka, what right have we to assume such lines in earlier times unless some definite proof be given?

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Petersen has allowed traces of Middle Indic in the Rig Veda so far as phonetics are concerned. But Epic Sanskrit teems with Middle-Indicisms morphologically; and it should be especially noted that such forms phonetically do not present the same aspect as the later dialects (e. g. Epic Sanskrit *kurmi*, *dadmi* = Pāli *kummi*, *dammi* respectively). Such forms are usually due to metrical considerations, and are borrowed from dialects. Are such dialects also to be classed as Middle Indic? Again I do not think a hard and fast line can be drawn.

The point made that Vedic and Middle Indic cannot have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities, by the argument that it is highly improbable that one section of the country should have been so conservative and another so prone to innovation, is not in accordance with the evidence of the Asokan dialects: the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra dialect is highly conservative while the 'Māgadhan' dialects show numerous phonetic changes; the Gīrnār dialect as a whole is not phonetically as archaic as the first dialect nor has it suffered as many phonetic changes as the second dialects.

The assumption that the sound-changes in Middle Indic were due not to gradual changes, but to the fact that the aborigines differed anatomically from the Aryans, and had linguistic traits widely different from them; and that it was owing to this that they were unable to speak the language as the Aryans, and so modified it to suit their own characteristics, is a point to be proved. Granting anatomical differences in the vocal apparatus, no such direct influence can be maintained until it has been shown that the non-Aryan languages of India possess the characteristic sounds of Middle Indic languages, that the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation in these languages are not tolerated in the non-Aryan languages and show the same assimilations, that the same loss of intervocalic consonants occurs in them.

An indirect influence can be maintained if it be shown that the non-Aryan languages do not possess the groups of consonants which suffer assimilation nor such consonants as are lost when intervocalic, even if the non-Aryan languages do not agree precisely with the Middle Indic languages. In the same way the change (or substitution) of one sound for another such as *s* for *ś* cannot be charged directly or indirectly to the

influence of non-Aryan languages unless there be positive evidence. Similarly certain morphological characteristics of Middle Indic languages such as the almost complete loss of the perfect tense, the formation of other tenses on the present stem, extensive levelling of distinctions between singular and plural (e. g. Pāli *brūmi*, levelled by *brūma*), and the like cannot be charged to the direct or indirect influence of the non-Aryan languages unless it be demonstrated that the same or like phenomena respectively occur in them.

But again the evidence of the Asokan inscriptions indicates that the changes were gradual. Thus though the Gīrnār dialect possesses but one sibilant, it can be shown that this is a late development (see JAOS. 31, pp. 237, 246 and the literature cited there). Again the treatment of *r* in consonantic groupings is a case in point (ibidem, pp. 236, 246); it is clear that the assimilation in certain cases is recent. From the state of affairs in the Gīrnār dialect, it might well be argued that the assimilation of *r* in consonantic groups (which assimilation is not connected with those in the Gīrnār dialect, and is merely a parallel development) in the 'Māgadhan' dialects is the result of gradual changes.

Moreover, it has been shown that some of the most characteristic assimilations in consonantal groups in the Middle Indic dialects had their beginning in even earlier times: see Wackernagel, AiGr. i. § 98 (and the literature cited there); Whitney, Skt. Gr.<sup>3</sup> §§ 228, 232; Whitney-Lanman, Atharva Veda, p. lxxvii and on i. 22. 1, iv. 19. 6, v. 20. 12. This is against any theory of direct influence on the part of the non-Aryan languages; and it supports the view that the phonetic changes were gradual and not due to mere substitution of sounds. And it may be noted that in part parallel assimilations are found in other Indo-European languages. Thus for example popular Latin *tt* from *ct* and *pt* (Italian *otto*, *sette* = Latin *octō*, *septem* respectively), Cretan Greek *ττ* from *κτ* and *πτ* (Δύττιοι, ντττί for Λύκτιοι, νυκτί; Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 68, § 86. 1, 2) are parallel to *tt* from *kt* and *pt* in Middle Indic (Pāli *satta*, *sitta* = Skt. *sapta*, *sikta* respectively); similarly Ionic-Attic Greek *λλ* from *ly* (ἄλλος) is parallel to Pāli, Gīrnār, Shāhībāzgarhi, Mansehra *ll* (written *l* on inscriptions) from *ly* (*kallāṇa* - Skt. *kalyāṇa*). Even Cretan Greek *νν* from *ρν* (ὄννθα for ὀρνθα, Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 69,

§ 86, 5) may be compared to a certain extent with Middle Indic *m* from *ṃ*. These facts make it likely that at any rate certain typical Middle Indic assimilations of consonants are due to spontaneous change; and puts the burden of proof on those who maintain the changes are due directly to the influence of the non-Aryan languages. The same applies to the levellings in Middle Indic noted above.

The analogy of the English of the American Negro to Prakrit is not happy, except as a parallel in the indirect influence mentioned above: there is no proof that the peculiarities of his speech are due to his anatomy nor to the influence of his forgotten African language. Educated American negroes speak English faultlessly. The English of such negroes of Nassau (Bahama Islands), that I have heard, as far as pronunciation is concerned, is close to the British one. It is likely that the faulty English of the American negro is due to his wrong perception of the sounds<sup>1</sup> and his unfamiliarity with the English of cultivated society.<sup>2</sup> In the same way to the untrained ear of an American, there are sounds in the American Indian languages of the Northwest coast that are wrongly perceived, and hence wrongly imitated. (The sounds in question are various *l* sounds.) Similarly American Indian children at governmental schools at first mispronounce English and make havoc of English grammatical categories, but on becoming familiar with the spoken language they learn to speak English correctly. Again American Indian pupils after a more or less protracted stay at the schools lose the characteristic pronunciation of their own native languages owing to the fact that they hear English constantly spoken, and rarely (comparatively speaking) have occasion to use their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. C. Tarver, *London Journal of Education* (new series) 9 (1887) p. 475; S. E. Wiltse, *American Journal of Psychology*, 1 (1887—8) p. 702 [both reported in *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 2 (1892) p. 426]; Rousselot, *Les modifications phonétiques* (1891) p. 39; Zünd-Burguet, *La Parole*, 1 (1899) p. 14; von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Braziliens* (1894) p. 80; Oertel, *Lectures on the study of language* (1901), p. 237; 240; Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Bulletin 40, B. A. E.), part 1, p. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Fishberg, *Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden*, München, 1913, maintains (pp. 75—80) "daß die Aussprache in erster Linie von der sozialen Berührung abhängig ist", and instances Jewish and Negro pronunciation.

own languages. I admit I have never yet found a case where it can be proved that English has influenced the grammatical categories of the native languages of American Indian pupils. It may be noted, however, that in the drama of "The Little Clay Cart", ascribed to King Śūdraka, Candanaka tries to excuse his slip in Prākṛit (which nearly cost Āryaka his life) by appealing to the grammatical categories of non-Aryan languages. As I am ignorant of these I cannot say whether his plea is well-founded.

In discussing the differences between the accentuation of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, it would have been well to mention that certain Asokan dialects had a system identical with or very similar to the latter: see IF. 23, p. 231.

In conclusion the writer agrees with the thesis that Sanskrit, "though not in the very form in which it occurs in literature" was a truly spoken vernacular. Even the late Classical Sanskrit cannot have been wholly artificial; the existence of such an enormous literature necessarily presupposes a large audience who normally spoke a language that did not differ from the written one too violently. That the audience belonged to cultivated circles of society goes without saying. Petersen has done well to emphasize this aspect of the problem, as against Pischel, *Gr. d. Pkt. Sprachen*, § 6, note 2. But other phases such as the question as to the genetic relationship of the Middle Indic dialects require more protracted and more intensive study before satisfactory answers can be given.

*Notes on the Phonology of the Tirurai Language.* —  
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1. Tirurai (sometimes called Tedurai) is one of the numerous Indonesian languages of the Philippine Islands. It is spoken by about four thousand people in the mountains south of the town Kotabatu (Cotabato) on the southern coast of Mindanao. The chief town of the Tirurai is Tamontaka.

2. *Bibliography.*

Bennásar, Padre Guillermo, *Diccionario Tiruray-Español*, Manila 1892, and *Diccionario Español-Tiruray*, Manila 1893.

The author of the three items that follow is given anonymously as "un Padre Misionero", who, however, is known to have been Padre Bennásar.

*Observaciones gramaticales sobre la lengua Tiruray*, Manila 1892.

*Catecismo Histórico por el Abate Claudio Fleury y traducido al Tiruray por un P. misionero de la Compañía de Jesús*, Manila 1892.

*Costumbres de los indios Tirurayes escritas por José Tenorio (a) Sigayán y traducidas al español y anotadas por un Padre misionero de la Compañía de Jesús*, Manila 1892.

3. Chief Peculiarities.

Tirurai phonology presents several marked differences from that of other Philippine speech groups. Of these the more apparent are: (a) the rounding of Indonesian *a* to the *o* sound of Ger. *hoffen* or Fr. *école*, (b) diphthongization of final *i* and *u* to *ei* and *eu*, respectively, (c) *f* everywhere for *p*, (d) the frequent occurrence of a trilled *r* of varied origin, and (e) the change of Indonesian *k* to *g* under certain circumstances.

These, and other peculiarities of less frequent occurrence, are so striking as to give a Tirurai text a very foreign appearance when compared with other Philippine languages.

4. Indonesian *a*.

Under certain conditions an original *a* may be rounded in Tirurai, becoming a sound very close to the *o* in Ger. *hoffen*, Fr. *école*, e. g., IN *lima* : Tir. *limó* "five"; IN *anak* : Tir. *onók* "offspring, son, daughter, child". This change occurs independently only in a final syllable, e. g., Tir. *limó*, *lifot* (Phil. *lipar* "to forget"). Where it occurs in the penult, as in Tir. *onók*, it is by assimilation to the *o* (<*a*) of the following (final) syllable.

Under other circumstances an IN penultimate *a* remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in the following examples:

Philippine	Tirurai	
<i>bagá</i>	<i>bará</i>	"embers, live coals"
<i>layag</i>	<i>layag</i>	"sail"
<i>gapas</i>	<i>gafas</i>	"cotton"
<i>labi</i>	<i>labi</i>	"more"
<i>laki</i>	<i>lágei</i>	"male"
<i>batu</i>	<i>batéu</i>	"stone"
<i>kayu</i>	<i>káyeu</i>	"tree, wood, firewood"

In the following examples IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final syllables and the *o* thus arising assimilates to itself an original *a* of the preceding (penultimate) syllable:

(a) IN *a* > Tir. *o* in final position:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
	<i>na</i> (enclitic)	<i>no</i>	"his, her, its"
	<i>da, ra, la</i> (encl.)	<i>ro</i>	"their"
	<i>ka</i> (encl.)	<i>go</i>	"thou"
	<i>dua, rua, lua</i>	<i>ruo</i>	"two"
	<i>lima</i>	<i>limó</i>	"five"
	<i>tuka</i>	<i>tukó</i>	"point, beak"
Iloko, Ibanak	<i>pia</i>	<i>fió</i>	"good"
Magindanau	<i>sedá</i> , Bis. <i>isdá</i>	<i>sedó</i>	"fish, meat"
Mgd.	<i>siká</i>	<i>sikó</i>	"cat"
Malay	<i>leña</i>	<i>leñó</i>	"sesame"
	<i>paa</i>	<i>fóo</i>	"thigh"
	<i>mata</i>	<i>motó</i>	"eye"
	<i>abaká</i>	<i>wogó</i>	"hemp"
Bagobo	<i>mama</i> "man, male"	<i>momo</i>	"uncle"

(b) before a final surd stop (*k*, *t*):

	<i>anak</i>	<i>onók</i>	"son, daughter, young (of animals)"
Bagobo	<i>awak</i>	<i>owók</i>	"waist"
Bikol	<i>lipát</i>	<i>lifot</i>	"forget"
IN	<i>ěpat</i>	<i>efót</i>	"four"
Bagobo	<i>alat</i>	<i>olot</i>	"basket"
Bisaya	<i>dágat</i>	<i>dogot</i>	"sea"

(c) before a final nasal (*n*, *ñ*, *m*):

Bisaya	<i>man</i> intens. part.	<i>mon</i>	"also"
Bisaya	<i>buláwan</i>	<i>belowón</i>	"gold"
Bisaya	<i>dúlan</i>	<i>dolón</i>	"road, way"
Tag. Bis.	<i>utañ</i>	<i>utoñ</i>	"debt"
Ibanak	<i>ittam</i>	<i>tom</i>	"we" (inclusive)
Bisaya	<i>kamú</i>	<i>gom</i>	"you (pl.)"
Ibanak	<i>nanúm</i>	<i>nonom</i>	"flavor"

5. But the change *a* > *o* is prevented by an adjacent *s* or *y*, and by an adjacent *r*, unless this *r* be preceded by *u* and the affected vowel be in final position.

(a) Change prevented by *s*:

	Non-Tirurai	Tirurai	
Tag.	<i>pisá</i>	<i>fisá</i>	"crack, break"
Tag.	<i>bisa</i>	<i>bisá</i>	"venom, poison"
Phil.	<i>basa</i>	<i>basa</i>	"word"
Phil.	<i>běgas</i>	<i>begás</i>	"rice"
Phil.	<i>těgas</i>	<i>tegás</i>	"hard"
Tag.	<i>táwas</i>	<i>tawás</i>	"alum"
Phil.	<i>gatas</i>	<i>ratas</i>	"milk"
Mgd.	<i>usañ</i>	<i>usañ</i>	"rice straw"

(b) Change prevented by *y*:

IN	<i>ayam</i>	"bird, animal"	<i>ayam</i>	"animal"
Phil.	<i>layag</i>		<i>layag</i>	"sail"
Bis.	<i>sayap</i>		<i>sayaf</i>	"kind of hat"
Mgd.	<i>payák</i>		<i>fayag</i>	"clear, manifest"
Bgb.	<i>layañ</i>		<i>layañ</i>	"fly" vb.
Bis.	<i>duyan</i>		<i>duyan</i>	"hammock"

(c) Change prevented by *r*:

Mgd.	<i>bilá</i>		<i>birá</i>	"cross-eyed"
Mal.	<i>darah</i> , Ibanak <i>dága</i> , Pang. <i>dála</i> ,		<i>dára</i>	"blood"
Bis.	<i>bága</i> , Mal. Ilk. <i>bara</i>		<i>bará</i>	"embers"

Toba	<i>abara</i> ,	Ibanak	<i>abagá</i>	<i>wará</i>	"shoulder"
Mal.	<i>barat</i>	"west wind"		<i>barat</i>	"tempest"
Mgd.	<i>suay</i>			<i>suar</i>	"thorn"
Bagobo	<i>akar</i>			<i>akar</i>	"deceive"

(d) But final *a* > *o* after *ur*:

Tag.	<i>bulá</i> ,	Pang.	<i>burá</i>	<i>buroburó</i>	"foam"
Tag.	<i>pulá</i>			<i>furó</i>	"red"
Tag.	<i>sulá</i> ,	Ilk.	<i>sugá</i> (RLD)	<i>suró</i>	"púas escondidas"

#### 6. Indonesian *i* and *u*.

As a rule IN *i* and *u* remain unchanged in Tirurai everywhere except in final position, where, in a number of the most common words, they are diphthongized to *ei* and *eu*, respectively.

(a) Indonesian final *i* > *ei* in Tirurai:

Non-Tirurai		Tirurai	
Phil.	<i>tali</i>	<i>tálei</i>	"tie with cord"
Mal.	<i>diri</i> , Sangir <i>dihi</i>	<i>lilei</i>	"post"
Phil.	<i>tañi</i>	<i>tañei</i>	"to free, liberate"
Phil.	<i>laki</i> , <i>lalaki</i>	<i>lágei</i>	"male"
Bis. (Samar)	<i>siki</i>	<i>sekei</i>	"foot"
Pang.	<i>bii</i>	<i>bei</i>	"woman"

(b) Indonesian final *u* > *eu* in Tirurai

IN	<i>tětělu</i> , Tag. <i>tatlú</i>	<i>tetléu</i>	"three"
IN	<i>pitu</i>	<i>fitéu</i>	"seven"
IN	<i>batu</i>	<i>batéu</i>	"stone"
IN	<i>kutu</i>	<i>kuteu</i>	"louse"
IN	<i>kayu</i>	<i>káyeu</i>	"tree, wod"
IN	<i>ulu</i>	<i>uleu</i>	"head"
IN	<i>siku</i>	<i>sigeu</i>	"elbow"
IN	<i>abu</i>	<i>aweü</i>	"ashes"

#### 7. The Indonesian obscure vowel (pepet).<sup>1</sup>

The pepet vowel remains uniformly an obscure, colorless, *ě* in Tirurai: Tir. *atef*, IN *atěp* "roof"; Tir. *enem*, IN *ěněm* "six".

#### 8. Indonesian *p*.

Every *p*, whether originally IN or not, becomes *f* in Tirurai:<sup>2</sup> Tir. *fitéu*, IN *pitu* "seven"; Tir. *afei*, IN *apui*, *api* "fire"; Tir.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages, *Anthropos*, vol. VII (1912), pp. 920—947.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Conant, F and V in Philippine Languages, *Division of Ethnology Publications*, vol. v, part. ii, Manila 1908.



*atef*, IN *atěp* "roof". The Tir. pronunciation of the Spanish name *Policarpio* is *Fulicarfiu*.

9. Indonesian *b*.

IN *b* generally remains unchanged in Tirurai, as in Tir. *batěu*, IN *batu* "stone"; Tir. *labi*, Tag. *labi* "more"; Tir. *dob*, Tag. *loob* "in, within"; but it sometimes becomes *w* (*u*) when intervocalic, as in Tir. *tawen*, Bis. *tabon* "a kind of bird"; Tir. *rawen*, Bis. *gábon* "mist, fog"; Tir. *aweu*, IN *abu* "ashes"; Tir. *wará* <\**ěwará*, Phil. *abága* "shoulder"; Tir. *wogó* <\**ěwogó*, Phil. *abaká*.

10. Indonesian *k*.

An original *k* remains unchanged in Tirurai initially and finally in dissyllabic root words, e. g., Tir. *káyeu* "wood"; *ebúk*, IN *buěk* "hair"; but an intervocalic *k* is retained only exceptionally, as in Tir. *sekei*, Bis. (Samar) *siki* "foot"; Tir. *sikó*, Mgd. *siká* "cat", and regularly becomes the corresponding sonant *g*, e. g., Tir. *sigeu*, IN *siku* "elbow"; Tir. *lágai*, Phil. *laki* "male"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* (*g*=RGH cons.) "tail"; Tir. *digur*, Bis. *likud* "back, behind"; Tir. *(be)gom*, Bis. *kamú* "you".

IN *k* also regularly becomes *g* in accentless prefixes and pronominal suffixes (or enclitics) beginning with IN *k*, e. g., Tir. *i gelimó-nuě*, Bis. *ikalimá* "the fifth"; Tir. *úleu gu*, Bis. *úlu ko* "my head"; Tir. *úleu go*, Bis. *úlu ka* "your head". In the foregoing examples the original *k* is, of course, really in intervocalic position, and hence in the same category as the intervocalic *k* of the foregoing paragraph, but by analogy this *g* (<*k*) has been extended so that it may follow any consonant, e. g., Tir. *i onok gu*, Bis. *añ anak ko* "my son"; Tir. *i safut gom* (*gom*=Bis. *kamú* with apocopation of *u*) "your cloth"; and the original *k* is retained in the enclitic pronouns only after *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* (<*an*, *en*, *on*, *un*) at the end of the foregoing word, e. g., Tir. *sebaa' ku sa* "I only"; Tir. *libu' ku* "my sister".

11. The RGH consonant.<sup>1</sup>

The RGH consonant appears regularly as *r*, exceptionally as *g*, e. g., Tir. *bara*, Bis. *baga* "embers"; Tir. *igor*, Phil. *ikug* "tail": but Tir. *gakit*, Ilk. *rúkit*, Ibanak *gúkit*, Mal. *rakit* "raft"; Tir. *rebá* beside *gebá*, Mal. *rebah* "fall to ruins". As Tirurai

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Conant, The RGH Law in Philippine Languages, *JAOS*, vol. xxxi, (1910), pp. 70—85.

does not permit both *r* and *l* within the same root word, an *r* (<RGH) either assimilates to itself an *l* (of any origin), as in Tir. *rebur* (<*lebur*), Mal. *lebur*, Mgd. *lebug*, Bis. *lubúg*, or is (more rarely) itself assimilated to the neighboring *l*, as in Tir. *lilei* (<*lirei*), Mal. *diri*, Sang. *dih*i, Tag. Bis. *ha-lígi* "post", where the *r* (<RGH) is assimilated to the initial *l*.<sup>1</sup>

## 12. The RLD law.

The phenomena of the RLD interchange in Indonesian languages are so varied, and have in so many instances been influenced by the laws of assimilation, dissimilation, and analogy, that their classification in detail is rendered very difficult. As a general rule, the Philippine languages show *d* initially and finally, and *l* or *r* medially, in which latter case some languages, like Tagalog and the Bisaya of Cebú, Negros, Panay, and Mindanao, regularly have *l*, exceptionally *r* (more rarely *d*), while others, like Bikol and Samar Bisaya, do not admit *l*, and have only *r*, or, exceptionally, *d*.

The RLD consonant appears as *r* or *d* in Tirurai, apparently without regard to its position, but *r* predominates medially and always occurs initially in the accentless pronominal particles *re*, *ro* (Phil. *ra*, *la*, *da*) "of them, their". Initially and finally, *d* predominates, but even here *r* appears in some common words where other Philippine languages show only *d*, e. g., Tir. *rúo* : Mal., Sulu, Mgd., Bagobo, Bkl., Pang., Ilk., Ibanak, Tagbanwa *dua*, Bis. *duha*, Pamp. *adwá*, Tag. *dalawá* "two"; Tir. *etúr* : Phil. *\*tuéd*, Ib. *tuát* (written *tuád* in the Spanish sources), Pamp. *tud*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *tuhud* "knee". (For the metathesis of Tir. *etúr* < *\*tuer*, cf. Tir. *ebuk* : Pang. *buék*, Pamp. *buák*, Ilk. *boók*, Tag., Bis., Bkl., Sulu *buhuk* "hair"). For final *r*, cf. Sund. *tuur* "knee".

Of the many examples of *r* (RLD) in medial position, the following three will suffice: Tir. *iruñ* (IN *iruñ* : *iluñ* : *iduñ*) "nose"; Tir. *suró* (IN *sura* : *sula* : *suda*) "concealed barbs"; Tir. *árek* (Samar Bis. *harók*, Cebú Bis. *halók*, Tag. *halík*, Mgd. *alek*, Bkl., Bgb. *hadók*) "sniff, kiss".

Examples of initial *d*: Tir. *dalem* (Cebú Bis. *dálum*, *hi-lálum*, Ibanak *aralám*) "within, under"; Tir. *dolón* (IN *ralan* : *lalan* : *dalan*) "road, way".

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RGH Law, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> For the *g* of the RLD series in Ibanak, Pang., Ilk., Karo, Toba, and Mentawai, cf. my RGH Law, p. 83, and the literature there cited.

Examples of final *d*: Tir. *fused* (Phil. \**pusēd*, Jav., Dayak *puser*, Mal. *pusat*, Toba *pusot*, the final *t* of Toba and Mal. <*d* [RLD] by law of finals) "navel"; Tir. *seged* (Tag. *sigíd*, *sigír*, Bis., Bkl. *sugúd*, Pamp. *asyád*) "sting of insect".

Examples of medial *d*: Tir. *sedó* (Ibanak, Bkl. *sirá*, Itawi *ísira*, Tag., Bis. *isdá*) "fish, meat"; Tir. *fedéu* (Day. *pero*, Jav. *amperu*, Toba *pogu*, Ilk. *apró*, Tag., Bis., Bkl. *apdu*, Malg. *aferu*) "gall".

Rarely the RLD consonant appears as *l* in Tirurai, as in Tir. *lilei* (initially, cf. above, 11) and Tir. *kilai* (Mgd. Ib. *kirái*, Tag. *kilai*, Ilk. *kídai*) "eyebrow", but this *l* is entirely exceptional and doubtless due to the influence of other words of similar meaning containing an original *l*.

### 13. Indonesian *s*.

An original *s* in most words remains unchanged, as in Tir. *sigéu* (IN *siku*) "elbow"; Tir. *fused* "navel"; *begás* "rice"; but it sometimes becomes *h* medially and finally, e. g., Tir. *rohok* (Mal. Ilk. *rusuk*, Bagobo, Bis. *gusuk*) "rib"; Tir. *liha* (Tag. *lisá*) "nit"; Tir. *lowoh* (Bis. *láwas*) "body"; Tir. *urah* (Toba *uras*, Ilk. *úgas*, Sulu *hugas*) "bathe, wash".

The change of IN *s* to *h* also occurs in a few other speech groups of the Philippine Islands, notably in Ifugao (mountains of N. Luzón) where IN *s* everywhere becomes *h*,<sup>1</sup> e. g., Ifg. *híku* (IN *siku*) "elbow", *púha* (Ilk., Pamp. *púsa*) "cat", *ahîn* (Tag. *asín*) "salt". Sambali (Zambales Province, NW. Luzón) also changes IN *s* to *h*, but apparently only in initial and final position, e. g., Sbl. *híko* (Ifg. *híku*, IN *siku*) "elbow"; Sbl. *hiá* (Ifg. *hía*, Tag., Bis. *sia*) "he, she, it"; Sbl. *bitîh* (Bkl., Pamp. *bitís*) "foot, lower leg"; but Sbl. *púsa'* (Ifg. *púha*, Tag. *púsa*) "cat"; Sbl. *asin* (Ifg. *ahin*, IN *asín*) "salt".

In large portions of Samar and Leyte *s* has been weakened in pronunciation to *h*, initially, in the Bisaya "articles" and

<sup>1</sup> See E. E. Schneider, Notes on the Mangyan Language, *Philippine Journal of Science*, vol. vii, no. 3, sec. D, Manila 1912, pp. 157-178. I am indebted to this work for the general statement: "Ifg. regularly has *h* for gen. Phil. *s*." (p. 165, no. 17), and for the Ifugao and Sambali examples. The Ifg. examples were furnished Mr. Schneider by Mr. H. Otley Beyer, of the division of ethnology, Bureau of Science, Manila, and the Sbl. words by Mr. Tranquilino Elicaño, a native Sambali from Masinlok, Zambales.

pronouns: *si*, *san*, *sa*, *siya*, *sira*, and *sin'o*,<sup>1</sup> but not elsewhere.

This change of *s* to the mere breathing *h* is the result of relaxing the occlusion necessary to produce the sibilant, and altho appearing only sporadically and with varying degrees of regularity within Philippine territory and in other IN languages, e. g., Sumbanese and Sawunese, it marks the beginning of a phonetic movement that has been completed in the Polynesian languages, where *s* has nearly everywhere weakened to *h*, which itself has in many languages disappeared entirely, e. g., IN *siu*, *siau*, *siwa* "nine" : Sumb. *siwa* or *hiwa* (*s* and *h* interchange in Sumb.), Sawu. *heo* (*h* always for IN *s*), Tonga *hiva*, Hawaii *iwa*, Tahiti, Marquesas *iva*. An Indo-European parallel to this change is found in Iranian, Armenian and Greek, e. g., I.-E. \**septm*, Lat. *septem*, Skt. *saptá*, Avestan *hapta*, Gr. *ἑπτά*. Modern Gr., which still writes the spiritus asper tho it is never pronounced, has suffered the same loss of *h* as have many of the Polynesian languages, and in intervocalic position it was already lost in classical Attic.

In Armenian an initial I.-E. *s* sometimes becomes *h*, as in Arm. *hin* "old", Skt. *súna-s*, Lat. *senex*, Old Irish *sen*; and is sometimes lost, as in Arm. *ert'n*, Lat. *septem* etc.

14. Original *g*, *t*, *d*, *m*, *n*, *i*, and *l* regularly remain unchanged in Tirurai. For the Tir. assimilation of *l* to an *r* of the same word, see above (11).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. Romualdez, *A Bisayan Grammar*, Takloban (Leyte) 1908, p. 7 footnote 2: "The use of *s* instead of the *h* in these articles depends upon the place where Bisayan is spoken. In the towns of Burawen, Dúlag, and Abúyog, of the island of Leyte, and in some places in Sámar, the *h* is never used, but the *s* instead, for these articles. Generally it is considered more solemn to use the *s* instead of the *h* in speeches, letters and poetry. But many times it is considered as a ridiculous affectation in places where the *h* is used".

*Pañcadivṃyādhivāsa or Choosing a King by Divine Will.*

— By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

1. In the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for November 1891, p. 135ff., Tawney has called attention to an interesting custom of which he collected some half dozen instances in Hindu literature,<sup>1</sup> by which, it is alleged, a king was sometimes chosen by divine lot. The standard situation may be briefly described as follows: The king of a city dies without natural heirs. To choose a new king the emblems of royalty (viz. the state elephant, the horse, the pitcher with the consecrated water, and the chowries) are resorted to, and fate or divine will is supposed to give some sign through their instrumentality,\* by which someone is selected to rule the country.

The Kathākośa has three instances: Page 128 (Tawney's translation), "Then the barons had recourse to the five ordeals of the elephant, the horse, and so on. The elephant came into the city park trumpeting. There he sprinkled the prince with the water of inauguration, and taking him (the hero of the story) up in his trunk placed him on his forehead". The people then hailed the man as king. In this passage only three of the emblems of royalty are specifically mentioned, viz. the elephant, the horse, and the water of consecration. Another story (p. 155) names all five: "Then the ministers had recourse to the five ordeals. The mighty elephant came into the garden outside the city. There the elephant sprinkled Prince Amaradatta and put him on its back. Then the horse neighed. The two chowries fanned the prince. An umbrella was held (i. e. held itself) over his head. A divine voice was heard in the air: 'Long live King Amaradatta!'" The voice

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<sup>1</sup> Additional instances are given by J. J. Meyer. *Hindu Tales*, 1909, p. 131 and in his translation of the *Daśakumāracarita*, 1902, p. 94.

in the air is an additional divine ratification of the choice which is not generally mentioned and was evidently not regarded as a necessary part of the election. In the third story (p. 4) we are simply told that an elephant was sent forth with a pitcher of water fastened to its head; it wanders for seven days and on the eighth finds the man of destiny asleep under a *pīpal* tree and empties the pitcher on his head; this is symbolical of the coronation ceremony, and the man is made king.

In the KSS. 65 the elephant alone appears; even the pitcher of water is missing in this case; the elephant picks the man up and puts him on his shoulder, whereupon he is made king.

Two other parallels, referred to by Tawney, are found in Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*. On p. 37, a horse only is sent forth, the elephant as well as the other symbols being here omitted. The horse indicates the choice of fate by marching around the man to the right. The ceremony occurs again on p. 62, this time with the five regular emblems; upon seeing the fated man, the elephant trumpets, the horse neighs, the pitcher of water sprinkles him, the chowries fan him and the white parasol places itself above him.<sup>1</sup> The people then salute him with cries of hail, and a divine voice, as once in the *Kathākośa*, ratifies the choice, giving to the new king the grand name of *Vikrama*.

In the *Vikramacarita* (Story 14), a king is chosen in exactly this way for a city whose king has died leaving no heir. In the Jainistic recension it is told very briefly: "Then the king of that place died without leaving a son. Thereupon his ministers consecrated the five divine instruments (*pañcadivyaṅgyaḍdhivāsītāni*), and they gave the kingdom to him (the hero of the story) with great pomp." In the Southern and Metrical Recensions the five emblems are not alluded to, but a she-elephant is sent forth with a garland on her trunk; she places the garland on the new king's head, places him on her shoulder and takes him to the palace.

Again in Hemacandra's *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*, VI. 231 ff. (ed.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that a king in India is always distinguished by the chowries and the white parasol as his chief emblems of royalty, while both the elephant and the horse belong especially to the royal state.

Jacobi), upon the death of a king his ministers "sprinkle" (with the sacred water of coronation) the five "divine instruments" (*divyāni*), and send them forth. They are named here just as in the Māhārāṣṭrī story: the state elephant, the royal horse, the parasol, the pitcher of water, and the two chowries. When they find the man they seek (in this case a low-caste man, the son of a courtesan by a barber), the elephant trumpets and pours the water upon him and places him upon his own back, the horse neighs, the parasol opens up like a white lotus at dawn, and the two chowries wave and fan him as if dancing. He is then proclaimed king.

In the Daśakumāracarita (Meyer's transl., p. 94) the elephant alone appears and indicates the choice by lifting the man up and putting him on his back. In the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Tawney's translation, p. 181) the elephant (again alone) "being duly inaugurated" sprinkles the chosen man (with the water of inauguration). The *Paramatthadīpani* (p. 73 ff.) referred to by J. J. Meyer, is not accessible to me.

Four Jātakas introduce a similar ceremony. In these the chariot of state is used. The word *phussarāṭha* or *maṅgalārāṭha* does not mean "flower chariot" as the translator of Jāt. 378 wrongly states, but "auspicious, festive car" or, specifically, the royal chariot. In Jāt. 539 it is yoked to four lotus-colored horses (the lotus is an emblem of majesty) and upon it are placed the five "ensigns of royalty", *rājakakudha-bhaṇḍāni*.<sup>1</sup> The chariot is attended by a complete fourfold army, and by musical instruments going *behind* it "because it contained no rider." The housepriest of the late king sprinkles it (as if in coronation) with water from a golden vessel, and sends it forth to find one who has sufficient virtue to be king. The car finds the Future Buddha asleep under a tree, and stops, as if to be ascended. The Future Buddha is seen to bear the marks of royalty upon his person, and since upon being awakened he conducts himself in a manner suitable to such a position, he is made king by the housepriest. The same ceremony is alluded to in Jātakas 378, 445, and 529.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Sanskrit these are generally referred to as (*rāja*-)*akudāni*; they are not to be confused with the *pañcadivyāni*; they consist of sword, parasol, crown, shoes, and fan (chowrie).

<sup>2</sup> P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* (1866) p. 416 (quoted by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* XV. 360) has a similar Burmese tale: "The ruler

That the tradition of this ceremony has persisted in widely separated parts of India down to the present day is proved by a considerable number of instances of it which are recorded in the folklore of the modern Hindus. To be sure, the recognition of a definite group of five instruments of choice seems not to have come down to modern times; we never find more than two, and generally it is the elephant alone. Examples may be taken from places as remote from one another as possible in India: thus, from Kashmir, from Bengal, and from Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> In Day's *Folktales of Bengal*, p. 99, the choice is made by an elephant, who picks the man up gently, places him on the howdah upon his back, and takes him to the city where he is proclaimed king. In a Sinhalese tale recorded by Goontilleke, *Orientalist*, ii. 151, the elephant kneels before the destined man, in this case a peasant, who is thereupon crowned king. In Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir* we have four instances: on pages 169 and 309, the elephant occurs alone, on pages 17 and 159 he is accompanied by a hawk, evidently as a bird belonging to royalty, who perches on the man's hand, while the elephant bows before him as in the Sinhalese tale. In F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple's *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 140 (and notes pp. 327, 426), the elephant kneels and salutes the man with his trunk; (cf. also Steel, *Tales of the Punjab*, p. 131). Damant (*Indian Ant.* iii. 11; iv. 261) reports two Bengalese stories. In one the elephant picks up a woman of low estate, who then marries a prince; in the other, the elephant takes on his back a boy who is made king. The *Madanakamārājankadai* ("Dravidian Nights", p. 126f.), referred to by Knowles, was not accessible to me.

2. Jacobi's eighth *Māhārāṣṭri* story (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 62, 34) reads: *tattha ahiyāsiyāṇi pañcadivvāṇi*. Jacobi

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of Mitila had died leaving one daughter . . . . The ministers and Pounhas began to deliberate among themselves about the choice of a match worthy of the Princess . . . . At last, not knowing what to do, they resolved to leave to chance the solution of the difficulty. They sent out a charmed chariot, convinced that by the virtue inherent in it they would find out the fortunate man . . . . The chariot was sent out, attended by soldiers, musicians, Pounhas, and noblemen. It came straight forward to the mango trees garden and stopped by the side of the table-stone Phralaong was sleeping upon . . . . They awakened him at the sound of musical instruments, saluted him king" &c.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the references in J. H. Knowles' *Folktales of Kashmir*<sup>2</sup>, p. 159.



derives *ahiyāsiyāṇi* from Skt. *adhyāsaya* (Causative of √ *ās* with *adhi*) and renders it "als Symbol die Herrschaft führen" (p. 93, s. v. *ahiyāsei*); Tawney (*Proc. Royal As. Soc. of Bengal* 1891, November, p. 136) translates it by "had recourse to" without explaining what he takes to be the etymology of the word. The same rendering he uses in his translation of the *Kathākośa*, p. 128 and 155. Unfortunately I have no access to the original text of the *Kathākośa* and am thus unable to determine the Sanskrit word so translated. The Jainistic recension of the *Vikramacarita*, however, reads:<sup>1</sup> *tatas tan-mantribhiḥ pañca divyāny adhivāsītāni, tāis ca dattam tasya rājyam mahatā mahena*: This clearly shows that *adhivāsītāni*, not *adhyāsītāni* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Prakrit *ahiyāsiyāṇi*. The *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan* (vi. 236, *pañcadivyāny abhiṣik-tāni mantribhiḥ*) gives a further hint as to the meaning of the term by using √ *sic* with *abhi* in exactly the same connection, this being the technical term for the solemn rite of installing a king.<sup>2</sup> In the other *Māhārāṣṭrī* tale (Jacobi, p. 37, 12, *āso ahīyāsio*) the word is used with reference to the horse which there performs the function of the *pañca divvāṇi*.

3. As to the exact meaning of the Skt. past participle *adhivāsita* and the nominal derivatives *adhivāsa* and *adhivāsana* our Sanskrit Lexicons are divided in their opinions.<sup>3</sup> Goldstücker (1859) in his revision of Wilson's Dictionary gives under *adhivāsana* first (practically repeating Wilson) the two meanings: (1) "Perfuming or dressing the person . . ."; (2) "A religious ceremony, preliminary to any great Hindu festival: touching a vessel containing perfumes, flowers, and other things previously presented to the idol; or offering perfumes etc. to it". These two meanings he connects with *vāsa* "perfume". But then he adds a second group of meanings which he refers to the causative of √ *vas* "dwell" with *adhi*. These are (1) "A summoning and fixing of the presence of a divinity upon an image etc., when he is wanted for any solemnity"; (2) "The placing of a new image in water etc. the day before the divinity is to be summoned to inhabit it". Apte (*The Practical*

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XV. 359 f.

<sup>2</sup> The *abhiṣeka* was performed in India with water, instead of oil.

<sup>3</sup> As far as the formal side is concerned they may either be referred to √ *vas* (causative) "to dwell" with *adhi*, or to the noun *vāsa* "perfume" and its denominative *vāsay-* with *adhi*.

Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1890) gives for *adhivāsana* : 1. "Scenting with perfumes or odorous substances (*saṃskāro gandhamālyādyāḥ*, Amarakoṣa");<sup>1</sup> 2. "Preliminary consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of an image, its invocation and worship by suitable mantras etc., before the commencement of a sacrifice (*yajñārambhāt prāg devatādyāvāhanapūrvakaḥ pūjanādikarmabhedah*); making a divinity assume its abode in an image". The second meaning he assigns to the causative of *√ vas*. Under *√ vas* with *adhi* he gives (1) "to cause to stay over night"; (2) "to consecrate, set up (as an image)". In the *Verbesserungen und Nachträge* the larger Petersburg Lexicon assigns *adhivāsana* "bestimmte mit Götterstatuen vorgenommene Ceremonien" to the causative of *√ vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and under *5 √ vas* (causative) with *adhi* it gives besides (1) "über Nacht liegen lassen", (3) "heimsuchen", (4) "sich einverstanden erklären", also a meaning (2) "einweihen (ein neues Götterbild)" for which it quotes *Vār. Brhatsamhitā*, 60. 15. But in the same volume s. v. *vāsaya* with *adhi*, "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen", this statement is corrected and the passage is assigned to the second meaning of this denominative, "weihen". To this later view Böhtlingk adheres in the smaller Petersburg Lexicon. Under *5 √ vas* (causat.) with *adhi* the meaning "einweihen" is omitted; on the other hand, for *vāsaya*- with *adhi* the meanings (1) "mit Wohlgeruch erfüllen"; (2) "einweihen" are given, and under this second meaning *adhivāsita* "geweiht" of the *Vikramacarita* (*Ind. Stud.* XV. 359) is quoted. The meaning of the noun *adhivāsana* (cf. also *adhivāsanaka* and *adhivāsanīya* in the *Nachträge* 1) "Einweihen (einer Götterstatue)" is thus regarded as derived from the more original sense "Parfümiren". Monier-Williams' revised Dictionary (1899) distinguishes between (1) *adhivāsana* (from *√ vas*, causat., with *adhi*) "causing a divinity to dwell in an image", and (2) *adhivāsana* (from *√ vāsaya*- with *adhi*) "application of perfumes"; "the ceremony of touching a vessel containing fragrant ob-

<sup>1</sup> Of the native Hindu lexicographers, some define *adhivāsana* simply by *saṃskāra*, *saṃskriyā*, saying nothing about perfumes; others define it by *saṃskāra* or *saṃskriyā dhūpanādibhiḥ* or *gandhamālyādibhiḥ*. But if we remember that there was a fairly common noun *adhivāsa*, *adhivāsana* "perfume", one who has in mind the etymological weakness of Hindu lexicographers will readily admit the possibility of this second definition being influenced by this fact.

jects (that have been presented to an idol)"; "preliminary purification of an image".

Finally, Langlois in the note to his French translation of the *Harivaṃśa* 5994 (vol. I, p. 451) says: "Cette cérémonie s'appelle *Adhivāsa* ou *Adhivāsana*. Quand on consacre une idole, on pratique aussi l'*Adhivāsa*: on prend le riz, les fruits et les autres offrandes pour en toucher le vase d'eau sacrée, puis le front de l'idole en prononçant certains *mantras*. L'*Adhivāsa* est la cérémonie par laquelle on invite une divinité à venir habiter une idole."<sup>1</sup>

I believe the group of words under consideration has nothing whatever to do with *vāsa* "perfume"; on the contrary *adhivāsayati* is the causative of *√vas* "dwell" with *adhi* and means "to cause to dwell in"; the *adhivāsa*<sup>2</sup> is a ceremony by which a deity or divine power is invoked to take its proper place in a sacred object, either in the image of a god or in some other thing which is to be consecrated to some divine purpose. In the *Agnipurāṇa*<sup>3</sup> (35. 1) the rite to be performed is in honor of Viṣṇu, and by the *adhivāsa* the god is invoked to take his place in the image before the ceremony. In another passage of the *Agnipurāṇa* (64. 18; Dutt's transl. i. 234) an image of the water-god Varuṇa is set up at the dedication of a water tank or reservoir, and the *adhivāsa* is performed, in order that Varuṇa may come and abide in the image, presiding over the reservoir and so causing it to stay full of water. The *Mbh.* V. 5135 (= v. 151. 38), *prayāsyāmo raṇājīram | adhivāsitaśastrās ca kṛtakāutumāṅgalāḥ*, shows a compound *adhivāsitaśastra*; the warriors' swords are consecrated for a solemn purpose and divine power is invoked to abide in them.<sup>4</sup> In Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā* we have (60, 15):

<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough, in spite of this he translates the *adhivāsa* . . . *ātmanam* of the text by "en parfumant ton corps".

<sup>2</sup> Or *adhivāsana*; the two forms are interchangeable.

<sup>3</sup> Dutt's translation, i. 137; Dutt, in the note, defines *adhivāsa* as a "consecration of an image, especially before the commencement of a sacrificial rite".

<sup>4</sup> Dutt translates: "we shall . . . march to the field of battle after having worshipped our weapons and duly performed all the auspicious ceremonies"; Pratāp Chandra Roy: "having . . . worshipped our weapons (with offerings of flowers and perfumes) we will . . . march to the field of battle"; Fauche: "nous marcherons vers le champ de bataille les armes parfumées des senteurs du sacrifice et toutes les choses de bon augure accomplies avec empressement."

*suptām* (viz. *pratimām*) *sunṛtyagītāir jāgarakāiḥ samyag evam adhivāsyā | dāivajñapradīṣṭe kāle saṁsthāpanaṁ kuryāt*. Here the image is regarded as "asleep" (*suptām*), until "by awakening<sup>1</sup> dances and songs" the sacrificer has "made (the god) to dwell in it" (*adhivāsyā*) or "completely imbued it (with the divine presence)", whereupon he is to set it up formally at a time prescribed by a soothsayer. A passage from *Suśruta* (xi. 3) seems to me to support particularly my view. I quote Hoernle's translation (*Bibl. Ind.*, new series, 911, p. 63 f.): "He who wishes to prepare a caustic should, on an auspicious day in the autumn, after purifying himself and fasting, (select) a large-sized, middle-aged, uninjured *Muṣkaka* tree, bearing dark flowers and growing in an auspicious spot on a (lonely) mountain, and perform the *adhivāsana* or 'preliminary ceremony', saying the following incantation: 'Oh thou tree of fiery power! Thou of great power! May thy power not be lost! Oh thou auspicious one, stay even here and accomplish my work! When once my work is done, then thou mayest go to heaven!'; later the worshipper cuts off such pieces of the tree as he needs to prepare the caustic.<sup>2</sup> The mantra here quoted in connection with the *adhivāsana*-ceremony seems to me to make its nature and purpose clear. The magic or divine power which is supposed to reside in the tree is commanded to dwell and remain in it till the purpose of the performer is accomplished.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Jāgarakāiḥ* (var. lect. *jāgarikāiḥ* and *jāgaraṇāiḥ*) is an adjective. Kern wrongly translates it as noun (*Journal Royal As. Soc.*, new series, vi. 334): "after the sleeping idol has been consecrated with wakes, dancing, and song"; so also both Petersburg Lexicons: "das Wachen".

<sup>2</sup> In the foot-note Hoernle adds: "The *adhivāsana* is an oblation (*bali-karman*) accompanied with an incantation (*mantra*). According to the commentaries, Bhōja gives the following directions and incantation: 'He should there, with his face to the east, offer an oblation and then, on all four sides, with joined palms, devoted mind, and pure body, addressing the tree, repeat (the following words): "Whatever spirits may inhabit this tree, let them depart hence; for to-morrow this tree is to be cut for a high object."'"

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that in all the passages where the *adhivāsana* ceremony is mentioned, so far as I have discovered, no reference is made to perfumes, although the frequent use of fragrant substances at religious ceremonies in India would make such references not at all surprising. In any event the employment of perfumes at the *adhivāsana* would be a mere accident, without any bearing on the original meaning of this ceremony.

Harivaṁśa 5994 contains the gerund *adhivāsyā*, and the noun *adhivāsana* occurs in the same text at vs. 6026 below. The text in the first passage is doubtful (see BR. s. v. *vāsay* + *adhi*), and neither passage is perfectly clear to me as to meaning. There is, however, certainly nothing in the context to uphold Langlois' translation "parfumant" for *adhivāsyā* (vide supra). If the reading of the Calcutta edition of 1839 be kept in vs. 5994, I should interpret *adhivāsyā* 'tmanā 'tmānam as "imbuing yourself with (your divine) nature (essence or power)", "dedicating yourself". If we accept the reading of the "neuere Ausgabe"<sup>1</sup> quoted by the Petersburg Dictionary, *adhivāsyā* 'dya cā 'tmānam, it seems to mean simply "consecrating yourself"—the same thing in the ultimate outcome although the development of the idea does not show itself so clearly. The later verse, 6026, contributes nothing to an understanding of the problem.

The phrase *pañcadivvyāny adhvāsītāni*, then, means "the five divine instruments were imbued (with the superhuman power they were expected to use)", "they were consecrated". This meaning accords well with the *pañcadivvyāny abhiṣiktāni* of the *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*. The neuter noun *divya* is frequently found in the law-books in the sense of "ordeal". In our passages the word is used in a concrete instead of an abstract sense. Instead of "divine ordeal or test" it means "the instrument of divine test".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I have no access to this later lithographed edition.

<sup>2</sup> Hence I prefer Tawney's "ordeal" to Jacobi's "die fünf königlichen Insignien".

*Tablets from Dréhem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.*—By MARY INDA HUSSEY, Cambridge, Mass.

From the large number of tablets that have come to light as the result of recent clandestine excavations by the Arabs, ten are to be found in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio, having been presented by Mr. John G. White of that city. They are said to have come from Dréhem<sup>1</sup>, a ruin in the neighborhood of Nippur; but the name of the month *Šu-numun* follows the nomenclature used at Umma (Jocha) and at Lagash (Tello), and there is reason to suppose that number one of this collection came from Jocha.

The Dréhem tablets are acknowledged by all to be the accounts of the stock-pens at Dréhem which supplied some great sanctuary, in all probability the temple of Ellil at Nippur, with cattle for its sacrifices. Attention has also been called to the large number of Semitic names, and Genouillac has pointed out the conclusion, namely, that Dréhem was near cities with a Semitic population, who sent their offerings to the Sumerian sanctuary. The Semitic names in these tablets are: <sup>a</sup>*Dun-gi-ì-li*, 5 Ob. 4 | <sup>a</sup>*Gimil-É-a*, 4 Ob. 2 | <sup>a</sup>*Gimil-a Sin*, 9 Ob. 5, Rev. 6: 10 Rev. 9, both seal impressions Col. 1<sup>1</sup> | *I-din-*

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<sup>1</sup> Some 430 tablets from Dréhem have been published, as follows: "La Trouvaille de Dréhem", in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 7 (1909—10), pp. 186—191 (13 tablets). "L'Ordre des Noms de Mois sur les tablettes de Dréhem", *ibid.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 84—88 (2 tablets), by Fr. Thureau-Dangin. *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 1911 (175 tablets); *La Trouvaille de Dréhem*, 1911 (91 tablets), by H. de Genouillac. *Tablets from the Archives of Dréhem*, 1911 (67 tablets), by S. Langdon. "Tablettes de Dréhem", by L. Delaporte in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 8 (1911), pp. 183—198 (22 tablets). *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XXXII, 1912 (31 tablets), copies by L. W. King. "Tablettes de Dréhem à Jerusalem", by P. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9 (1912), pp. 39—66 (42 tablets).

<sup>a</sup>*Da-gún*, 5 Ob. 6 | *La-ma-za-tum*, 1 Rev. 2 | *Na-ra-am-É-a*, 5 Ob. 7 | *Nu-ùr-<sup>a</sup>Sin*, 6 Rev. 5: 7 Rev. 6: 8 Rev. 9, Seal, line 1: 10 Rev. 6, Seal on left edge of Rev., Col. 2<sup>1</sup> | <sup>a</sup>*Šamaš-ba-ni*, 5 Ob. 8 | *Wa-da-ru-um*, 5 Ob. 11.

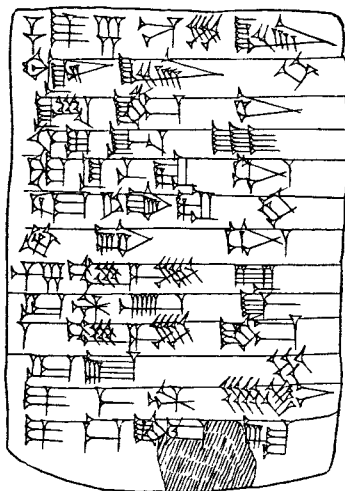
The tablets published here range in date from the year  $x+32$  of Dungi to the 9th year Gimil-Sin.

### Description of Tablets.

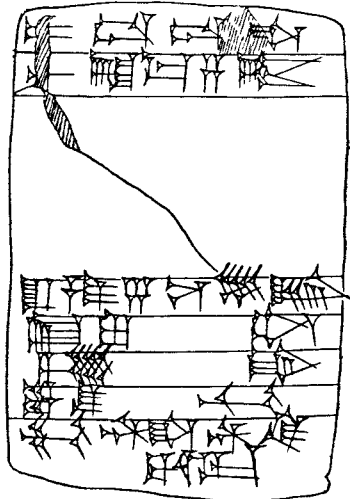
1. Debit and credit account (*sag nig-gar-ra-kam šag-bi-ta\*\* zi(g)-ga*)<sup>1</sup> of the sheep fold (*é-udu*) concerning 165 *qa* of barley, in the month *Šu-numun*, the year *Anšan* was destroyed (Dungi  $x+32$ ).

No. 1.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

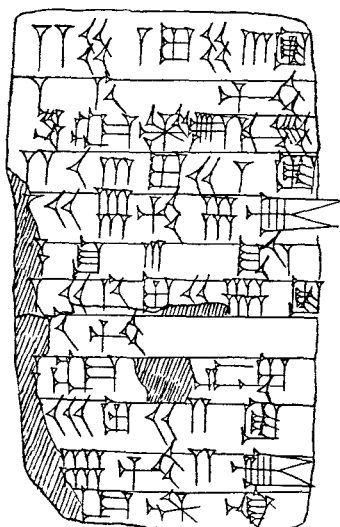


2. Account of the delivery of a large number ( $600 + 600 + [ ]$ ) of sheep and goats by *Nalul* during the last six months of the year *Urbillu* was destroyed (Dungi  $x+43$ ). [*Še-kin-k[ud]*] is the last month of the year Dungi  $x+43$ , as has been noted by Thureau-Dangin<sup>2</sup> for the years  $x+27$ ,  $x+30$ ,  $x+39$ ,  $x+40$  of Dungi and the years 1 and 3 of Bûr-Sin.

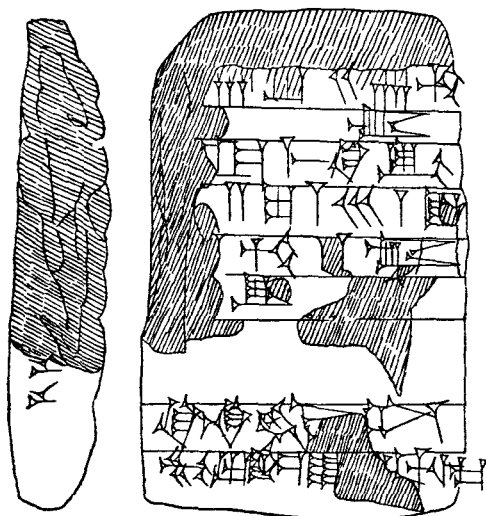
<sup>1</sup> Cf. ZA. XXV, p. 330; BA VI, 5, p. 71; *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello I*, p. 19, n. 1; *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 200; Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, no. 5544 sqq.; *Babyloniaca*, VI (1912), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 8, p. 86.

No. 2.  
OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



3. Account of the delivery of sheep and goats by *Ab-ba-ša(g)-ga*, which are taken in charge (*ni-KU*)<sup>2</sup> by *Na-lul* on the 13th day of the month *Ezen-an-na*, the year that the great

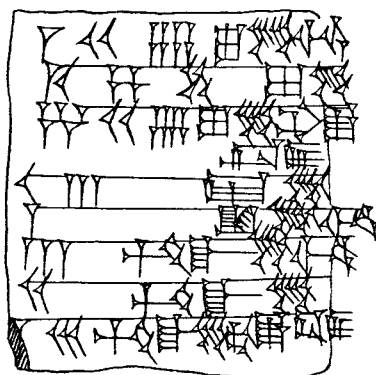
<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Inventaire*, 1, p. 6, n. 4.



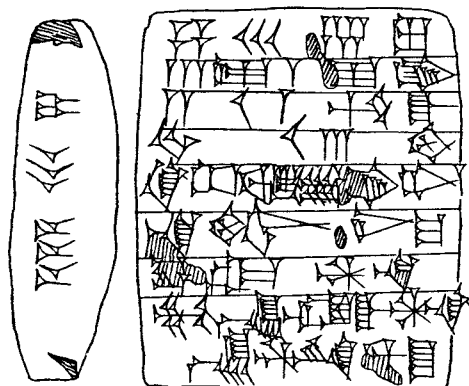
high priest of *Anu* was invested high priest of *Nanna(r)* (Bûr-Sin 4). Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 3, *maš-gal-še gu(d)-e uš-sa* Ob. 8, and *sîl-ga*, Rev. 2, sucking lamb.

No. 3.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

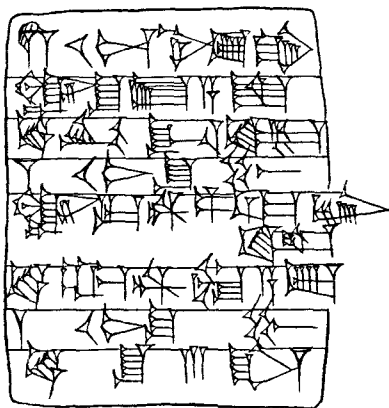


4. 4 cows, 2 *lal-lî rug-ga*<sup>1</sup> from the month *Šes-da-kû*, and 2 *šu-gid*<sup>2</sup> from the months *Ezen*-<sup>a</sup>*Nin-a-zu* and *Šu-eš-ša*, delivered by *Ab-ba-šû(g)-ga* and taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a*, the year *Šašru* was destroyed (Bûr-Sin 6). The last sign in Ob. 5 (*ka* + *ša*) is unknown to me.

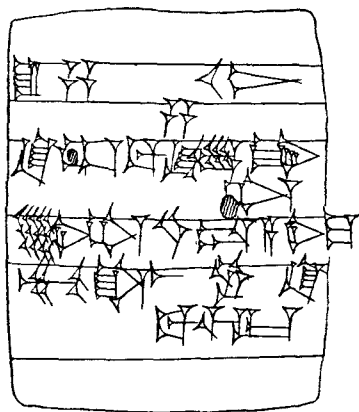
<sup>1</sup> Huber in *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.*, p. 194 translates "mit Abzug der Gebühren"; *Genouillac, Inventaire*, 2, no. 629, "paiement de dettes", no. 789, "en paiement d'intérêt".

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of this term see *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 42, n. 6.

No. 4.  
OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



5. An account of 21 sheep and goats, supplied (*mu-tum*) by 16 different persons, among whom are *Ur-<sup>a</sup>Nin-kur-ra pa-te-si* (of Šuruppak) Ob. 9, and *Gù-de-a pa-te-si*<sup>1</sup> (of Kutha) Rev. 6; taken in charge by *Ab-ba-šâ(g)-ga* on the 12th day of the month *Ezen-mah*, the year the high priest of *Eridu* was invested (*Bûr-Sin* 8). Note: *udu-a-lum*<sup>2</sup> Ob. 5, 12, 14, Rev. 4;

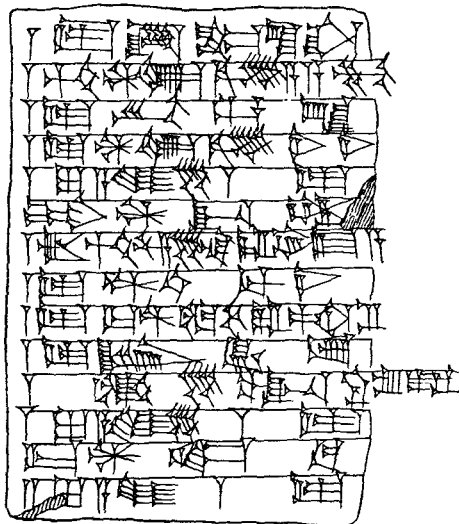
<sup>1</sup> They figure not infrequently in the Dréhem tablets. Cf. the name-lists in Genouillac's works.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ganam-a-lum*, in Genouillac. *Tab. de Dréhem*, 4683, Rev. 7 Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 40, calls attention to the use of the vowel *a* to mark the species to which animals belong.

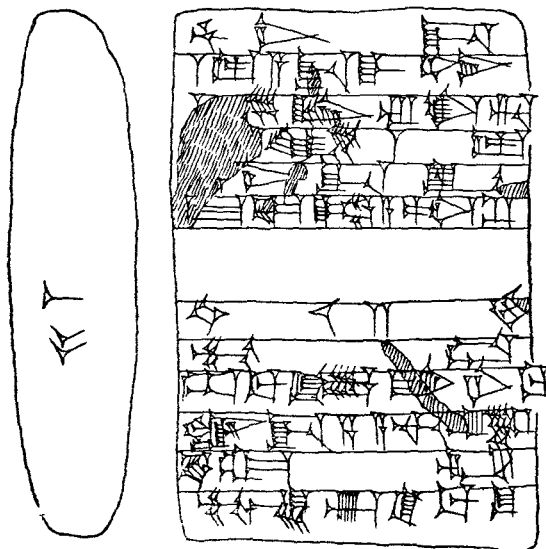
*uz maš-nu-a še* Ob. 7, a fat female goat that has not had a kid(?).

No. 5.

OBVERSE.



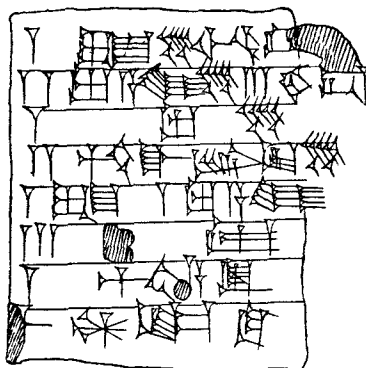
REVERSE.



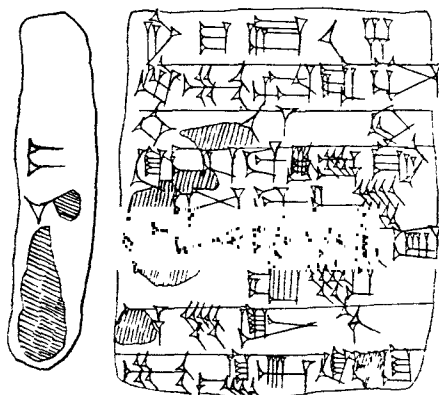
6. Account of the expenditure (*ba-zi*) by *Ab-ba-ša(g)-ga* of 12 sheep and goats, offerings (? *nig-dūr*) of é-XV from among the supplies (*ša(g) mu-túm-ra-ta*)<sup>1</sup>, the 11th day of

No. 6.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



the month *Še-kin-kud*, the year the high priest of *Eridu* was invested (*Būr-Sin* 8). Note: *udu-a-lum-še 3 kam-uš*, Ob. 2, fat *a-lum* sheep for the 3rd time<sup>2</sup>; *máš-gal lù-su še*, Ob. 4, fat goat-buck of the tanner<sup>2</sup>. Is *máš-a-sig*, Ob. 7, interchange-

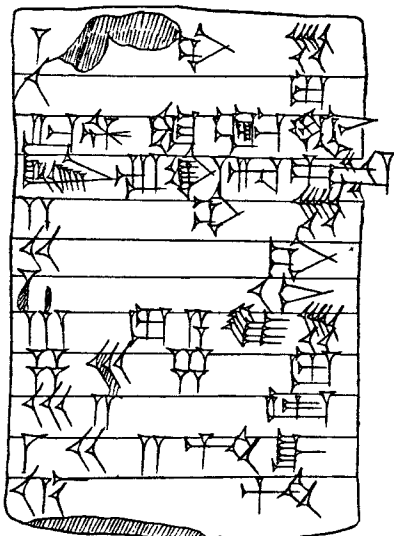
<sup>1</sup> Ct. Genouillac, *Trouv. de Dréhem*, p. 20; Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, SA 208.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 54, n. 3.

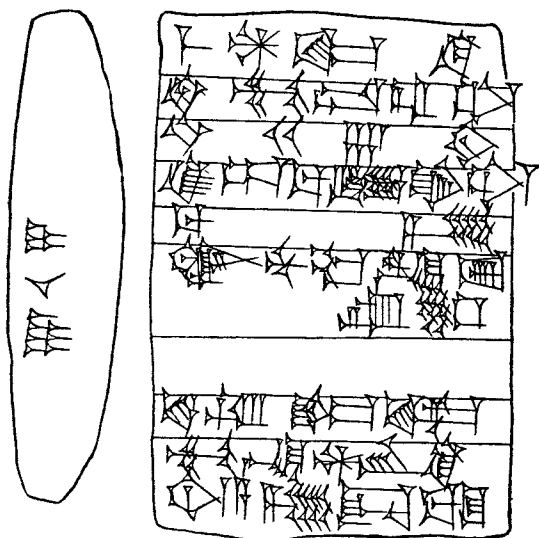
able with *šig-máš*<sup>1</sup>? The sign *šig* (*Recherches sur l'Écriture Cunéiforme*, 464) varies somewhat from its usual form.

No. 7.

OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



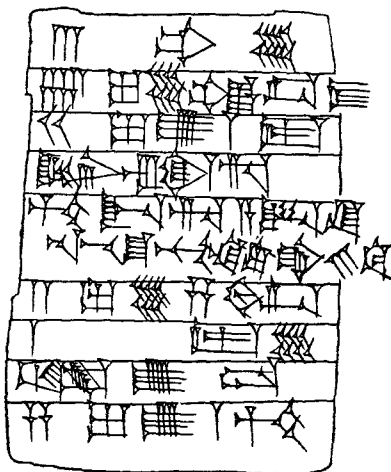
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dhorme, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 45, n. 2.

7. Account of the expenditure (*ba-zi*) by *Ab-ba šá(g)-ga* of 435 sheep and goats from among the supplies, the 27th day of the month *Ū-ne-kú*, the year the high priest of *Nanna(r)* of *Kar-zi-da* was invested (*Būr-Sin* 9). Note: *udu-a-lum-še*, Ob. 8; the name *Ur-aNin-ezen + la* (REC. 366), Ob. 3.

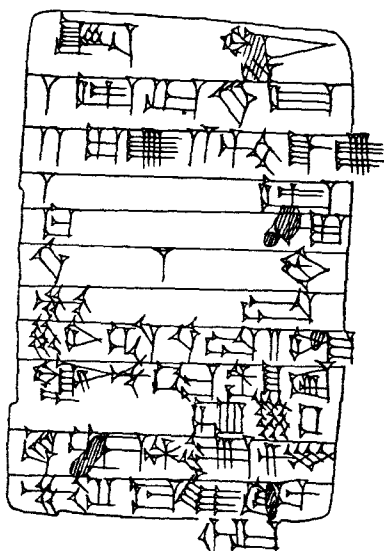
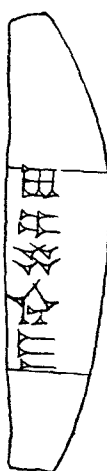
No. 8.

OBVERSE.

SEAL.



REVERSE.

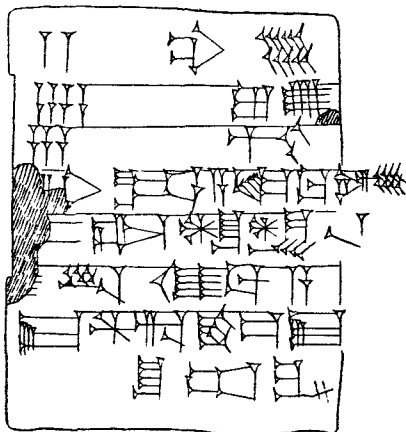


8. An account of supplies (*mu-tûm*) of bullocks, sheep and goats, from *Lugal-mâ-gûr-ri*, dues from the *akîtu* festival of the month *Šu-numun* in *Gacš* (*maš-da-ri-a á-ki-ti Šu-numun, ša(g) Ga-eš* <sup>ki</sup>), and from *Ku-û*; taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a* the first day of the month *Ezen-<sup>a</sup>Dun-gi*, the year *Simanu* was destroyed (*Gimil-Sin* 3). The seal of *Nu-ûr-<sup>a</sup>S[în]* *dup-sar [du]mu I-ti-îr-ra* has been run over the entire tablet, but the seal impression is in every case indistinct. Note: *udu-še gu(d)-e uš-sa*, Ob. 2; *udu-še 4-kam-uš*, Ob 6..

9. An account of supplies (*mu-tûm*) of bullocks, sheep, and goats, the offering (*kaš-de-a*)<sup>1</sup> of *Ka-ma-ni-zi šabra*<sup>2</sup> of *<sup>a</sup>Gimil-<sup>a</sup>Sin*, an evening sacrifice (*á-mi-ba-a*)<sup>3</sup>; for the temple of the gods they have been taken in charge (*é dingir-re-ne-ge-šu ab-KU*).<sup>4</sup> On the 28th day of the month *Ezen-<sup>a</sup>Dun-gi* they

No. 9.

OBVERSE.



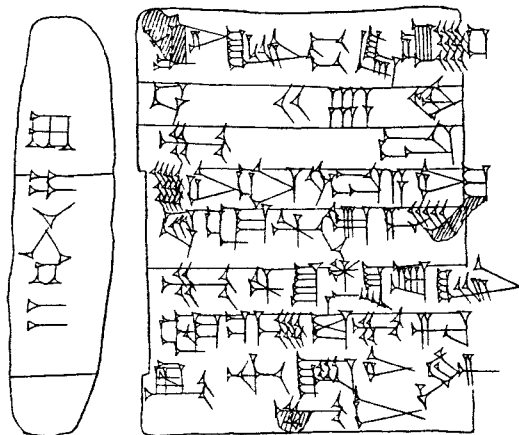
<sup>1</sup> Huber in *Hilprecht Ann. Vol.*, p. 213, where the "*bi-dê-a*" consists of grain, regards it as a synonym of *sâ-dû(g)*. Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM. 13, renders it by libation where the offering is also made by a high official (*sukkal-mah*) for *é-dingir-re-ne-ge*. Cf. Genouillac, *Tab. de Dréhem*, 4687.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Inventaire*, 2, no. 650, *šabra* *<sup>a</sup>En-lil*.

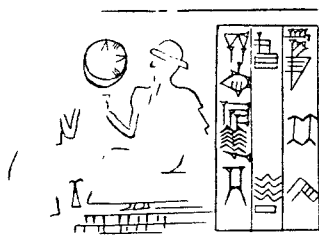
<sup>3</sup> Delaporte, *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 8, p. 195. No. 18 ob. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Inventaire*, 2, no. 796, Dhorme in *Rev. d'Assyr.*, t. 9, p. 53, AM 13.

## REVERSE.



## SEAL.



were taken in charge by *In-ta-è-a*, the year <sup>a</sup>*Gimil-Sin* the king built the wall of the west. (named) *Murîq-Tidnim* (*Gimil-Sin* 4). Stamped seven times, but always indistinctly, with the seal of *Lugal-amar-azag dupsar dumu Na-šág X*.<sup>1</sup>

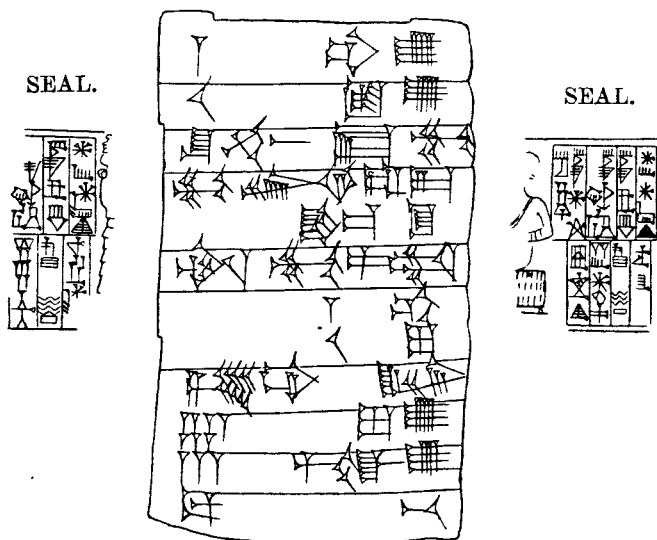
10. Expended (*ba-zi*) by *Ur-azag-nun-na*: on behalf of the king 1 bullock, 10 sheep from the pasture (*udu-šam*) as *šu-gid é-mu* in the name of the commissaries (*mu lù-šuk(um)-ra-ge-ne-šú*)<sup>2</sup>; 10 dead sheep <sup>a</sup>*Dun-gi-uru-mu* has received (*šu-ba-an-ti*); the 25th day of the month *Ezen-Me-ki-gûl*, the year

<sup>1</sup> REC. no. 344.

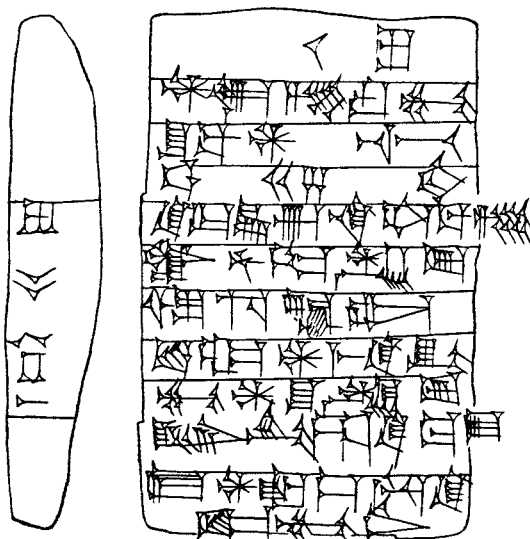
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *šu-gid é-mu mu-bil-Bur-Sin-ge-ne-šú*, "reserve de cuisine pour les chauffeurs(?) de Bûr-Sin". *Rev. d'Assyr.* t. 9, p. 51, SA 172; *šu-gid é-mu mu-uku-uš-ge-ne-šú*, *ibid.* SA 159, 162, 188.



No. 10.  
OBVERSE.



REVERSE.



<sup>a</sup> *Gimil-Sin* the king built the temple of the god X<sup>1</sup> of *Umma* (*Gimil-Sin* 9).

<sup>1</sup> REC. no. 458.

The obverse has been stamped nine times, and the reverse eight times, with a seal which reads: (Col. 1) *<sup>a</sup>Gimil-<sup>a</sup>Sin lugal ag-ga lugal urí-<sup>ki</sup>ma lugal-an-ub-da tab-ba* (Col. 2) *Hu-u[n ] dup-sar dumu Gimil-<sup>a</sup>Adab sahar arad-zu*. To Gimil-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, Hu-u[n ] the scribe, son of Gimil-Adab the *sahar* thy servant. The left edge of the reverse bears two impressions of a seal likewise dedicated to Gimil-Sin<sup>1</sup> by *Nu-ur-<sup>a</sup>Si[n] dup-sar dumu I-ti*.

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<sup>1</sup> For other seals dedicated to the same ruler, see Janneau, *Une Dynastie Chaldéenne*, pp. 49, 53—54.

*Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes.* — By MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,  
Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

I.

There are two views taken of wine in the Old Testament, one a decidedly unfavorable view, and the other of a more favorable character. As an illustration of the unfavorable view, the account given in Genesis 9, 20—27 of the beginning of viniculture furnishes a characteristic illustration. In this little addition to the Jahwist's account of the Deluge,<sup>1</sup> the planting of the vine leading to Noah's fall from grace is clearly introduced as a protest against the use of wine. Similarly, in the folk-tale, Gen. 19, 31—38, of the origin of the tribes of Ammon and Moab, there is a very distinct antagonism against the use of wine. The drunken Lot because of the wine engages in shameful intercourse with his two daughters.<sup>2</sup> The assumption in the Noah and in the Lot incident is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and disgraces himself.

This opposition to viniculture is in keeping with a tendency in many parts of the Old Testament which looks with disfavor on the advance to a higher form of culture. Abel the shepherd is given the preference over Cain the tiller of the soil and the city builder. In the Pentateuchal Codes agri-

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<sup>1</sup> See Budde *Urgeschichte*, p. 313 seq. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 71, and Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 182 seq., though it is not necessary to assume with Budde, Skinner, and others, that the section does not know anything of the Deluge. It is introduced as a *tendency*-tale.

<sup>2</sup> It matters little for our purposes what the purpose of the tale is, though I confess that Gunkel's explanation (p. 197 seq.) seems to me very artificial.

culture is preferred to commerce which is looked upon askance.<sup>1</sup> The simple tribal organization is preferred to a union into a Kingdom<sup>2</sup>—in short, simplicity over any advancing form of luxury which comes with the higher culture. The prophets are full of protests against what from the ordinary point of view would be regarded as material and political progress. The Rechabites,<sup>3</sup> surviving to the period of the Exile, represent this protest of the lower culture against the higher one, emphasized by their opposition to wine and by their dwelling in tents in preference to houses—the symbol of the higher culture, concomitant with city life.

The Book of Proverbs, despite the late date of its final form, maintains on the whole the antagonistic attitude towards wine. In such sayings as Pr. 23, 31, "Look not on wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup", etc.;<sup>4</sup> Pr. 20, 1, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is a brawler", the assumption still is that he who drinks wine gets drunk and is led to other excesses. "He who loves wine and oil will not be rich", (Pr. 21, 17) where the juxtaposition with oil illustrates the protest against luxury. A somewhat cynical point of view is set forth in the later chapter 31, 4—7, where we read:<sup>5</sup>

"It is not for kings to drink wine,  
Nor for rulers to mix strong drink;  
Lest, drinking, they forget the law,  
And disregard the rights of the suffering.  
Give strong drink to him who is perishing,  
Wine to him who is in bitter distress;

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<sup>1</sup> The prohibition against taking interest—aimed against Babylonian practices—and emphasized in three of the Codes (Ex. 22, 24; Lev. 25, 36—37; Deut. 23, 20—21) is virtually an enjoinder upon commerce which cannot be carried on without making loans on interest. The words "to the stranger thou mayst lend on interest" (Deut. 23, 21) are a later addition—a concession to actual conditions, but not in keeping with the spirit of the original provision.

<sup>2</sup> The institution of the kingdom is viewed as an act of disloyalty to Jahweh (I Sam. 12, 12). The view taken of the kingdom and what will happen through the institution is illustrated by Deut. 17, 14—17 and by the parable in Judges 9, 7—15.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 35, 5—10.

<sup>4</sup> See also Pr. 23, 20—21; 29—30.

<sup>5</sup> Toy's rendering and reading (*Critical and Evangelical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, p. 539).

That, drinking, he may forget his poverty,  
And think of his misery no more."

Wine drinking had evidently become a common practice, but was still viewed with disfavor in certain circles whose contemptuous attitude is indicated in these words. Elsewhere, to be sure, e. g., Pr. 9, 2 and 5, "mixed wine" is introduced by the side of meat and bread without any implied opposition, though it is still a wide step to the praise of wine in the later Psalm 104, 15.

"And wine to cheer man's heart,  
Oil to make his skin to shine,  
And bread to strengthen man's heart."<sup>1</sup>

We may perhaps be permitted to conclude from such passages as I Sam. 10, 3; 16, 20; 25, 18; II Sam. 16, 1—2, that by the time of the establishment of the Kingdom, the use of wine had become common; and it is significant that according to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 14, 26) both wine and strong drink may be indulged in on the occasion of the festivals, showing that by the end of the seventh century opposition to it had ceased even in religious circles.<sup>2</sup>

The later view of post-exilic Judaism is reflected in the juxtaposition of "bread and wine", as the accessory to the blessing formula in Gen. 14, 18.<sup>3</sup> Pre-exilic and post-exilic prophets still protest against excess in drinking and make use of the wine bibber as a picture of lewdness and disgrace. (Is. 5, 11. 22; 22, 13; 28, 7; Joel 1, 5; Zach. 9, 15) but it is no longer assumed that drinking necessarily leads to drunkenness.<sup>4</sup> A good wine crop is looked upon as a sign of divine favor and its failure as a sign of God's displeasure—on the same plane with a good or bad yield in corn or oil, e. g., Amos 5, 11; 9, 14; Is. 16, 10; 24, 11; Jer. 13, 12; 40, 10. 12; 48, 33; Zeph. 1, 13; Micha 6, 15; cf. Deut. 28, 39 and

<sup>1</sup> Horace Howard Furness' translation in *Polychrome Bible*, ed. Haupt.

<sup>2</sup> See also Deut. 28, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Gunkel, *Genesis* p. 263, has happily and tersely described this chapter as a "legend of the time of Judaism", based on some historical reminiscences which are woven into the story, intended to bring Abraham into relationship with the great figures of Babylonian history.

<sup>4</sup> In Hosea, 4, 11, the words "Harlotry and wine and mead take away the understanding", represent an old proverb inserted as appropriate at this place by some redactor.

Lam. 2, 12. The metaphor introduced in the late passage Zach. 10, 7, "their heart rejoiceth as with wine" approaches the attitude expressed in the 104th Psalm as quoted above.

On the other hand when we are told, Gen. 27, 25, that Jacob brought his father, Isaac, wine, it is evident that the words "and he brought him wine and he drank" represent a later addition to the original Jahwist narrative<sup>1</sup> to make the story conform to later conditions. Throughout the narrative (v. 17 and she placed the "dainties and the food"; v. 19, "eat of my venison" cf. v. 31—33) food only is referred to, and the manner in which the words in question are attached betray the later gloss or comment.

A distinction between earlier and later social conditions is also revealed in the stereotyped phrase דָּגָן וַיִּשְׁחָר (dāgān, tîrôš yîshār) characteristic of Deuteronomy—<sup>2</sup> for summing up the products of the land, where tîrôš takes the place of the later yayin and represents a preparation of the grape juice in a less advanced stage than the finished fermented product. It has, of course, been noted by commentators<sup>3</sup> that the other two terms dagan (corn) and yîshār (oil) are replaced in later usage by הִיטָּיִם (hittām)<sup>4</sup> and שֶׁמֶן (šemen) so that there are substantial grounds for believing that the Deuteronomic phrase belongs to an earlier stage in agricultural development<sup>5</sup> when so far as the grape was concerned the process of manufacturing a thoroughly fermented article had not yet been perfected. Without going into the vexed question of the etymology of

<sup>1</sup> Recognized as such by Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. 7, 13; 11, 14; 12, 17; 14, 23; 18, 4; 28, 51. The occurrence of the phrase in such passages as Hos. 2, 10, 24, Haggai 1, 11, Joel 2, 19 and II Chron. 31, 5, and Neh. 5, 11; 10, 40; 13, 5, 12 is of course a reminiscence or direct quotation of the Deuteronomic usage, while דָּגָן וְחֵלֶב (heleb, tîrôš, dāgān) in Num. 18, 12 is a variant phrase similarly dependent. The phrase דָּגָן וַיִּשְׁחָר (dāgān and tîrôš) e. g., Gen. 27, 28, 37 (Elohist); Deut. 33, 28; II Kgs. 18, 33; Hos. 7, 14; Zach. 9, 17; Ps. 4, 8; Is. 62, 8;—occurring chiefly in poetical passages—likewise represents a variant of the archaic formula.

<sup>3</sup> e. g. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Dāgān, however, continues to be used in later poetical compositions, e. g. in Ezekiel 36, 29; Ps. 65, 10; 78, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Indicated also by the use of tîrôš and not yayin in the parable Jud. 9, 13 where the vine says "shall I abandon my tîrôš that rejoiceth god (Elohim) and men"?

*yayin*,<sup>1</sup> as a loan-word in Hebrew, it points to the foreign origin of the process involved and it would be natural that as an importation among the Hebrews, due to advancing luxury, it should meet with opposition on the part of those who clung tenaciously to older established and simpler customs.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The conservative character associated in all religions with practices of the cult should prepare us for finding traces of the earlier unfavorable view taken of wine and viniculture in the Pentateuchal regulations regarding the temple service. Such is indeed the case. In Lev. 10, 9 we encounter the prohibition emphasized as "an everlasting statute for all times" that the priests are not to drink wine (*yayin*) or strong drink (*šēkār*) upon coming to the "tent of meeting". The little section (vv. 8—9) in which this prohibition is set forth is independent of the rest of the chapter and impresses one as an old ordinance which is carried over from earlier days. The mention of the "tent of meeting"—which whenever it occurs in the Pentateuchal Codes is, I think, an indication of an early practice, though modified and adapted to later conditions—points in the same direction. The decree finds its counterpart in Ezekiel 44, 21 where the priests are cautioned not to drink wine when they come to the "inner court"

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, s. v. There is no underlying verbal stem from which יין might be derived in use in any of the Semitic Languages. The occurrence of a doubtful *inv* in a syllabary does not justify us in claiming the word as Babylonian. The late occurrence in Arabic and Ethiopic proves nothing as to its origin. Even if it should turn out to be a Semitic word, it is clearly a loan-word in Hebrew.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase "milk and honey" though characteristic of P (Ex. 3, 8; 13, 5; 33, 3. Num. 13, 27; 14, 5. 16. 13. 14) and of the additions to the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 6, 3; 11, 9; 26, 9. 15; 27, 3; 31, 20) reflects an even earlier social stage than *dāgān*, *tirôš* and *yishār* and is evidently retained with intent to reflect the conditions prevailing during the nomadic period of Hebrew history. Mohammed's prohibition of wine is a trace of the same opposition of the "nomadic" stage of culture against the innovations of higher civilization. See the incident referred to by Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets" (*Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., 1913, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* Nr. 2, p. 14).

—representing the adaptation of the earlier law to the temple as sketched by Ezekiel. Now, to be sure, both in Leviticus and in Ezekiel the prohibition is limited (according to the wording) to the time of the actual carrying out of priestly functions, but it looks very much as though this were a concession made to later practice and that originally the priests were not permitted to drink wine at all as in the case of the *nāzîr* who, as his name indicates, represents one “set aside” or dedicated to a deity. The indications are that the term *nāzîr* is merely an old designation of a priest.<sup>1</sup> Like the *kôhên* he is not to come into contact with a dead body (Num. 6, 6—7; cf. Lev. 21, 1),<sup>2</sup> and it is therefore a fair inference that the prohibition against drinking wine (*yayin*) and strong drink (*šêkār*) in Num. 6, 3,<sup>3</sup> was likewise a general ordinance for priests.

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<sup>1</sup> Amos 2, 11—12, who rebukes the people for giving the Nazirites wine and ordering the prophets not to prophesy, uses “nazirites and prophets” as elsewhere we find “prophets and priests” contrasted or placed in juxtaposition, e. g., Jer. 5, 31; 26, 11, 16; Zach. 7, 3. Neh. 9, 32; etc. The later view of the “nazirite” as one “set aside” without affiliation with any priesthood is illustrated in Luke 1, 15 foretelling the coming of John who “shall drink neither wine nor strong drink”. The older attitude towards wine is well illustrated also by Jud. 13, 14 where wine and strong drink are put on the same level as “unclean” food—they defile and are therefore to be avoided by the wife of Manoah who is to keep herself free from contamination, as though she too were “set aside”.

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions in v. 2—4 represent again a concession, due to the large body of priests assumed for the central sanctuary. From the fact that the exceptions do not apply to the high priest (v. 11), we may conclude that the law not to touch a dead body under any circumstances applied rigorously at one time to all priests.

<sup>3</sup> The law in its original form read “From wine and strong drink he shall separate himself”. What follows (v. 3—4) is in the nature of a “*Gemārā*” to the law, specifying the answers to such questions, does wine and strong drink include vinegar of wine and of strong drink? Yes. How about grape juice? Yes—forbidden. How is it with fresh or dried grapes? They also are forbidden. In fact anything made of grapes is included in the prohibition (v. 4). Haggai 2, 11—17 furnishes an interesting example of such questions and priestly decisions (note the technical use of *tôrā* in the passage!) as constituting a regular practice. For further illustration of this method of superimposing layers embodying decisions in regard to the details involved in a law, see the writer's paper on “An Analysis of Leviticus 13 and 14” in a forthcoming number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. This 6th chapter of Numbers



At all events, if the priest is not to drink wine on entering the sanctuary, the assumption is as in the passages voicing the opposition to wine, that he who drinks wine becomes drunk and with such an attitude towards wine, is it likely that wine should have been included among the ingredients of a sacrifice in Jahweh's sanctuary?

### III.

Taking up the passages in the Codes where wine is introduced, we find it in three sections which represent general summaries of priestly regulations and furnish clear indications of having been independent little groups. That at least, is certainly the case in Numbers, Chap. 15, 1—11<sup>1</sup> and Chap. 28—29<sup>2</sup>—both belonging to the so-called Priestly Code. Attached to the burnt-offering in all the cases instanced is a *minḥa* or meal offering consisting of fine flour with oil and wine. The amount of the wine is throughout regulated to correspond to the amount of the oil—<sup>3</sup> 1/4 of a Hin of oil for a lamb and the same amount of wine, 1/3 of a Hin of oil and the same amount of wine for a ram and 1/2 Hin of oil and the same of wine for a young of cattle or bullock.<sup>4</sup> This in itself is an indication that the wine is dependent upon the oil—constituting an additional ingredient added to the conventional

represents the combination of two distinct themes (1) the *nāzîr* law and (2) the laws regarding the one who vows to "separate" himself for a limited period, i. e., to become a temporary *nāzîr*—a later practice. The detailed analysis of this chapter must be left for some other occasion.

<sup>1</sup> v. 1—16 is a little *Tôrâ*—furnishing general regulations for sacrifices and has no connection with the following sections which deal with miscellaneous ordinances, put together without any apparent method. The chapter is sandwiched in between a narrative of the people's murmurings against Jahweh and the rebellion of Korah.

<sup>2</sup> These two chapters form a little *Tôrâ* of sacrificial regulations for the daily offerings, for the Sabbath, for the new moon, for the Passover, for the "day of firstlings", for the first and tenth days of the seventh month and for the *Ḥag* or pilgrimage festival.

<sup>3</sup> Num. 15, 4—9; 28, 5—7, 14. In the latter passage "and their libations are 1/2 of a Hin for a bullock, 1/3 of a Hin for a ram and 1/2 of a Hin for a bullock"—thus specified once for all, so that in the rest of the two chapters, the amount is briefly indicated by the phrase "their libations".

<sup>4</sup> Num. 15. 8 *בְּרֵבָקָר* = *פֶּרֶ* Num. 29, 12. 14 etc. etc. The combination *פֶּרֶ בְּרֵבָקָר* Ex. 29, 1. Lev. 4, 3. 14; 16, 3; 23, 18; Num. 8. 8; 15, 24; 29, 2; Ezek. 43, 19. 22. 23. 25 etc. (and *פָּרִים בְּנֵי בָקָר* Num. Chapt. 28, 11. 19; 29, 13. 17) is a later redundant designation.

*minḥa* of "flour mixed with oil". The manner in which the wine is always tacked on (Num. 15, 5. 7. 10; 28, 7—8, 14)<sup>1</sup> as is a further indication of the supplemental character of the libation. Similarly, in Lev. 23<sup>2</sup> (Holiness Code) detailing regulations for the three festivals (Passover, Shabuot, and Sukkot) and the first and tenth<sup>3</sup> days of the seventh month, the libation of wine for the *minḥa* introduced only in the case of the "wave" offering on the day after the first day of Passover (v. 13) is tacked on to "flour mixed with oil" in an unmistakable manner.<sup>4</sup>

In confirmation of the view here taken of the wine as a later addition to the flour and oil, we find in Lev. Chapter 2, where the *minḥā* offering is set forth in detail, that the wine is omitted. In its place, apparently, we find the frankincense which is attached to the flour and oil.<sup>5</sup> A handful of the flour and oil with all of the frankincense is placed as a "memorial"<sup>6</sup> (זִכָּרֹה) on the altar, consisting of a "fragrant fire offering", while the rest (i. e., of the flour and oil) is given to the priest, forming as expressly stated "holy of holies of the fire offerings of Jahweh". Verses 4—9 represent again super-

<sup>1</sup> Note how in Num. 28, 15. 24. 31; 29, 11. 16. 19. 22. 25. 28. 31. 34. 38. 39 "libation" or "libations" is added at the close of the verse.

<sup>2</sup> No sacrifices are prescribed in this chapter with the exception of the two "wave" offerings, one consisting of a oneyear old lamb with a *minḥa* for the day after the first day of Passover (v. 11—13) and one for the 50th day after the first day of Passover, consisting of a "new *minḥa* (v. 16—17) specified as two loaves of "bread of waving" (לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה) with seven lambs, one bullock, two rams (v. 18)—representing an addition to the "grain" offering to which as a second supplement (v. 19) a goat as a sin-offering and two lambs as a "peace-offering" are attached.

<sup>3</sup> יוֹם הַעֲשָׂרִים הַזֶּה (v. 27. 28) as the designation of this 10th day is a later gloss. In v. 27, the Greek version omits these words.

<sup>4</sup> v. 13 "and its *minḥa* 2:20 of fine flour mixed with oil as a fire offering to Jahweh, a pleasant fragrance" clearly ends with רִיחַ נִיחֹחַ. To this there is added rather awkwardly "and its libation" to which furthermore on the basis of Num. 15 and 28—29 the gloss "1/4 of a Hin" is added. The amount of oil, be it noted, is not stipulated here any more than it is in Lev. Chap. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Lev. 2, 1—3.

<sup>6</sup> I use the conventional renderings for the technical term זִכָּרֹה, רִיחַ, נִיחֹחַ, אֶשֶׁם, חֶסֶת, שְׁלֵמִים, גִּיחֹחַ etc., though I am satisfied that all of them need investigation and that they embody much more primitive notions than are conveyed by the usual translations.

imposed layers upon the original *minhā* ordinance, indicating the various forms in which the mixture of flour and oil may be brought as (1) cakes or wafers baked in an oven, (2) baked in a flat pan in small pieces with oil poured on them or, (3) in a cauldron (?) (מִנְחַת כִּרְחֶשֶׁת). In all cases some of the *minhā* is burnt on the altar and the rest given to the priests.<sup>1</sup> Wine, however, is not mentioned and since it is stipulated that the cakes are to be "unleavened" (מִצֹּת v. 4—5) and it is further expressly stated that the *minhā* is not to consist of any leaven, (v. 11) it is evident that the wine as a fermented product would by virtue of this be absolutely excluded.

Similarly, in the *minhā* prescribed in the second purification ritual<sup>2</sup> for the one healed of the *šāra'at* we have flour with oil<sup>3</sup> but no wine and so in the *minhā* prescribed as a "guilt"

<sup>1</sup> Lev. 7, 9 where these three forms of *minhā* are again mentioned, but no reference is made to any *azkārā*.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. 14, 8<sup>b</sup>—20. See the study of this ritual in the writer's paper on Leviticus, 13 and 14—above referred to.

<sup>3</sup> The amount of oil is here specified in a gloss as "one log" (Lev. 14, 10, 12; also v. 24 in the "substitute" offering). Although the term *minhā* is introduced (v. 10) and the amount of flour specified as 3/20, this is done in order to make the ritual conform to the later practice of attaching a *minhā* to every animal sacrifice as set forth in Numbers 15 and 28—29. In the purification ritual the oil *alone* is utilized (Lev. 14, 15—18; 26—29) and instead of being partly offered with the flour on the altar and the rest given to the priest, it is used like the blood of the "guilt" offering (v. 14, 25) to touch the ear lobe, the right thumb, and the right large toe of the one to be purified and the rest to be poured over his head. This is certainly not a *minhā*, but some primitive rite to make the one out of whom the demon of disease has been driven immune against a renewed invasion. In this case the animal sacrifices have been superimposed upon the "oil" rite; and here again two layers may be recognized (a) an earlier one represented by an ewe (v. 10 cf. Lev. 5, 6) as a guilt offering (v. 14) and (b) two lambs (v. 10) one as a sin offering, the other as a burnt offering (v. 19) in accordance with the conventional later practice. With the growth of the priestly organization—especially in the sanctuary at Jerusalem—necessitating the providing of an income for the priests, animal sacrifices became predominant and the *minhā* became an adjunct to the various kinds of animal offerings—sin-offerings, burnt offerings and peace-offerings—with the natural tendency to increase these offerings steadily. A good illustration of this tendency is to be seen in a comparison of Ez. 46, 6—7 with Num. 28, 11—15, the sacrifices for the new moon, viz:

offering (נֶפֶשׁ) (Lev. 5, 11—12) for the one who cannot afford even two turtle doves or two pigeons as a substitute for the ewe or kid (female), there is no wine, any more than in the *minhā* which is to accompany the “peace offering” (Lev. 7, 12—13). Furthermore, in a comparison of the sacrificial regulations for the new moon as given in Ezekiel, 46, 6—7 with Num. 28, 11—15, we have the direct proof that the wine is a later addition, for Ezekiel *does not mention it*, while it is included, as above set forth, in the Priestly Code.<sup>1</sup>

The obvious conclusion therefore is that the wine represents a later addition to the ritual and the omission in Ezekiel forms a definite terminus for the introduction. It is clearly post-exilic and the manner in which the libation of wine has been tacked on to the *minhā* in the three sections discussed furthermore shows that even in the post-exilic codes, the wine represents a later layer superimposed on earlier ones. The

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Ezekiel	Numbers
1 bullock	2 bullocks
6 lambs	7 lambs
1 ram	1 ram

On the other hand the *minhā* is larger in Ezekiel.

Ezekiel	Numbers
1 Ephā (of flour) for the bullock	3/20 of an Ephā for each bullock
1 Ephā for the ram	2/20 for the ram
As much as one can afford for the lambs	1/10 for each lamb
One Hîn of oil for each Ephā	

The amount of oil is not specified in Numbers but the assumption is (cf. Num. 28, 5; 15, 4. 5. 9) 1/2 Hîn for the bullock, 1/3 Hîn for the ram and 1/4 Hîn for each lamb as is shown by the amount of wine (*only* in Numbers!) in v. 14. See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch* I, p. 128. In Lev., chapters 1 and 3—5 specifying the regulations for the burnt offering (עֹלָה) peace offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים) for the sin offering (חַטָּאת) and guilt offering (עֲשׂוּת) no *minhā* is attached, but in Chap. 6, it is tacked on to the burnt-offering (v. 7—11) and in Chap. 7, 11—13, it is rather awkwardly dovetailed into the “peace” offering as a kind of supplemental “thanksgiving” offering (תְּנוּחָה). Clearly then the practice as detailed in Num. 15 and 28—29 where the *minhā* appears as the regular addition represents the later practice.

<sup>1</sup> The *āsām* is not to be distinguished in the Codes from the *ḥattāt*, as the statement, Lev. 7, 7 “There is one law for the *ḥattāt* as for the *āsām*” or Lev. 14, 13 “the *āsām* is like the *ḥattāt*” shows. Whether originally there was a distinction is another question which is probably to be answered in the affirmative.

innovation therefore belongs to a period when all opposition to the use of fermented wine had disappeared, when it had not only become a common article of daily life but when wine had become as in Psalm 104 and Zachariah 10, 7; (cf. also Eccles. 10, 19) a symbol of joy. A trace of the older attitude, however, remained in the prohibition that the priest was not to take wine on entering the sanctuary, because of the old feeling that wine drinking leads to drunkenness.<sup>1</sup> The subject is of interest because of the extensive use to which wine was put in the later Jewish ritual where, as is well-known, the wine becomes the symbol for the sanctification of the Sabbath and of the Jewish festivals<sup>2</sup> and which is reflected in the New Testament passages regarding wine.<sup>3</sup>

It is thus a far cry from the opposition to viniculture expressed in Genesis—maintained by the Rechabites down to the time of the Exile and implied in the Nazir's abstention from wine—to the use of wine as indicated in the latest layers of the Pentateuchal Codes, and it is a still wider step to the blessings over the "fruit of the wine" which is such a significant feature of the official Jewish ritual<sup>4</sup> and to the use of four cups of wine as marking the divisions of the family service—the so-called *Seder*—on the eve of the Passover festival.

In view of the recent investigations of Professor Erdmanns,<sup>5</sup> which have again moved the question as to the composition of the Pentateuchal Codes into the foreground, it is, I think, of some importance to show through a specific example, as I

<sup>1</sup> May we perhaps see in the Talmudic ordinance (*Berakot* 31a) forbidding any one who has taken a certain quantity of wine from reciting the prescribed prayers, a further trace of this feeling? See Mittwoch, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets und Kultus" (*Abh. Kgl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wiss. 1913, Phil.-Hist. Klasse.* Nr. 2, p. 14).

<sup>2</sup> See the article *Kiddush* in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* VI, p. 483, and Talmud Babli *Berakot* 35a.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew 26, 27—29 = Mark 14, 23—25 = Luke 22, 17—18. Wine was considered the natural accompaniment to a marriage feast (John 2, 3—10). The passages in I Timothy 5, 23 where Timothy is urged not to drink water but to "use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine other infirmities" is significant, though naturally the warning against over-indulgence is still inculcated. e. g. I Timothy 3, 8; Titus 2, 3; Eph. 5, 18. The reference to the use of oil and wine for wounds in Luke 10, 34 is interesting.

<sup>4</sup> *Berakot* (*Mišnā*) VI, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Alttestamentliche Studien.* (4 Parts) See especially the 4th part giving the results of his study of Leviticus.

have endeavored here, the way in which the Codes reflect varying social conditions separated from one another by a span of several centuries. Prof. Erdmanns is no doubt right in many of his contentions as to the age of many of the provisions in the so-called Priestly Code and the Holiness Code. The criticism to be passed upon his analysis of Leviticus is that it does not go deep enough, whereas on the other hand his conclusions are too radical and not warranted by the evidence that he brings forward. Instead of maintaining that the entire legislation in the Pentateuch is pre-exilic, I venture to set up the thesis that *all* the Codes conventionally recognized by critics show evidence of having originated at a time when the religious organization at the sanctuaries scattered throughout Palestine was very simple, the religious practices still close to primitive phases of religious beliefs and the social conditions correspondingly simple. Over this basic stratum, a large number of layers have been superimposed, representing (a) more or less radical modifications of the original laws to adapt them to later conditions, and to make them conform to the needs of a large central sanctuary with an elaborately organized priesthood that had to be provided for; (b) priestly decisions in answer to questions regarding the scope and specific application of any given law; (c) comments of an explanatory character including glosses, definition of terms, variant expressions and the like. In other words we have in these Codes the same process that is to be seen in the superimposition of the *Gemārā* upon the *Mišnā* in the regulations of Rabbinical Judaism. The result is that the Pentateuchal Codes represent a *continuous* tradition and growing practice, extending from early days to the definite organization—though largely theoretical—of the post-exilic temple service. For the sake of convenience, such designations as the Priestly Code with its various subdivisions<sup>1</sup> may be retained, but it must be recognized that the terms do not convey any sense of organic unity, and that the subdivisions recognized have nothing more than a formal value. Each little section consisting frequently of a few verses only must be taken by itself and separated into its component parts—basic stratum and superimposed layers—and the attempt made to differentiate between the

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<sup>1</sup> See Carpenter and Battersby, *Hexateuch* I, p. 155 seq.

social and religious conditions reflected in the original law and those indicated in the subsequent accretions.<sup>1</sup> Frequently, however, these little sections have been combined into a group where again the process corresponding to the growth of a *Gemārā* around a *Mišnā* may be followed in detail. Briefly put, the Pentateuchal Codes, properly interpreted, form the accompaniment to the social and religious evolution of Hebrew civilization from the beginnings of a confederation of the Hebrew tribes to the time of Ezra and perhaps even for some decades beyond Ezra.

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<sup>1</sup> I have endeavored to do this in the case of the *šāra'at* legislation (Lev. 13—14) in the article several times referred to and I hope to follow this up by studies of such sections as the Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), the Nazirite *Tôrā* (Num. 6), the "red heifer" (Num. 19), the ordeal in the case of the woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5), etc., all of which will, I think, through the application of this method yield valuable results.

*The Mystery of Fu-lin.*—By FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Professor  
in Columbia University, New York City.

## II.

(Continued from Vol. xxx, 1909, p. 31.)

### 9. The Emperor Yang-ti's Fu-lin.

At the time to which this name Fu-lin, said to correspond to the Ta-ts'in of the later Han period, is first applied in Chinese literature China had no political relations with either Rome or Byzantium. We read in the *K'iu-t'ang-shu*<sup>1</sup> that "the Emperor Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty [A. D. 605—617] always wished to open intercourse with Fu-lin, but did not succeed." We do not read in the *Sui-shu* history of Yang-ti's reign of any attempt to communicate in a direct way with Fu-lin, whether this represents Syria or the great Roman empire of which it formed a part at times; but since the *T'ang-shu*<sup>2</sup> speaks of P'ei Kū, the Emperor's Commissioner in Central Asia, who "communicated with all countries except T'ien-chu (India) and Fu-lin," we may take it for granted that the attempt to realize the emperor's wish was made through P'ei Kū and his emissaries. Knowing from the passage referred to that P'ei Kū failed in this attempt "to his regret," as the text adds, we have in the first instance to look for the motive of the emperor's desire and the reason which may have interfered with the desired communication.

It has been suggested by Professor Chavannes that the first knowledge of Fu-lin may have reached China through the Turks, who cultivated friendly relations with the Romans under Justin in 568. But these relations must have lasted but a very short time, since the Roman ambassador Valentine, sent to the Turkish court by Tiberius Caesar in 576 to announce his

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<sup>1</sup> *R. O.*, K. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 221 A, p. 25 B, quoted *J. A. O. S.* xxx 8.



ascension to the Byzantine throne, met with a most ungracious reception, which put an end to all friendship between the Turks and Byzantium.<sup>1</sup> While that friendly intercourse between Western Turks and Romans lasted and afterwards during the Northern Ts'i and Ch'ou dynasties, and up to the ascent of Yang-ti of the Sui in 605, there are no passages on record showing that anyone in China took particular interest in either the old Ta-ts'in (Syria) or Fu-lin, said later on to be its equivalent. Had this been the case the Chinese would have had every opportunity to collect information through the Western Turks, and it appears that, after a long pause marked by indifference as regards the traditional Ta-ts'in accounts, the first mention in a Chinese record which points to renewed interest being taken in the country is the remark found in the *T'ang-shu* about Yang-ti's having in vain tried to communicate with Fu-lin. Who knows whether he did not even then call the country Ta-ts'in and whether the new name Fu-lin was not substituted for it by the *T'ang-shu* historian after it had become familiar through the Nestorians settled in China? We have to admit this possibility even for the occurrence of the name in the *Sui-shu*, in the description of Persia<sup>2</sup> and the biography of P'ei Kū,<sup>3</sup> because the final editing of this text fell in the year 636, that is the very time when it was likely to be affected by information brought to China by the Nestorians.

If we enquire into the possible motives which may have prompted Yang-ti's wish for intercourse with India and Fu-lin, we have to dismiss from the outset all political schemes. For during the greater part of his reign Yang-ti managed his Turkish neighbours well enough without any foreign allies. The only country which gave him serious trouble was Corea. But what help could he have expected from India or from distant Fu-lin in his campaigns in the extreme north-east of his empire? His wishes were dictated far more by a kind of personal vanity, which led him into a life of luxurious splendour. Not too long after his ascent to the

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<sup>1</sup> See Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue, -Turcs-occidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 233—242, where Chinese and western sources are united into the best historical sketch we possess on these relations.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 67.

throne his confidential adviser P'ei Kū had managed to kindle a certain ethnographical curiosity peculiar to the Emperor's character into a regular passion to see ambassadors from all possible foreign countries visit his court. His love of spectacular court festivities is one of the characteristics of his reign, and he may have felt flattered by the presence and admiration of so many foreigners at his gorgeous shows. Among these the strangers from the west seem to have monopolized his interest. P'ei Kū had acquainted him in his work, the *Si-yü-t'u-ki*,<sup>1</sup> with the result of his enquiries among the Central-Asiatic traders he had met during his residence in Chang-yé in Western Kan-su. Of this work we possess not much more than the preface, reproduced in P'ei Kū's biography.<sup>2</sup> Its description, accompanied by coloured illustrations and a map, of forty-four foreign countries has not been preserved to our days, but the subject matter of its text must have been absorbed in the ethnographical chapters of the *Sui-shu*. From the description of the three roads leading to the Far West from Tun-huang, the thorough-fare from China, in the present northwest Kan-su, we find in this preface the terminus of all of them to be "the Western Sea",<sup>3</sup> apparently corresponding to the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, reached by the way of Fu-lin, Persia and Northern Po-lo-mön or Beluchistan respectively. "The Western Sea", the account says, "produces so many precious and strange things";<sup>4</sup> and this was apparently the chief attraction in P'ei Kū's ethnographical speculations. Apart from what P'ei Kū and his emissaries had themselves seen, their knowledge of the more distant countries was based on former records, such as those of the Eastern Han dynasty, which were full of reports on the "precious and strange things" found in the countries of the Western Sea, especially in Ta-ts'in or Syria. The reputation of this country as a producer of all the mineral treasures and the manufactures in jewelry required to feed the market of a luxuriant race was not confined to the Roman

<sup>1</sup> 西域圖記, regarding which see my paper "Über die chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss Zentralasiens unter der Herrschaft der Sassaniden," *W. Z. K. M.* x 228 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Sui-shu*, chap. 67, p. 10 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Si-hai* 西海.

<sup>4</sup> 西海多產珍異.

empire, east or west; it was also the traditional El Dorado of the Chinese according to their literary tradition. We need not wonder, therefore, to see a sovereign of Yang-ti's well known extravagance long for an extension of his ethnographical horizon beyond Eastern Turkestan and Persia to the further west, where the very best jewels were found in the greatest quantities. The same motive that made him cultivate the friendship of nearer countries which sent to his court ambassadors with tribute in the shape of articles of intrinsic value made him regret his inability to communicate with that storehouse of jewels Fu-lin. For it was for the special purpose of 'collecting the treasures of the western countries that he induced P'ei Kū to go to Chang-yé as superintendent of international trade. There the clever diplomat enticed traders by holding out advantages and so got them to visit the court. From this arose the traffic of the foreigners of the Western regions, which entailed expenses amounting to millions to the intermediate perfectures for the purpose of escorts and welcome."<sup>1</sup>

So much for the motive underlying Yang-ti's longing for Fu-lin. The reason why his emissaries could not reach that country can be guessed at from the political situation in Syria at that time. I have not been able to ascertain the exact year in which Yang-ti's ambassador Li Yü was sent to the Persian court. We merely learn in the account of Persia<sup>2</sup> that "Yang-ti sent Li Yü, a hereditary noble of the eighth class, to go to Po-si [Persia] in order to solicit the sending of ambassadors to follow Li Yü with products of that country as tribute".<sup>3</sup>

From the way the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui* registers the fact it would appear that the mission may have been sent during any of the thirteen years of the Ta-yé period, i. e. 605 to 617. During all this time fighting took place somewhere in Western Asia between the Persians and the Romans. Hostilities had begun soon after the coronation of Phocas as emperor in 602, who had caused his predecessor Mauricius, the personal friend and

<sup>1</sup> 以西域多諸寶物令裴矩往張掖監諸商胡互市  
啖之以利勸令入朝自是西域諸蕃往來相繼所經  
州郡疲於送迎糜費以萬萬計 *Sui-shu*, chap. 24, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Sui-shu*, chap. 83, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> 煬帝遣雲騎尉李昱使通波斯尋使隨昱貢方物。

benefactor of King Khosru of Persia, to be murdered, thus creating a casus belli for a bloody strife which outlasted the life of Yang-ti as well as that of Phocas, whose successor, Heraclius, saw most of his Asiatic possessions wrenched from him by Persian armies. It goes without saying that under the circumstances the Persians would not have allowed the Chinese ambassador to proceed to Fu-lin, whether we look for it in Syria or in Byzantium. For, neither could they guarantee him safe conduct nor was it in Khosru's interest to see him join the enemy.

On the other hand it is most likely that the ambassador's curiosity about Fu-lin was further stimulated by the existence of a Syrian colony in Madain, one of the cities where Persian rulers resided, formed of the union of the two cities Ctesiphon and Seleucia, for which reason we find either of these old names occasionally applied to it. It is generally held to have been the capital of Persia, but the kings, especially Khosru II, resided in several other places in turn.<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt which of these places was held to be the capital by the Chinese mission under Yang-ti. It is clearly indicated by the mention of it in the account of Persia reproduced in the *Sui-shu*.<sup>2</sup> "The capital", it is stated there, "is at the city of Su-lin west of the river Ta-ho,<sup>3</sup> that is the site of ancient T'iauch'i [Chaldaea]. Their king's by-name is K'u-sat-ho [=Khosru]."<sup>4</sup> This city of Su-lin is clearly identical with Seleucia on the western shore of the Tigris. In another account the city is called Su-li and of it the text says: "the river passes through the middle of the city, flowing south", which again clearly refers to the cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon united to form

<sup>1</sup> "The Sassanian court, though generally held at Ctesiphon, migrated to other cities, if the king so pleased, and is found established, at one time in the old Persian capital, Persepolis, at another in the comparatively modern city of Dastagherd. The monarchs maintained from first to last numerous palaces which they visited at their pleasure and made their residence for a longer or a shorter period." "Chosroes II built one nearer Takht-i-Bostan." Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 642 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 83. p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Old sound Tat-hot or Tat-got, standing for Talgat or Taglat, i.e. Diglat, the Tigris.

<sup>4</sup> 波斯國都達曷水之西蘇閼城即條支之故地也其王字庫薩和。

the one city of Madain, the Tigris flowing south between the two cities<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely possible that the Chinese visitors could have spent some time at King Khosru II's court without coming into contact with the Nestorians living under their patriarch on the other side of the river in Ctesiphon. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Nestorians, though persecuted and martyred under Persian and Khalif rule before and after this time, happened to be in high favour just with Khosru II, who according to Assemani patronized them, in order to spite the emperor Heraclius, also a Christian, it is true, but strongly opposed to Nestorian heretics, the adversaries of the orthodox Roman church and friends of the Persians. He had for this reason taken the church of Edessa from the orthodox clergy and handed it over to the Nestorians and forced all the other Christians under his jurisdiction to embrace the Nestorian "heresy".<sup>2</sup>

The patriarch of the Nestorians, we may conclude from all this, was under Khosru II a much more important personage than we might expect him to be as a mere clergyman. We learn from Assemani's further remarks that Nestorian patriarchs were sent by Khosru as ambassadors to Byzantium, and it appears that, in those all important relations with the Roman empire, they were the confidential advisers of the King, whose favour raised them to a quasi-political position as heads of the entire Christian population.

#### 10. Fu-lin confounded with Persia.

When the first Nestorians came to the capital of China, in 635, they were allowed to build a church and, since they came from Persia, that church was called "the Persian Church",<sup>3</sup> and O-lo-pün, the leader of that first western expedition, was called "a Persian Priest".<sup>4</sup> As such he is described in the Imperial edict authorizing the practice of Nestorian rites, dat-

<sup>1</sup> *Wei-shu*, chap. 102, p. 12: 宿利城 \* \* \* 河經其城中南流.

<sup>2</sup> "Omnium Persarum regum maxime Nestorianis favit Chosroes Abriuzus, qui ut Heraclio Imperatori aegre faceret, Edessenam Ecclesiam Orthodoxis ereptam, Nestorianis tradidit, et reliquos suae ditionis Christianos ad amplexandam Nestorii haeresim adegit". Assemani, IV p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> *Po-ssü-shi* 波斯寺.

<sup>4</sup> *Po-ssü-söng* 波斯僧.

ed 638 and preserved in the *T'ang-hui-yau*.<sup>1</sup> The Nestorians, however, did not look upon themselves as Persians. They were merely the guests of Persia; exiles, prisoners, treated as slaves at times and as friends and a most useful element of the population at others. Their real home, at least that of their leaders, was in Syria.<sup>2</sup> It probably took the Chinese over a hundred years to realize this. For it appears that the Christian churches continued to be called "Persian" until the year 745, when another edict was issued saying that "since the Persian religion came from Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syria], the names of the Persian churches in the two capitals would have to be changed into Ta-ts'in [i. e. Syrian] churches."<sup>3</sup> If we take into consideration the simple fact that in all Chinese passages bearing on this point the two names Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin are declared to apply to one and the same country, we are led most naturally to think of the inmates of the first Nestorian church, or monastery, established in China as the foreigners who introduced the name Fu-lin as a substitute for Ta-ts'in. Since the Buddhists, whose leaders had come from India, called their country after Buddha's home "Magadha", they followed this precedent and called their country, Syria, after Christ's home "Bethlehem", of which "Fu-lin" in its old pronunciation *but-lin* is the transcription.<sup>4</sup>

## II. The name Fu-lin applied to the Patriarchal court.

The outcome of my enquiries into the meaning in Chinese literature of this term Fu-lin is this: we must be prepared, according to time and circumstances, to interpret it in three different senses, viz.

1. The court of the Nestorian patriarch in Madain or Ctesiphon together with the Christian population of Persia, which had come from Syria;
2. Syria itself;
3. the Roman empire with Byzantium as its capital.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 6 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> 波斯經教出自大秦傳習而來久行中國 \* \* \* 其兩京波斯寺宜改為大秦寺. Havret, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 3—4.

As an example of the first-named among these three interpretations, I wish to refer to a passage in the *T'ang-shu*,<sup>1</sup> treating, in an account of Persia, on an episode in the history of that country regarding which we happen to possess some information in western authors. "After the murder of Khosru II," the text says, "his son Shī-li [Sheroe] ascended the throne. Yabgu Kagan sent governors to watch and direct him. After the death of Shī-li [Sheroe] Persia would no longer be subject [to the Turks] and made Khosru's daughter Queen. The Turks killed her, too. *Sheroe's son Tan-kié then took refuge in Fu-lin* and the people acknowledged him as heir to the throne. This was I-ta-chī [Ardeshir III]." <sup>2</sup>

I quite agree with Chavannes in the identification of the name I-ta-chī with that of Ardeshir III. But if Ardeshir III, a minor, is said to have taken refuge in Fu-lin, the political situation forbids the assumption of his having gone to either Constantinople or any other place held by the Romans at the time. For the young Prince had a dangerous opponent to his accession to the throne in the person of a close friend of the Romans, Shahr-Barz, who, "before committing himself to the perils of rebellion, negotiated with Heraclius and secured his alliance and support by the promise of certain advantages". The Roman emperor is even said to have supplied Shahr-Barz with troops to assist him in his struggle against Ardeshir and his guardian Mihr-Hasis.<sup>3</sup> To flee to Byzantium or to the Romans anywhere would have amounted to a surrender of his cause. Fu-lin has, therefore, to be looked for in some other region. The place of refuge was in reality not Constantinople, but according to Tabari the city of Ctesiphon, which had been fortified for the purposes of defence against Shahr-Barz and to which Ardeshir *had been brought* [sic] with his royal household.<sup>4</sup> Ctesiphon, it is true, was one of the places of residence of the Persian kings; but at the time there was no king besides Ardeshir, and since Tabari says distinctly that *he was*

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 221 B., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 殺王庫薩和其子施利立葉護使部帥監統施利死遂不肯臣立庫薩和女爲王突厥又殺之施利之子單羯方奔拂菻國人迎立之是爲伊但支. Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, etc., p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 541 seq.

<sup>4</sup> Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 387.

brought there, he must have previously resided at some other capital and Ctesiphon must be looked upon as a place of refuge *ad hoc*. As far as western authors go, we certainly know of no other place to which Ardeshir III can be said to have fled than Ctesiphon. Why then does the Chinese historian, whom we may suspect of having received his information through the Nestorians residing in China, then the only foreigners hailing from Persia, call Ctesiphon Fu-lin? I am inclined to think that the protection the prince expected to find there was of a moral kind in the first instance. For the only man in the country who might have been able to smooth over the difficulties in which Persia found herself at the time was the head of the Nestorian Christians, Yeshu'yabh, who held the patriarchal throne from 628 to 682 A. D. This view may be supported by the following facts, placed on record by Mar Amr.<sup>1</sup> "During the reign of Yeshu'yabh, Sheroe<sup>2</sup> had died and Artaxerxes [Ardeshir] had succeeded him, after whose death by murder Sheroe's sister Bôrân [Baurâna] took charge of the kingdom. Further, since the kingdom of the Persians had been in trouble through the action of its kings at the time of Sheroe and Ardeshir, the queen was afraid to enter [the government of] the kingdom falling to her, and thus she sent this father [Yeshu'yabh] on an honourable mission to Heraclius, the Roman emperor, for the purpose of renewing the treaty of peace, and she sent with him bishops and metropolitans," etc. According to Bar Hebraeus the Patriarch had been ordained in 626 A. D., and from the manner in which he represents the situation<sup>3</sup> it appears that he had been sent to Heraclius by Sheroe, that in the replies he gave the Emperor about his religious views he had utterly disavowed his Nestorian principles, that some of his own people would have liked to see him deposed on account of this betrayal, but that the Persian king supported him against his adversaries.<sup>4</sup> Whichever of the two versions may be correct, it appears that Yeshu'yabh held a confidential position with either Ardeshir's father, or his aunt Bôrân, or both, and that young Ardeshir's flight to Ctesiphon, called Fu-lin by the Chinese historian, was

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II p. 31.<sup>2</sup> Or Kobad II, Ardeshir's father.<sup>3</sup> Abbeloos and Lamy, Vol. III pp. 114—116.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Assemani, III p. 105.



dictated by the wish to benefit by the advice and moral protection of the patriarch, the shrewd diplomat and former ambassador to the emperor Heraclius, whose residence was in the Syrian settlement on the Ctesiphon side of the city of Madain.<sup>1</sup>

## 12. Greater Fu-lin.

I have enumerated a number of arguments speaking in favour of the name Fu-lin standing for Syria, or let us say the Roman Orient generally, the identification I had proposed for the name Ta-ts'in. I have, however, always been of the opinion that, according to the knowledge of the Chinese, there was also a "Greater Fu-lin", just as modern developments have shown a Greater Britain grown out of little England. We are now at last in the position to prove that, whatever the vagueness in the Chinese mediaeval accounts of this country may have been, there was at least one traveller as early as the beginning of the eighth century who wrote Chinese and who knew that, besides the Fu-lin of the early Nestorians, there was a Greater Fu-lin to the North-west of it. This knowledge, which might have changed materially the accounts of Fu-lin in the two *T'ang-shu* had their authors known of the existence of the little work recently recovered from the rubbish of an abandoned Buddhist library, has been placed on record by a travelling priest making his way from India to China through Western and Central Asia. This little work, which had been lost to later generations and which possibly had never been circulated to any extent among readers in China, is the *Hui-ch'au-wang-wu-t'ien-chu-kuo-chuan*,<sup>2</sup> i. e., "Account of Hui-ch'au's travels to the countries of the Five Indies." What we have now is merely a fragment the beginning and end of which are lost; but, such as it is, the fragment is a most valuable contribution towards our knowledge of Western Asiatic countries as represented in Chinese literature. It is certainly not the least important among that stupendous mass of old manuscripts recovered by Professor Paul Pelliot from a rock chamber at Tun-huang during his great expedition in 1907—08. The first report on these dis-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. O. S. xxx 7.

<sup>2</sup> 慧超往五天竺國傳.

coveries will be found in a letter addressed by Pelliot to Professor Sénart, dated Tun-huang, March 26, 1908, and reproduced in B.E.F.E.O., Tome VIII, Nos. 3-4, 1908 (p. 11 seq. of the Reprint). On his way from Tun-huang to Paris, where the originals are now preserved, Professor Pelliot paid a visit to Peking. Some learned Chinese of the then Imperial capital were most enthusiastic about these unexpected additions to their native literature and some of them asked permission, before they were taken away to France, to photograph some of the texts discovered in Tun-huang. These texts were transcribed, edited and published by a well known Chinese scholar, Mr. Lo Chön-yü<sup>1</sup> of Peking, under the title *Tun-huang-shih-shih-i-shu*<sup>2</sup> in four fascicules. The book was laid before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres by Professor Chavannes and reported on in the *Comptes rendus* of June 1910, p. 245 seq. Messrs. Chavannes and Pelliot have already turned to account another important fragment published in this valuable collection<sup>3</sup> in their learned paper "Un traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine" in the *Journ. Asiatique*, X. Sér. 18, on p. 500 of which some further notes on Lo Chön-yü's publication will be found. That part of it which interests us on account of the Fu-lin question is Hui-ch'au's report referred to above.

A work of the same title is referred to in the Buddhist thesaurus *I-ts'ie-king-yin-i*, chap. 100. But here the first character, *Hui*, in the traveller's name in the title, as given in the body of the book, is 惠 instead of 慧, which character appears in the Index, though. This need not make us feel suspicious, because the two characters are often confounded in the names of Buddhist monks.<sup>4</sup> The book on which the *I-ts'ie-king-yin-i* is supposed to give a commentary must have been differently arranged, since on the one hand many of the names occurring in the fragment are not explained, and on the other it contains names not found in the fragment. In the text itself (p. 14) the traveller says that he came to An-si,<sup>5</sup> the seat of a Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> 羅振玉.

<sup>2</sup> 敦煌石室遺書.

<sup>3</sup> For its loan I am indebted to Mr. K. Asakawa. Professor and Curator of Japanese and Chinese collections at Yale University, who was also the first to draw my attention to the occurrence in it of the names Little and Greater Fu-lin.

<sup>4</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot, op. cit. p. 504, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 安西.

resident, at the beginning of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of K'ai-yüan, which date corresponds to the year 727 A. D. The few years preceding this date must, therefore, be regarded as the time to which the traveller's account applies. This fragment, as far as it goes, covers the same ground as Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-t'ang-si-yü-ki*, which is nearly a century older, and it repeats, or confirms, many of the facts we may gather from the older books. Yet it is full of interest on account of the clear idea it gives us of the political relations during one of the most interesting periods of Islamic rule in Western Asia. It also throws many valuable sidelights on questions not sufficiently clear in the accounts of previous and later authors. If, for instance, anyone were to doubt with the late Mr. Kingsmill<sup>1</sup> the identity of Su-lö<sup>2</sup> with Kashgar, the starting point of so many of his errors, a passage in Hui-ch'au's fragment saying that "the people of foreign countries themselves call it K'ie-shi-k'ili,"<sup>3</sup> which name by all the rules of transcription represents the sound "Kashgir", is apt to remove every shadow of uncertainty. I subjoin the translation with the corresponding Chinese texts of a few pages which are apt to throw light on our subject. The headings (Persia, etc.) have been added by me.

Translation, pp. 10—11.

[Persia.]

From T'u-huo-lo [Tokharestan] you go one month and come to the country of Po-ssî [Persia]. The ancestors of these kings had held sway over the Ta-shî [Arabs]. The Ta-shî [Arabs] had been camel drivers to the kings of Po-ssî [Persia]. Afterwards they had rebelled and then killed the other kings and set themselves up as masters of the country. So it happened that now this country has been by force swallowed up by the Ta-shî [Arabs]. Their dress is the old one, namely a wide cotton shirt. They cut beard and hair. As regards food they indulge only in pastry and meat, but they have rice which is also ground into pastry and eaten. The country produces camels,

<sup>1</sup> See my paper "Mr. Kingsmill and the Hiung-nu", *J. A. O. S.* xxx 35.

<sup>2</sup> 疎勒.

<sup>3</sup> 外國人呼伽師祇離國.

mules, sheep, horses of extraordinary height and donkeys, cotton cloth and precious stones. The dialects spoken in the country differ from each other and from those of the remaining countries. The inhabitants being by nature bent on commerce, they are in the habit of sailing in big craft on the western sea, and they enter the southern sea to the Country of Lions [Ceylon], where they get precious stones, for which reason it is said of the country that it produces precious stones. They also go to the K'un-lun country<sup>1</sup> to fetch gold. They also sail in big craft to the country of Han [China] straight to Canton for silk piece goods and the like ware. The country produces good fine cotton. The inhabitants enjoy the killing of living creatures [cattle]; they serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha.

### [The Ta-shī,-Arabs.]

From the country of Po-ssī [Persia]<sup>2</sup> you go north ten days into the hills [the continent?] and reach the country of the Ta-shī [Arabs]. Their kings do not live in their native country,<sup>3</sup> but they saw their residence (moved) into the country of Siaufu-lin.<sup>4</sup> On account of their having gained possession of that country by overcoming it, that country has retreated to places in the hills [on the continent?] and on islands but rarely visited.<sup>5</sup> That country produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and wollen rugs. They have also precious stones. Their dress consists of a wide shirt of fine cotton and they throw over it a cotton cloth to serve as an upper garment.<sup>6</sup> The king and the people wear garments of the same kind and there is no distinction between them. The women also wear

<sup>1</sup> Coast of Africa? Cf. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, etc., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the western part of it, because Po-ssī was said in the preceding paragraph to be a month's journey west of Tokhara.

<sup>3</sup> Arabia with Medina as the capital of former caliphs.

<sup>4</sup> Little Fu-lin, Syria, with Damascus as the residence of Ommeyyad caliphs ever since Muawiyah transferred his capital from Medina to Syria and still so in 727, when the information laid down in this text had just been collected. Possibly 見 = 現, "now" instead of "they saw."

<sup>5</sup> Possibly an allusion to the Byzantine Romans having been compelled to retreat from their Asiatic possessions in Syria to Asia Minor and Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Caftan.

wide shirts. Men cut the hair of their heads, but grow beards; women keep their hair growing. As to food, high and low without distinction eat from the same bowl, seizing food with their hands, but they also help themselves with spoons. In selecting [food] they look for the most unsavoury.<sup>1</sup> To eat what one has killed with one's own hands brings wealth without measure. The inhabitants love killing [living creatures, cattle]. They serve Heaven [Allah] and do not know the law of Buddha. The laws of the country do not contain the law of kneeling down.<sup>2</sup>

### [Ta-Fu-lin.]

The country of Little Fu-lin<sup>3</sup> is near the sea. North-west of it there is the country of Greater Fu-lin. The army of this king is strong and numerous and [his kingdom] is not connected with [or subject to] the remaining countries. The Ta-shī have several times attacked it without effect.<sup>4</sup> And the T'u-küé<sup>5</sup> had encroached on its territory likewise without effect. The country has enough of precious stones and more than enough of camels, sheep, horses, cotton cloth and the like produce. The mode of dress resembles that of Po-ssī [Persia] and the Ta-shī [Arabs], but the language is different from either of these countries.

<sup>1</sup> T. B. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 104, quotes the following from Fagīr Muhammad As'ad's directions for eating: "Let him not look from dish to dish, nor smell the food, nor pick and choose it. If there should be one dish better than the rest, let him not be greedy on his own account, but let him offer it to others."

<sup>2</sup> Before the king, — apparently referring to the first Arab embassy to the court of China, when the ambassadors refused to perform the prostration before the Emperor, because with their people "one knelt only before Heaven and not before the King."

<sup>3</sup> The characters 拂臨 here used answer in every respect to the usual way of writing the name, viz., 拂菻, and their ancient sound, *fat-lam* or *pat-lam*, is the same.

<sup>4</sup> The great final defeat of the Arabs in 718 must have been fresh in the traveller's memory when he wrote this paragraph.

<sup>5</sup> Turks, first mentioned in connection with Byzantium towards the end of the sixth century; here probably the Bulgars, a quasi-Turkish race, which in 679 had enforced the cession of the Roman province of Moesia and the payment of an annual tribute before the very gates of Constantinople.

Chinese Text, pp. 10—11.

從吐火羅國西行一月至

波斯國此王先管大寔大寔是波斯王放馳戶於後叛便煞  
 彼王自立爲主然今此國却被大寔所吞衣舊著寬氍布衫  
 剪鬚髮食唯餅肉縱然有米亦磨作餅喫也土地出馳騾羊  
 馬出高大驢氍布寶物言音各別不同餘國土地人性受與  
 易常於西海汎舶入南海向師子國取諸寶物所以彼國云  
 出寶物亦向崑崙國取金亦汎舶漢地直至廣州取綾絹絲  
 綿之類土地出好細氍國人愛煞生事天不識佛法又從  
 波斯國北行十日入山至大寔國彼王住不本國見向小拂  
 臨國住也爲打得彼國彼國復居山島處所極罕爲此就彼  
 土地出馳騾羊馬氍布毛毯亦有寶物衣著細氍寬衫衫上  
 又披一疊布以爲上服王及百姓衣服一種無別女人亦著  
 寬衫男人剪髮在鬚女人在髮喫食無問貴賤共同一盃而  
 食手把亦是箸取見極惡云自手煞而食得富無量國人愛  
 煞事天不識佛法國法無有跪拜法也又小拂臨國傍海  
 西北即是大拂臨國此王兵馬強多不屬餘國大寔數迴討  
 擊不得突厥侵亦不得土地足寶物甚足馳騾羊馬疊布等  
 物衣著與波斯大寔相似言音各別不同

Although a few details in these accounts of Persia, the Ommeyyad country and Greater Fu-lin are not quite clear, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the terms Little and Greater Fu-lin (Ta-Fu-lin). This term Ta-Fu-lin can, of course, only refer to the Roman empire with its military power as opposed to "the remaining countries", i. e. Persia, the Arabs, etc. If the ambassadors of Nicephorus Melissenus were accepted by the Chinese court in 1081 as representing the country of Fu-lin (*J. A. O. S.* xxx 24 *seqq.*), it is probably owing to the fact that the existence of a Greater Fu-lin had been known for the preceding three or four hundred years. But this need not affect the question of the meaning of the term when it became first known in China and as it appeared to the historians of the two *T'ang-shu* accounts. I look upon the remark made

with regard to the shifting of the capital of the Ta-shī or Arabs,<sup>1</sup> — as one of the most incontestable proofs for the identity of Fu-lin, here called Siau-Fu-lin, with Syria.

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<sup>1</sup> For the Ta-shī 大寔 of this text is merely another way of writing the name Ta-shī 大食 of the *T'ang-shu*, Chau Ju-kua and other books.

*Tamil Political Divisions in the First Two Centuries of the Christian Era.* — By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The early history of the Tamil kingdoms in southern India is very obscure. From the 9th century onward there is almost a superfluity of epigraphic material. Prior to that time, inscriptions and coins as yet discovered are very few, and almost the only available references to South Indian political conditions are found in stray passages in Hindu and Tamil literature or in occasional references of trade with Greece and Rome.

It may be gathered that before the time of Alexander, the Tamil states, comprising some of the earliest racial elements in India, had been organized under a dynasty that had originated in northern, that is Aryan, India, and that in all probability established itself in Southern India as the result of a naval attack and invasion. This dynasty had first borne the name of Pāndya, and it claimed descent from Pāndu, the father of the Pāndava brothers, the heroes of the war recounted in the Mahābhārata. Several references in Greek literature speak in this connection. Arrian (*Indika*, VIII) derives the dynasty from Pandæa, "only daughter of Heracles among many sons. The land where she was born and over which she ruled was named Pandæa after her".

Whatever this dynastic connection may have been, it is certain that its power in South India began at the southern extremity of the peninsula, and that its first capital was at Korkai, the Colchi (Κόλχοι) of the Greek and Roman writers, and that it spread steadily northward until it embraced most of the Tamil elements as far as the border of the Andhra dominions, the modern Mysore. Subsequently the Pāndyan kingdom was separated into three independent states, Chēra,



Chōla and Pāndya (respectively Malabar, Coromandel, and Tinnevely-Madura-S. Travancore). As such they are recorded in the second Rock Edict of Asoka. It seems evident that the boundaries of these three states varied greatly, and that while Chēra, the western kingdom, the modern Malabar, remained relatively quiet, the other two, Chōla and Pāndya, always the wealthiest and most powerful of the trio, were constant rivals and often open enemies.

From the 9th century onward the Chola state was by far the most powerful of the three, and indeed conquered Pāndya and ruled it through a Viceroy who bore the official title of Chōla-Pāndya. But for many centuries before this extension of its power, it seems clear that the Chōla dynasty passed through a long period of relative weakness and almost extinction. One of the features of South Indian history is the incursion of the Pallavas, who established themselves over a great part of western and southern India, not as a colonizing people, but rather as a ruling caste maintaining itself by military power and commanding in that way the subjugation of the native peoples. This dynasty, whose capital was at Kanchī, is known to have flourished between the 4th and 9th centuries A.D., finally succumbing to the combined attacks of the Chalukya dynasty on its northern boundary, and the reviving Chōla power on the south. How long before the 4th century it may have asserted itself, is unknown. But certain indications regarding the political allegiance of the Chōla capital during the first two centuries of the Christian Era suggest that the Pallavas may even have been an important element at that time. It is known that a heterogenous assortment of foreign clans swept over western and southern India as early as the 1st century, that they set up a powerful state in the Cambay region under the Satrap Nahapāna, (78 A.D.) and that they carried on extensive raids farther to the south. In the following century when the Andhras succeeded in overthrowing Nahapāna's dynasty, they set up a memorial to record their victory over the combined Sakas, Yavanas and Pallavas, whom they despised as outcasts and sacrilegious innovators in settled Hindu customs. It is therefore not impossible that the Pallavas as the southern extension of this foreign incursion may have been making themselves felt as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era.

As already stated the earliest capital of the Tamil power was at Korkai. Before the Christian Era the capitals of the three states had been fixed at Karūr in Malabar, Madura and Uraiūr, the modern Trichinopoly. Of these, the last seems to have been by far the richest, most populous and most active, industrially and commercially, of the three. This much may be gathered from the Tamil poems; but the Tamil literature, while it gives a vivid picture of the prosperity of the Chōla capital, does not refer clearly to its political allegiance. It seems to have been singularly subject to attack and control by widely differing political elements. And as early as the 1st century of the Christian Era, the dominant powers in Southern India seem to have been the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and the invading Pallavas; the Chōla state being ground, as it were, between two mill-stones.

Strabo (XV, iv, 73) mentions an embassy from "King Pandion" to the Emperor Augustus in 20 B.C. Pliny (VI, 23), the Periplus (§ 54) and Ptolemy (VII) all agree in their accounts of the prosperous trade at the seaports on either side of Cape Comorin. It was a trade largely in the products of the Chōla textile industries and pearl fisheries, in the gems and spices of the Chēra and Pāṇḍya hills, and in the gems and pearl fisheries of Ceylon, then controlled by the Pāṇḍyan kings. From the Tamil poems we learn that the Chōla state maintained a considerable navy which was used for commercial purposes, trading across the Bay of Bengal and as far as the Straits of Malacca, and we know from the Periplus that the products of this far eastern trade were transshipped in the south Indian ports for delivery to the Roman world. It seems clear that the intermediate position of Pāṇḍya enabled it, during the period from 50 B.C. to 150 A.D., approximately, to dominate all Tamil India, and that such parts of the Chōla state as had not fallen under Pallava dominion, were, if not subject to, at least dependent upon Pāṇḍya. We may infer also that this supremacy of Pāṇḍya was disputed, unsuccessfully, by Chēra.

The main highway across Southern India over which goods for the western trade were brought, is the Achenkōil Pass, and the terminus of this trade route was the port of Bacarē, mentioned by most of the Greek writers, and which I have identified as Porakād, the landing place of Kottayam. This

port, according to Pliny (VI, 23), had formerly been Pāndyan, but in his time, that is 70 A.D., approximately, belonged to Chēra. The Periplus, on the other hand, written some ten years later, makes Bacarē again Pāndyan (§ 54). Pliny mentions the Pāndyan capital, Madura, but knows nothing of the Chōla capital. The Periplus, on the other hand, after describing the Pāndyan dominions, speaks of another district beyond Colchi called the "Coast Country, which lies on a bay and has a region inland called Argaru", from which were exported muslins, "those called Argaritic" (§ 59).

In this passage we may discern a hazy and yet correct reference to the Chōla state, and to its capital Uraiyyūr, the modern Trichinopoly, which, as I have pointed out in a recent paper (JRAS. Jan. 1913), may be identified with this Argaru of the Periplus. Uraiyyūr is merely the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Urāgapura, "town of the serpent", and the Greek transcription is very nearly correct.

Now Ptolemy, writing about 140 A.D., speaks of this place as "Argeirou in the land of Pandion" (VII) and Kalidāsa in the Raghuvāṃsa (dating from about 400 A.D.) refers to Urāgapura as the capital of Pāndya (VI. 59—60).

How may we reconcile these later references that make Uraiyyūr subject to, or dependent on, Pāndya with those earlier ones that clearly make it independent? The explanation seems to be found in this passage of the Periplus.

The language used by the author of the Periplus is very fixed in its reference to foreign states or districts. An independent kingdom is referred to as *βασιλεία* and a subject state or district as *τόπος*, or *χώρα*. Now while the author of the Periplus speaks of the "kingdom of Cerobothra" and the "Pandian Kingdom", he refers to Chōla only as a "district" called the "coast country"; and yet he knows enough about it to have mentioned its king, if there had been an independent king in his time, who levied tribute on foreign merchants. It seems fair to infer that even in the time of the Periplus, say 80 A.D., the Chōla state, while not conquered and incorporated into the Pāndyan Kingdom, had been reduced to a condition of helplessness between Pāndya and the Pallava country, so that for commercial purposes it was practically controlled by Pāndya.

That its commercial and industrial activity was not inter-

ferred with is amply shown by Tamil poems that tell of the active trade of the capital and of its eastern seaport, Kāviri-paddīnam, which appears in the *Periplus* as Camara. It was evidently dependent upon the Pāndyan kings to such extent as its own rulers, the Chōla dynasty, had proven themselves unable to resist the Pallava incursions, and we may possibly read in the ship designs in the Pallava coinage of the 2nd century, some note of triumph in their ultimate invasion and control of that rich district. (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, plates I. 38, and II. 45).

This fall of the Chōla power may be placed toward the end of the 2nd century; but it seems clear that it did not come about without a considerable revival of that power at some time during that century, when one of its kings named Kārīkāla, according to a Tamil poem, invaded Ceylon and carried of thousands of coolies to work on the embankment along the Kāviri River, 100 miles in length, which he is said to have constructed. (Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 64–78; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 416.)

The Chinese traveler Yuan-Chwang, who visited the Pallava capital Kanchi in 640 A.D., speaks of Chōla as in that time a very restricted territory, sparsely populated by fierce brigands. The location of this remnant of the once powerful Chōla dynasty may be placed in the Cuddapah district, considerably north of its earlier dominions. (Beal, II. 227–230; Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 409, 417, 421.)

The subsequent extension of its power during the middle ages was due to the economic advantages of its position when not outweighed by superior force.

It is a notable fact that Yuan-Chwang refers to the “country of Chōla” without naming a king, in exactly the same way as the *Periplus* 560 years before, indicating at both these periods that the district was under a local rājāh, not exercising kingly power.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For fuller references to these questions the reader is referred to the following titles: Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, both pub. by Longmans, 1912.

*Classical Parallels to a Sanskrit Proverb.* — By ROLAND  
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In the story of the Blue Jackal the Hitopadeśa version has the following couplet: *yaḥ svabhāvo hi yasya syāt tasyā 'sau duratikramah | svā yadi kriyate bhogī tat kiṁ nā 'śnāty upānaham*,<sup>1</sup> "Indeed the real nature which may belong to anyone, that is hard to overcome; even if a dog is well fed, doth he not nibble at a shoe?" The corresponding story in the Pañcatantra<sup>2</sup> does not contain this *śloka*; indeed I have not been able to trace the proverb farther in Indian literature.<sup>3</sup> But this fondness of the dog for leather is proverbially referred to in classical writers. We find the proverb<sup>4</sup> χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κόνα γεῦσαι<sup>5</sup> "Tis dangerous to let a dog taste leather" first in Theocritus (x. 11), where the connection makes it clear that it applies to the acquisition of a bad habit which, once established, cannot be resisted. In a different wording the proverb

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<sup>1</sup> So in Schlegel and Lassen's edition (p. 92; iii. 58); Petersen's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 33) reads (p. 105; iii. 56): *śvā yadi kriyate rājā tat kiṁ nā 'śnāty upānaham*.

<sup>2</sup> Hertel's edition (*Harvard Oriental Series* xi), p. 68; i. 11; Bühler's edition (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, no. 3), p. 66; i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* (second edition), who cites the *śloka* as no. 5433 (vol. iii, p. 160), refers only to the Kavitāmṛtakūpa. — The Vṛddhacāṇakya (*Ind. Sprüche*<sup>2</sup>, no. 2087) mentions "bits of a calf's tail and of an ass's skin" (*vatsapucchakharacarmakhaṇḍam*) as characteristic of a dog's abode; the Cāṇakya reads here *asthikhurapucchasaṁcayāḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> C. S. Köhler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer*, 1881, p. 82 ff., nos. 57—61.

<sup>5</sup> In the Greek collections of proverbs χαλεπὸν χορίῳ κόνα γεῦω appears repeatedly; cf. Leutsch, *Corpus Paroemiogr. Graec.* i. 376 (Gregorius Cyprius); ii. 51 (Diogenianus); ii. 226 (Macarius); ii. 719 (Apostolius); also Suidas ed. Gaisford-Bernhardy, ii, 2, col. 1585 = ed. Bekker, p. 1116. However, they take χορίον in another sense; the interpretation of Apostolius, to which that of the others is very similar, is as follows: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μικρῶν κακῶν χοροῦντων εἰς μεγάλα. τὸ εὐλτρον τοῦ ἐμβρίου χόριον καλεῖται· οἱ δὲ κύνες γευσάμενοι τούτου καὶ τοῖς ἐμβρίοις διὰ τὸ λιχνὸν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν.

appears in Lucian, *advers. indoct.* 25, οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων ἀπαξ παύσαιτ' ἂν σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα<sup>1</sup> ("for a bitch will never stop eating leather, if once she has learned to do so"), and in Alciphron, *Epist. paras.* 11, 5 (p. 72, 4 ed. Schepers = iii. 47), οὐδὲ γὰρ κύων σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα τῆς τέχνης ἐπιλήσεται ("for a bitch that has learned to eat leather will ne'er forget the trick"). In meaning the Greek proverb differs from the Sanskrit. The latter refers to the fact that innate traits cannot be eradicated, the former inculcates the lesson of *Principiis obsta* (Ovid, *Rem. Amor.*, 92)<sup>2</sup>. Rather closer in sense to the Sanskrit proverb is the Latin, alluded to by Horace (*Serm.* ii. 5. 83): *Sic tibi Penelope frugist; quae si semel uno | De sene gustarit tecum partita lucellum, | Ut canis a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.*<sup>3</sup> In the form *Non leviter corio canis abstrahetur ab uncto*<sup>4</sup> it occurs in Alanus de Insulis' *Doctrinale Minus s. Liber Paraboliarum* (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 210, col. 581 c). A Bâle manuscript of the fifteenth century has *Non canis a corio subito depellitur uncto* (J. Werner, *Latein. Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, 1912, = *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka, vol. iii, p. 56, no. 119).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregorius Cyp. (Leutsch, ii. 126) cites this proverb in the form οὐδὲ κύων παύσαιτ' ἂν ἀπαξ σκυτοτραγεῖν μαθοῦσα; Apostolius (Leutsch. ii. 587) ends with μαθὼν, and explains the application: ὅτι τὸ ἔθος σχεδὸν ἀμετάβλητον. Cf. also Apostolius (Leutsch ii. 643) σκύτους ἔνεκα δέρεται κύων, κείνος δὲ σκυτοτραγεῖ ἐπὶ τῶν γευσάμενων κακίας τινὸς καὶ οὕτω μὴ ἀποπανομένων ἐκείνης.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the fragment ascribed to Antiphanes (Meineke, *Com. Graec. Frag.*, iii. 160 = Kock, *Com. Attic. Frag.*, ii. 134, from Maximus, *Conf.* 41, p. 64) κύων μελετήσας σαρκῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι φυλάττειν οὐκέτι δύναται τὴν ἀγέλην, with which Haupt (*Opusc.* iii. 380) compares Demosthenes, XXV. 40, τοὺς γενομένους κύνας τῶν προβάτων κατακόπτειν φασὶ δεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> Peter of Blois cites this verse, *Epist.* XV (Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 207, col. 55 B; *Petri Blesensis Opera omnia*, ed. I. A. Giles, i. 57). — In spite of the scholiast and modern editors I am inclined to construe *uncto* not with *corio*, but with an implied *sene*.

<sup>4</sup> With the *var. lect.* "extorrebatur uncto". (Both passages are cited by Sutphen, *American Journal of Philology*, xxii. 22).

<sup>5</sup> In general, the fondness of dogs for a hide is referred to in Aesop's fable (218 Halm = 134 Schneider) Κύνες λιμώττουσαι (κύνες λιμώττουσαι ὡς ἐθεάσαντο ἐν τινι ποταμῷ βύρσας βρεχομένας etc.), quoted by Plutarch, *περὶ κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν* § 19, p. 1067 F (οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντας τῶν κυνῶν ἅς φησιν Αἰσώπος δερμάτων τινῶν ἐμπλεόντων etc.), and translated by Phaedrus 1. 20 (3, *corium*

The German proverb "An Riemen lernt der Hund Leder kauen" (Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, 1873, iii, col. 1683, *s. v.* "Riemen") resembles the Greek proverbs in meaning; its oldest occurrence is in a codex Sangallensis saec. XI: "Fone demo limble so beginnit ter hunt leder ezzen" (Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkmäler*<sup>3</sup>, vol. I, no. xxvii, 1; further references in the notes, vol. II, p. 134).

What the relation of these proverbs to one another is, if indeed there be any connection, would require a full collection of such material, which might throw an interesting light on the connection of Hindu and European proverbs, and perhaps also on the relation of the fable literature of the Hindus and that of the Occident.

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*depressum in fluvio viderunt canes*). Martial (vi. 93. 4) mentions among malodorous objects a hide snatched away from a dog of the Fullers' Quarter, *detracta cani transtiberina cutis*.

*Atharvaprāyaścittāni.* Text mit Anmerkungen von Prof.  
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Sachindex

(Die einzelnen Stellen sind von einander stets durch Semicola getrennt; die Anmerkungen, weil im Text mit fortlaufenden Ziffern versehen, hier nur durch diese, nicht zugleich durch die Angabe der entsprechenden Seite bezeichnet. Deshalb verweist z. B. unter Agnihotra die Zahl: "5. 3" auf den Text; das folgende: "Anm. 743" auf die S. 117 unter 743 stehende Notiz.)

**Agnihotra** cf. Āhavanīya; Gārhapatyā. Seine Vollziehung unterbleibt Anm. 632; (cf. verstreichen lassen); es wird un-  
rechtzeitig vollzogen 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1; cf. 5. 3; Anm. 743, 746,  
760, 772, 778; seine Opferspeise — fällt herab 4. 3; kocht  
über 4. 3; Anm. 707; gelangt dabei ins Feuer Anm. 711; geht  
infolge des Aufplatzens der sthālī (oder ihres Umkippens 6. 3)  
verloren Anm. 714; geht teilweise oder ganz verloren 1. 3, 5;  
Anm. 49, 93; (cf. verschütten); — es wird durch Unreinig-  
keit besudelt 1. 3; (cf. Unreinigkeit); erleidet Unter-  
brechungen 2. 1 (s. eindringen); die zum A° gemolkene  
Milch wird geraubt 2. 1; das aufgesetzte (adhiśrita resp.  
anabhyuddhrta) A° knistert(?) 4. 3; Anm. 701; das Agnihotra  
des Verreisten 1. 1; des von tödlicher Krankheit Betroffenen  
Anm. 318; auf der Reise Verstorbenen 2. 8; Anm. 308. —  
Der Adhvaryu-Priester darf sich während der Vollziehung  
des A° nicht umwenden 1. 3; Anm. 49; — die Kuh, welche  
die zum A°-Opfer nötige Milch gibt, brüllt 2. 4; zuckt Anm.  
727; setzt sich nieder 2. 4; Anm. 186, 189, 754; ist trüchtig  
2. 5; Anm. 203.

**Āhavanīya** s. Agnihotra; Gārhapatyā. Die Sonne geht über  
dem herausgenommenen Ā° auf resp. unter 1. 2; wann soll es  
dem Gārha°-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; es erwacht,  
während das Gārha°-Feuer erlischt 1. 5; Anm. 79; greift  
um sich Anm. 826, 836; erlischt Anm. 296, 297, 949; wird  
in erloschenem Zustande übertragen 2. 7; 5. 4. — Zwischen



das Gārha- und Ā-Feuer drängen sich störende Elemente (s. eindringen). Beide Feuer erlöschen Anm. 772.

**Asche.** Das verunreinigte Agnihotra wird auf Asche geopfert 1. 3; ein Streif von Asche stellt den durch das Eindringen profaner oder unreiner Tiere oder Gegenstände unterbrochenen Zusammenhang beim Opfer her Anm. 63—64, 143; die störende Spur eines durch den Opferbezirk gelaufenen Hundes wird mit Asche bestreut Anm. 143, 818 (cf. Tiere); heiße Asche dient an Stelle eines Brandscheites zur Feuererzeugung Anm. 79; wird zur Wiedererzeugung eines heiligen Feuers berührt 2. 5; Anm. 772, 784; cf. 5. 1; die verunreinigte Opferspeise wird in Asche (oder Wasser) geworfen 2. 6; wenn die Asche von Opferfeuern sich vermischt, bedarf dieses der Sühne Anm. 870.

**eindringen** von Menschen, Tieren (s. d.) und leblosen Dingen (z. B. Kriegs- oder Lastwagen 1. 3; 5. 2) in den Opferbezirk (cf. Āhavanīya) Anm. 63, 143; von Raubvögeln oder Hunden 5. 2; von Menschen, Wagen, schwarzen Vögeln und anderen Lebewesen in diesen Anm. 818; — das Eindringen in den Opferbezirk wird entschönt, indem man eine Kuh herüberführt Anm. 143; die störende Hundespur wird durch Bestreuen mit Asche unschädlich gemacht *ibid.*; Anm. 818 (s. Asche); durch Wasserguß getilgt *ibid.* (s. Wasser); der Prastotar oder Udgātar erleidet eine Unterbrechung 6. 5; — Störung bei den rātriparyāyās 6. 9; cf. Agnihotra.

**fasten,** Sühne dafür, daß der Opferveranstalter Speise genießt oder aufs Feuer gelangen läßt, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden erfahren haben 2. 4; Anm. 170; Speiseenthaltung beim Opfer Anm. 257; die Milch beim Agnihotrapfer wird nicht genossen, wenn der Opferveranstalter auf einer Reise zugrunde gegangen ist Anm. 318; dieser muß sich der Speise enthalten, wenn das ganze Opfermaterial verloren gegangen ist Anm. 723; vgl. 4. 3; muß samt seiner Gattin schweigend fasten, wenn er das Agnihotra nicht rechtzeitig begonnen hat 4. 4; cf. Anm. 760; darf von einer Ziege nicht genießen, wenn dieser in Ermangelung eines geweihten Feuers ein Opfer zugekommen ist 5. 2; Anm. 801; — nach dem anvādhāna ist der Genuß von Honig, Fleisch usw. verboten Anm. 863; Genuß von Soma, in den Regen gefallen, erst nach erfolgter Sühne möglich 6. 3; der Bruch der Gelübdevorschriften erfordert Sühne 5. 4; Anm. 863; die Feinde

genießen von der Opferspeise des Āhitāgni Anm. 846. Brahmanen dürfen unreine Speisen nicht genießen 4. 1.

**Frau** s. Unreinigkeit. Die Gattin des Opferveranstalters beteiligt sich am Agnihotra-Opfer 4. 4; ist unrein, wenn sie Zwillinge gebärt 5. 5; Anm. 875—6; menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; unrein ist die Wöchnerin Anm. 684; beide verunreinigen deshalb nicht minder als ein Śūdra das Opfermaterial Anm. 257, 327.

**Gārhapatya** vgl. Āhavanīya. Wann soll das Āhavanīya-Feuer dem G.-Feuer entnommen werden? 1. 1; in welcher Weise? 1. 2; wenn der Gārhapatya- oder der Dakṣiṇā-’gni von seinem Platz herunterfällt (und übergreift), so soll man ihn (während bei dem gleichen, indes vom Āhavanīya-Feuer ausgehenden, Omen ein Mantra zu sprechen ist) schweigend zurücklegen Anm. 836 (vgl. das Herabfallen der Opferkohle s. Opferfeuer); Sühne nach dem Erlöschen des G.-Feuers oder des Dakṣiṇāgni Anm. 949; das G.-Feuer erlischt 6. 1; Anm. 927. — Gegenseitige Vermischung: des G.- und des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 852; des G., des Dakṣiṇāgni und anderer Opferfeuer Anm. 854; von Opferfeuern überhaupt (s. d. und: vertauschen); von Soma 6. 6; Anm. 1049.

**Gold**, Verwendung des G. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden oder Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers 1. 2; 5. 1; Anm. 778, 800; beim Herabfallen des pṛṣadājya Anm. 877; bei der Schwangerschaft der Opferkuh 2. 5; — von Gold und Silber beim Erlöschen des Āhavanīya-Feuers Anm. 42, 296; beim Fehlen von Soma im Droṇa-Becher Anm. 1019.

**Hund** (cf. Tiere), dringt in den Opferbezirk ein 1. 3; 5. 2; Anm. 63, 818; raubt Opferteile 2. 5; frißt, beschnuppert oder berührt den Opferkuchen oder andere Opferteile Anm. 257; leckt, beschnuppert oder verunreinigt Opferschalen; er frißt aus ihnen Anm. 657, 661; seine das Opfer störende Spur muß entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser).

**Neu- und Vollmondopfer**, ihr unrechtzeitiger Vollzug 2. 2; Anm. 142—3; verunglückter Vollzug 3. 10; Anm. 142; Verspätung beim Beginn 2. 2—3; 5. 3; Anm. 826, 847.

**Opfer**. In welcher Weise kann es mißglücken? Anm. 2; welche Substanzen sind opferbar? Anm. 614, 618.

**Opferbutter**, Schmelzbutter als Sühnemittel 1. 5; als solches bei der Verunreinigung des Opferkuchens angewendet 2. 1;

beim Verderben der Opferspeise gebraucht 2. 1; das niedergefallene Opfertier damit besprengt 2. 9; über die, aus Palāsa-Blättern gebildete, Figur eines Vermißten gegossen 3. 8; als Substitut für das avadāna angewendet 5. 5; Anm. 888. Dem Vollzug einer gewissen Sühnehandlung muß das Anblicken von Opferbutter vorausgehen Anm. 646; die Verunreinigung der Opferbutter verlangt Sühne Anm. 625; das pṛsadājya fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877.

**Opferfeuer** cf. Āhavanīya; Gārhapatyā; Substitution. Es gibt keinen Ersatz für das O. Anm. 614; die magische Bedeutung der O. 1. 1; Behandlung der O. bei, vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; Sühne bei ihrem Erlöschen 2. 4, 5; 5. 1; 6. 1; Anm. 784, 927, 943, 949; der rituellen Verwendung vorzeitig erloschenen Feuers 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 297; der versehentlichen Wiederholung ihrer rituellen Anzündung Anm. 297; ihrer gegenseitigen Vermischung 2. 7; 5. 4; 6. 1; Anm. 279, 863, 870; Vermischung mit einem weltlichen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279, 863; mit einem Leichenfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 855; mit einem Waldfeuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 279; mit Wasser Anm. 284, 327 s. Wasser; einem himmlischen Feuer 2. 7; 5. 4; Anm. 290, 294; Sühne für den Fall, daß der Opferveranstalter in die Feuer eines anderen oder ein Fremder in dessen (des Opferveranstalters) Feuer den Opferguß tat; daß ein fremdes Feuer des letzteren Feuer kreuzte 5. 5; Anm. 143, 826, 874; daß (infolge Herabfallens der Kohle Anm. 836) die O. übergreifen oder ausgehen 5. 3; cf. Anm. 826, 836; Häuser in Brand setzen 5. 4; Anm. 863; — Verunreinigung des O. durch unreine Substanzen s. Unreinigkeit; Wasser; — seine Entzündung (auf rituellem Wege) will nicht gelingen 5. 2; Anm. 801, 836; es entzündet sich selbst Anm. 327. — Die Opferkohle erlischt vorzeitig Anm. 657; fällt aus der Umzäunung heraus Anm. 667; fällt herab 2. 6; fällt auf die Opferstreu 4. 1. — Die Reibhölzer werden unbrauchbar 2. 8; Anm. 327. — Unter den Opferfeuern werden genannt: āgnīdhriya, āhavanīya, ukhya, auttaravedika, gārhapatyā, dakṣiṇāgni, paśuśrapana, pītrya, śālāmukhiya.

**Opfergefäß.** Zerplatzen alles festen, Überströmen alles flüssigen Materials Anm. 1146; Zerschlagen, Spalten, Aufplatzen, Verbrennen der ukhā (cf. 6. 2; Anm. 1147), des somakalāśa, mahāvira und der übrigen Opfergefäße 6. 9; Anm. 1147; — wenn ein O. bricht, soll man in einem anderen,

festeren, kochen 5. 5; das Platzen eines irdenen oder hölzernen O. 6. 5; des Opferbechers 6. 4, 6; Anm. 1028; eines Kochtopfes 4. 3; Anm. 713—4, 724; — die *nārāśamsa* erschöpfen sich 6. 5; Anm. 1046. Der *Adhvaryu* verrichtet das *Upākarana* zum *Stotra* über einem Becher, der, mit *Soma* gefüllt, sich noch im *Sadas* befindet 6. 3; Anm. 980. Die *sthāli* kippt um 6. 3. Behandlung der O. eines Toten: die irdenen O. werden ins Wasser geworfen, die steinernen und ehernen aber an *Brahmanen* weggeschenkt 3. 7; Anm. 657, 661; verunreinigte hölzerne gegen gleichartige reine ausgetauscht Anm. 657; ihre Reinigung je nach ihrem Material vorgenommen Anm. 614. — Die Opferschale zerbricht und wird für das Opfer unbrauchbar 4. 1; Anm. 656—7, 661. Hunde oder ähnliche unreine Tiere beschnuppern sie; sie platzt; Opferschalen werden verwechselt; ihre Größe oder Zahl ist nicht die richtige; deren zwei oder mehrere gehen zugrunde Anm. 657, 661.

**Opferkuchen**, für *Mitra* als Sühneopfer 1. 2; für *Varuna* als Sühneopfer 1. 2; wird verunreinigt 2. 1; *misrāt*, was Sühne verlangt 4. 1; Anm. 648; brennt an 2. 1; 4. 1; springt oder schnellst in die Höhe 4. 2; Anm. 694; kippt um Anm. 694; fällt um oder platzt Anm. 695 s. verschütten; schwindet dahin Anm. 652; wird durch Würmer usw. besudelt s. Unreinigkeit.

**Opferpfosten**. Der O. schlägt während der heiligen Handlung aus 2. 6; 5. 6; Anm. 247; wankt oder entwurzelt Anm. 248; fällt nieder 2. 6; eine Krähe läßt sich auf ihm nieder 2. 6.

**Opferspende** vgl. Opfertrank. Einzelne oder alle O. verunglücken 2. 1; 4. 1; werden vertauscht (s. d.); sind ungar (vgl. Anm. 652) angebrannt oder völlig verbrannt Anm. 126; werden von Tieren (s. d.) geraubt; werden genossen, bevor dem Opferfeuer die übliche Spende dargebracht ist s. *fasten*; fallen aus der Umzäunung des Opferplatzes heraus 4. 2; werden auf die Opferstreu verschüttet oder gelangen doch jedenfalls nicht ins Feuer Anm. 691; werden auf andere Weise verunreinigt (s. d.); in diesem Falle müssen sie durch ein opferreines Material substituiert (s. d.) werden; cf. Anm. 614. — Das *prṣadājya* fällt herab 5. 5; Anm. 877; der *āgrāyana* wird von einem anderen benutzt 6. 3; er fällt herab oder geht aus Anm. 987; andere Libationen fallen herab *ibid.*; — Mißgriff bei der Vollziehung des *Pravargya* 6. 8.

— Das sānnāyya verunglückt 2. 1; wird durch Haare oder Würmer verunstaltet Anm. 119; cf. 4. 1; (andere Libationen fallen herab *ibid.*;) wird im Falle des vollständigen Verlustes durch den Opferkuchen ersetzt 2. 1; cf. Substitution; wird, wenn verdorben, über einen Ameisenhügel ausgeschüttet 4. 3; Anm. 664, 707, 741—2; läuft über Anm. 665; geht völlig verloren Anm. 665; die Kühe, welche die Milch dazu hergeben, dürfen nicht ihre Kälber getränkt haben 4. 1.

**Opferspruch.** Die Auslassung, Vertauschung, das Zuviel oder Zuwenig von Opfersprüchen erheischt Sühne 4. 1; Anm. 632, 646.

**Opferstreu.** Die O. respektive andere brennbare Bestandteile der Opferausrüstung geraten in Flammen 2. 5; Anm. 646; fallen herab 4. 1; ein Zuviel oder Zuwenig bei ihnen Anm. 646. Die O. wird durch die herabgefallene āhuti verunreinigt Anm. 691.

**Opfertier.** Das beim Opfer verwandte Tier (s. Agnihotra, die Kuh desselben) brüllt vor Hunger oder setzt sich nieder 2. 4; — das Opfertier entflieht Anm. 332, 1110; cf. Pferd; fällt nieder 5. 5; bricht zusammen, wird krank oder stirbt 2. 9; Anm. 332; darf bei der Opferung nicht brüllen Anm. 178.

**Opfertrank.** Geopferter und nicht geopferter, genossener und nicht genossener Soma vermischen sich mit einander 6. 6; Anm. 1049. Der Soma brennt an 6. 4; Anm. 1001; wird geraubt 6. 4; Anm. 1016; geht zugrunde, wird verschüttet 3. 4, 5; 6. 4; fließt über 2. 5; bleibt vom Prātāhsavana übrig 6. 6; Somalibrationen mißlingen 6. 3; Zufälligkeiten und Mißgriffe bei den drei täglichen Pressungen 6. 9; Anm. 1055. — Konkurrierende Somaopfer unter Landsleuten und Feinden 6. 6. Der zur Auspressung des Somatranks verwandte Preßstein platzt 6. 3; Anm. 1028.

**Opferveranstalter.** Der O. ist in keinem Falle durch einen Stellvertreter ersetzbar Anm. 614; die heiligen Feuer werden magisch als sein Lebensodem aufgefaßt 1. 1; er darf nicht Speise genießen, bevor die heiligen Feuer Opferspenden empfangen haben Anm. 170; erfährt Schädigung durch Zauber (?) 6. 6; wird krank 2. 9;<sup>1</sup> 3. 9; cf. Anm. 1071; treibt die Priester (?) schlecht herbei 6. 9; stirbt — nach Anlegung des Agnihotra 2. 9; auf der Reise in einem Dorfe Anm. 143;

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<sup>1</sup> Unklare Stelle. Lies vielleicht: ya upatāpinam (erg.: paśum) yojayet ...

cf. 3. 6; am Upavasatha-Tage 2. 9; nach Vollendung der Opfer 2. 9; Anm. 561; nach der Weihe 2. 9; cf. 6. 7; ist verschollen 3. 6; erscheint wieder 3. 6; erscheint nicht 3. 6.

**Opferwagen.** Der O. fällt um 6. 1.

**Pferd** s. Opfertier; Tier. Das Pferd entweicht beim Roßopfer 6. 7; begattet sich während des Opfers 6. 7; ein Schimmel vertritt die Sonne und wird als das Symbol dieser in östlicher Richtung hingestellt, wenn man sie nicht aufgehen sieht, während die Verse des Frühgebets rezitiert werden 6. 7; — das Pferd entsühnt das herabgefallene *prṣadājya* durch Beschnupern Anm. 877.

**reisen** cf. Opferveranstalter. Unterschied zwischen vorübergehendem Ortswechsel und dauernder Übersiedelung Anm. 16; Verhalten vor und nach einer Reise 1. 1; sterben auf der Reise 2. 8; Anm. 143; nach dem *anvādhāna* ist es dem Haushalter verboten, zu verreisen 4. 3; 5. 3; Anm. 863.

**sānnāyya** s. Opferspende.

**Silber** cf. Gold. Verwendung des S. beim nicht rechtzeitigen Entzünden des *Āhavaniya*-Feuers 1. 2; cf. Anm. 42.

**Substitution.** S.-Materialien beim Sühneopfer Anm. 6; cf. Opferspende; für das Opferfeuer und den Opferherrn gibt es keinen Ersatz Anm. 614; doch können Opferfeuer im Notfall durch weltliche Feuer ersetzt werden 5. 2; Anm. 801; an Stelle des weltlichen Feuers kann die rechte Hand des Brahmanen treten; an seiner Statt das rechte Ohr einer Ziege stehen; dieses durch *darbha*-Grasbüschel; die letzteren durch Wasser; dieses durch Gold substituiert werden. Diese sämtlichen Dinge gelten dann als zum profanen Gebrauch ungeeignet: den Brahmanen soll man nicht ansehen; die Ziege nicht genießen; auf dem *darbha*-Grase nicht sitzen; mit dem Wasser nicht die Füße waschen; das Gold nicht tragen 5. 2. Opferbutter als Substitut eines *avadāna* 5. 5; Anm. 888. Substitute für den Soma 6. 4; Anm. 1016—7, 1019. Beim Zugrundegehen der Opferspende muß ein opferreines Substitutionsmaterial herangeschafft werden Anm. 614. — An Stelle komplizierter Opferriten können im Notfalle einfache Handgriffe treten Anm. 863, 836; die *Sattra* in *Ekāha* verwandelt werden 3. 9.

**Tiere** s. Agnihotra; Opfertiere; Pferd; verunreinigen. Hund oder Raubvogel dringen in den Opferbezirk ein 5. 2; Anm. 808; rauben Opferteile 2. 5; Hund, Wildschaf, Katze

und Wildschwein (Anm. 63), Löwe, Hyäne, Schakal, Krähe usw. stören das Opfer Anm. 818; deshalb muß ihre Spur entsühnt werden (s. Asche; Wasser); Eber, Katze, Büffel oder Raubvogel sind nach Opferfleisch begierig 3. 10; Hunde usw. belecken, beschnuppern und verunreinigen die Opfer-schalen; cf. Opfergefäß; Hund, Raubvogel, Krähe, Maulwurf, Katze, Ichneumon usw. fressen, beschnuppern oder berühren Opferkuchen Anm. 257; die Krähe genießt vom Opferkuchen Anm. 197; setzt sich auf den Opferpfosten 2. 6; dringt in den Kreis des Agnihotra ein Anm. 818; Insekten besudeln die Opferspeise Anm. 257; Würmer suchen sie heim 2. 6; verderben sie Anm. 119; verunreinigen das Agnihotra 4. 3. Ein weißes Pferd wird angewendet, wenn die Rezitation der Frühgebete nicht mit dem Sonnenaufgang zusammenfällt 6. 7; Anm. 1104; das Pferd entsühnt das herabgefallene *prṣadājya* durch Beschnuppern Anm. 877; Sühne ist erforderlich, wenn beim Pferdeopfer der Hengst nicht zurückkehrt oder wenn er die Stute beschält 6. 7; — das Rind entsühnt den störenden Einbruch in den Opferbezirk Anm. 63, 143; cf. Asche; — die Ziege kann als Substitut für ein Opferfeuer Spenden empfangen 5. 2; Anm. 801; ein weißer Ziegenbock wird der Sonne als Sühne dargebracht 6. 7; Anm. 1105.

**Unreinigkeit** cf. Asche; Tiere; Wasser. Drei Klassen von unreinen Dingen gibt es: das durch a) Geburt, b) Kontakt und c) Vermischung Unreine z. B. a) eine Zwiebel, b) den Śūdra und c) einen an sich reinen, aber mit rituell unreinen Dingen wie Kot usw. in Berührung gekommenen Gegenstand: man kann also: 1. von Hause aus unrein sein, 2. durch Berührung mit befleckten Mitmenschen oder verderbten Dingen und 3. durch das Eindringen von Unreinem unrein werden Anm. 614; — über unreine Tiere (s. d.) spricht der Text häufig; auch redet er von verbotenen Menschen: die Gattin des Opferveranstalters ist unrein, wenn sie menstruiert ist 4. 2; Anm. 684; desgl. die Wöchnerin *ibid.*; beide müssen deshalb dem Opfer fern gehalten werden s. Frau. Sühne ist notwendig, wenn ein menstruiendes Weib, eine Wöchnerin oder ein Śūdra die Opferspeise berühren Anm. 257; wenn unreine Weiber, niedere Menschen oder unreine Tiere (Esel, Schwein, Krähe; — ferner der Hund 1. 3) sie verderben Anm. 327; oder wenn die gleichen Wesen resp. Dinge, wie Kot, Urin, Same, Eiter, Tränen, Knochen, Abfälle usw.,

desgl. ein Wassertropfen, das Opferfeuer verunreinigen Anm. 327; cf. Anm. 859; wenn dieses sich mit einem Leichenfeuer mischt 5. 4; Anm. 855. Als besonders unrein und deshalb dem Opfer gefährlich gelten Haare usw. Anm. 126; Haare, Nägel, Würmer und andere ekelhafte Dinge Anm. 257; besonders Würmer 2. 6; Ausscheidungen des menschlichen Körpers, zu denen auch Blut und Träne gehören, wenn die letztere eine Schmerzensträne ist (vgl. die Entheiligung des Soma durch einen Wasser- oder Regentropfen s. Wasser;) Anm. 257, 616, 864; ferner Abfälle aller Art, sowie Leichen und Leichenteile Anm. 327; — als verunreinigend gilt die Erde, wenn (infolge Überlaufenlassens kochender Flüssigkeiten oder fahrlässiger Handlungen anderer Art) dieselbe mit dem Opfermaterial in Berührung kommt Anm. 711, 1146; ja unter den gleichen Umständen selbst das Feuer Anm. 711; — das Verunreinigte vernichtet man, indem man es in Asche (s. d.), Wasser (s. d.) oder vermittelt eines Palaśa-Blattes auf einen Ameisenhaufen schüttet s. Opferspende. — Die Verunreinigung mag besonders häufig die flüssige Opferspeise (sānnāyya s. Opferspende), sowie den festen Opferkuchen (2.1) und überhaupt das Material des überaus oft vollzogenen und häufigen Störungen ausgesetzten Agnihotra betroffen haben 1. 3. Unter den ihr ausgesetzten Opfergeräten spielten die carusthālī (Topf zum Kochen des Opfermuses) eine Rolle 1. 3; aber auch die übrige Opferausrüstung (Streu usw.) kann durch Kot, Urin oder ähnliches verunreinigt werden Anm. 646. — Wenn die ganze Opferspende verunreinigt ist, muß das Opfer von neuem begonnen werden 4. 1.

**verschütten** cf. Agnihotra; Gārhapatyā. Das Verschütten der beim Agnihotra gebrauchten Milch 1. 3, 5; 4. 3; Anm. 49, 93, 186, 707, 711, 714, 718, 723, 727; des Opfermaterials Anm. 126, 621, 727; des Inhalts des Somabechers 2. 5; des Somatrankes 3. 4; des Opfermuses Anm. 621; der Opferbutter 4. 1; der vasativarī 6. 2; der zu religiösen Zwecken gebrauchten Wasser Anm. 962; der āhuti 4. 2; des prṣadājya 5. 5; Anm. 877; des āgrayāṇa 6. 3; der Opferkohle 2. 6; 4. 1; cf. Opferfeuer, sein Übergreifen. — Entsühnung: s. Pferd; Tiere.

**Verstreichen-lassen** (cf. Agnihotra). Das V.-l. des zum Neu- und Vollmondopfer vorgeschriebenen Termins 2. 2—3; Anm. 826; des allmorgendlichen und allabendlichen Agni-



hotra (s. d.); die Sonne geht über dem nachmittäglichen Pravargya unter 6. 8; über einer der drei täglichen Soma-pressungen unter 6. 9. — V.-l. des Manenopfers Anm. 760; irgendeines Opfers oder Opfergliedes *ibid.*; cf. Anm. 844; Versäumnis einer Observanz Anm. 760. Wenn man beim Rezitieren des Frühgebetes die Sonne nicht im Osten sieht, soll man ihr einen weißen Ziegenbock opfern 6. 7; Anm. 1104; beim Versäumen eines Zeitpunktes soll man die pāthikṛti-Sühne ausführen Anm. 825.

**Vertauschen** der heiligen Handlung 3. 4; Anm. 633; der heiligen Sprüche 4. 1; Anm. 637; der Gottheiten, denen die einzelnen Opfer gelten 4. 1; Anm. 633, 637, 642; (ihre verspätete Erwähnung 4. 1; Anm. 642); der Opferbutter, des Opfermaterials Anm. 637; der heiligen Feuer s. Opferfeuer.

**Wasser** s. Asche. Verunreinigtes Wasser wird fortgegossen Anm. 614. Merkwürdigerweise gilt Wasser als unrein, selbst wenn es nur tropfenweise ins Opferfeuer fällt Anm. 327; deshalb macht der Regentropfen, welcher das Agnihotra-Material benetzt, dessen Wiederholung nötig 4. 3; Anm. 736, 742; wenn in den Soma Regen fällt, muß Sühne erfolgen 6. 3; ja selbst die Träne entweicht 5. 4; Anm. 257, 616, 863. — Das Wasser wirkt im Ritual bisweilen entschuldigend; cf. Anm. 614. Das zum Reinigen der Füße benutzte Wasser darf nicht ausgehen 6. 5. Ein Wasserstrahl stellt die durch einen Einbruch zwischen zwei Opferfeuern unter diesen verlorengegangene magische Verbindung wieder her 1. 3; Anm. 63, 64, 143. Mit Wasser werden die Spuren ominöser, das Opfer störender Wesen verwischt Anm. 818; cf. eindringen; mit ihm findet die Reinigung goldner und silberner Opfergeräte statt Anm. 614. — Vorzugsweise aber dient das Wasser dazu, alles Unreine aufzunehmen und zu vernichten: unreine Dinge überhaupt 4. 1; Anm. 614, 616, 724; namentlich wird grundsätzlich und stets alle verdorbene oder durch Würmer verunreinigte (s. Unreinigkeit) Opferspeise ins Wasser geworfen Anm. 742; cf. 2. 6; Anm. 257, 617, 621; desgleichen jedes angebrannte (Anm. 126) oder infolge Überkochens herabgeflossene Opfergut Anm. 714; aber auch die unbrauchbar gewordene Opferrüstung: vom Feuer angegriffene Reibhölzer Anm. 327; geplatzte oder verunreinigte irdene oder hölzerne Gefäße 6. 5; Anm. 657, 661; die irdenen Gefäße eines Toten 3. 7; cf. Opfergefäß.

## Register der Vers- und Yajus-Anfänge.

**agna āyāhi vītaye 2. 7.**

agnaye 'nnādāyā 'nnapataye svāhā  
1. 1.

agnaye 'bhyujjuṣasva svāhā 4. 4.

agnaye yaviṣṭhāyā 'ṣṭākapālam 6. 6.

agnaye rathamtarāya svāho 'ṣase  
svāhā pañktaye svāhā 'śvibhyām  
svāhā 6. 9.

agnaye suśīryatamo juṣasva svāhā  
4. 4.

agnaye somāya viṣṇava indrāgni-  
bhyām prajāpataye 3. 9.

agnaye svāhā yajñāya svāhā bra-  
hmaṇe svāhā viṣṇave svāhā prajā-  
pataye svāhā 'numataye svāhā  
'gnaye sviṣṭakṛte svāhā 6. 9.

agnaye svāhā vasubhyah svāhā gā-  
yatriyai svāhā 6. 9.

agnim vayam trātāram havāmahe  
2. 2.

agnijihvā manavaḥ sūracakṣasaḥ  
6. 1.

agninā 'gniḥ samidhyate 2. 7.

agninā 'gniḥ samśrjyate 6. 1.

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat 5. 6.

agnim naro dīdhitibhir aranyoḥ 6. 1.

agniḥ pravīdvan iha tat karotu 6. 2.

agnim ile purohitam 2. 7.

agnim prthivyā adityā upasthe 1. 3.

agnim prthivyām amṛtasya jityai 1. 2.

agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ 1. 2.

agnir nas tena nayatu prajānan 2. 3.

agnir bhūmyām 1. 3.

agnir mā pātu vasubhiḥ purastāt  
2. 9; 6. 9.

agnis ca deva savitaḥ 2. 4.

agniḥ śucivratatamaḥ 2. 7.

agne vgl. ā 'gne.

agne kāmāya yemire 5. 3.

agne prāśnāhi prathamah 2. 4.

agneṣ te vācam sprṇomi svāhā 2. 9.

aghorō yajñiyo bhūtvā 4. 2.

aṅgāni... ta ukthyah pātu 6. 6.

achinnam tantum prthivyā anu ge-  
sam 6. 2.

ajasrayā sūrmyā yaviṣṭha 6. 1.

ajasro vakṣi devatātim acha 6. 1.

atha drṣṭam adrṣṭam no duṣkṛtam  
karat 2. 3.

atharvabhiḥ śāntaḥ sukṛtām etu  
lokaḥ 2. 6.

adābhyam brhaspatiḥ vareṇyam 4. 1.

aditiḥ sindhuḥ prthivī uta dyauḥ  
6. 1.

adbhutaṇi vācako japam 3. 6, 7.

adbhyas te rasaḥ sprṇomi svāhā 2. 9.

adhā devaiḥ sadhamādam madema  
1. 3.

anamgandhī (?) 2. 5.

anupūrvam vṛṣaṇā codayamā 6. 9.

anulbanaḥ vayata joguvām apaḥ  
1. 3.

anuṣṭubham chamdaso yaḥ 3. 4.

anūnam hitvā ātmānam 3. 4.

antarikṣāt ta ākāśam sprṇomi svāhā  
2. 9.

amtarikṣe turīyam 1. 5.

anv agniḥ 5. 3.

apaścadaghvānnasya bhūyāsam 2. 7.

apām agnis tanūbhiḥ 2. 7.

apām ūrmiḥ 6. 2.

ape 'mam jīvā arudhan grhebhyaḥ  
2. 9.

apsu turīyam 1. 5.

apsv antaḥ 2. 1.

abhayam vo 'bhayam me 'stu 1. 1.

amitrāṇām śrīyam bhūtim 2. 5.

amum samuḥa 4. 3.

amṛtaṃ devatāmayaṃ 6. 1.  
 amṛtāhutim amṛtāyāṃ juhomī 1. 2.  
 amo 'ham asmi sā tvam 4. 2.  
 ayam devo bṛhaspatiḥ 6. 1.  
 ayam no agnir adhyakṣaḥ 1. 5.  
 ayam no 'gniḥ 6. 5.  
 ariṣṭebhir aśvinā saubhagebhiḥ 6. 1.  
 arkaś ca tvā 'śvamedhaś ca śṛṇitām  
 6. 3.  
 avadagdham duḥsvapnyam avada-  
 gdhā arātayaḥ sarvāś ca yātudhā-  
 nyaḥ 2. 5.  
 ava yakṣva no varuṇaṃ rarāṇaḥ 4. 1.  
 avādhamaṇi bādhta 4. 1.  
 aśvaṃ na guḍham aśvinā durevaiḥ  
 6. 9.  
 aśvasā vājasā uta 6. 3.  
 aśvavat soma viravat 2. 6.  
 asapatnaṃ purastāt 1. 5.  
 asau ya udayāt paścād vasāno ni-  
 lalohitaḥ 2. 3.  
 astam ive 'j jarimānaṃ jagamyām  
 6. 9.  
 asthibhyas te majjanaṃ sprṇomi  
 svāhā 2. 9.  
 asmān indrāgni avataṃ śacībhiḥ 6. 9.  
 asminn āsīda barhiḥ 4. 2.  
 aśya patiḥ syām sugavaḥ suvirāḥ 6. 9.  
 ahaś ca tvā rātriś ca śṛṇitām 6. 3.  
 abnā yad enaḥ kṛtam asti pāpaṃ 1. 2.  
 ā 'gne pāvaka dīdyat 5. 1.  
 ā 'gne pāvako arciṣā 5. 1.  
 ā ca dyotate 2. 7.  
 ājyena tejasā 'jyasva 4. 2.  
 ātmāṅgair yajñaṃ prthivi śarīraiḥ (?)  
 3. 10.  
 ātmānaṃ ta āgrāyaṇaḥ pātu 6. 6.  
 ātmā yajñasya ramhya 6. 3.  
 ādityānaṃ tvā devānāṃ vyatte 'pi  
 dadhāmi 2. 9.  
 ādityāś tvā tarpayantu 6. 3.  
 ānuṣṭubhiṃ parśāṃ adhaḥśirā 'va-  
 padyasva 2. 9.  
 ā no yāhi tapasā janeṣu 5. 1.  
 ā no rayiṃ vahatām ota vīraṇ 6. 1.  
 āpattau somaṃ ca 3. 5.  
 ā pavasva hiraṇyavat 2. 6.  
 ā bharataṃ śikṣataṃ vajrabāhū 6. 9.

ābhyo yonibhyo adhi jātavedāḥ 5. 1.  
 āyāhi tapasā janeṣu 5. 1.  
 āyurdā asi dhruva āyur me dāḥ  
 svāhā 6. 3.  
 āyus ca tasya bhūtim ca 2. 4.  
 āyus te dhruvaḥ pātu 6. 6.  
 ā viśvāny amṛtā saubhagāni 6. 1.  
 āsīda sadanaṃ svam 4. 2.  
 ā 'ham yajñaṃ dadhe nirṛter upa-  
 sthāt 4. 1.

### ita eva prathamam jajñe agniḥ 5. 1.

idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame 5. 2.  
 idaṃ ta ekam 5. 3.  
 idaṃ barhir amṛtene 'ha siktam 2. 5  
 idāvatsarāya 2. 4.  
 indur indum avāgāt 6. 3.  
 indor indro 'pāt 6. 3.  
 indrapitasyo 'pahūtasyo 'pahūto bha-  
 kṣayāmi 6. 3.  
 indrasya kukṣir asi 2. 5.  
 indrāgnibhyām svāhe 'ndrāviṣṇu-  
 bhyām svāhā 6. 9.  
 indrāt te balaṃ sprṇomi svāhā 2. 9.  
 indrāya kṛṇvati bhāgam 2. 4.  
 indrāya svāhe 'ndrānyai svāhā chan-  
 dobbyaḥ svāhā 6. 9.  
 indrāya harivate 6. 8.  
 indriyavān madintamaḥ 6. 2.  
 indreṇa devān 5. 6.  
 imaṃ yajñaṃ mimikṣatām 4. 1.  
 ime nu te rāsmayaḥ sūryasya 6. 9.  
 imo agne vītatamāni havyā 6. 1.  
 iṣā yataṃ nāsatyō 'pa vājaiḥ 6. 9.  
 iṣe rāye ramasva 5. 1.  
 iha gāvaḥ prajāyadhvam 5. 5.  
 iha no devā mahi śarma yachata 4. 1.  
 iha prajāṃ dīrgham āyus ca dhehi  
 2. 5.  
 ihanvicamatibhiḥ (?) 6. 8.  
 ihai 'va kṣemya edhi 4. 4.

### ukhām svasāram adhi vedim asthāt 6. 2.

uta paśyann aśnuvan dīrgham āyuh  
 6. 9.  
 uttuṣṭha devy adite 2. 4.  
 utpruṣo vipruṣāḥ saṃjuhomī 1. 3.

ud agne śucayas tava 2. 7.  
 udasthād devy adite 2. 4.  
 ud uttamam varuṇa 4. 1, 3.  
 ud uttamam mumugdhi naḥ 4. 1, 3.  
 uddharā "havanīyam 1. 1.  
 uddhriyamāṇa uddhara pāpmano  
 mā yād avidvān yac ca vidvāś  
 cakāra 1. 2.  
 undatīḥ suphenāḥ jyotiṣmatis ta-  
 masvatīḥ 6. 2.  
 upajīvā nāma sthā tā imaṁ jīveta 6. 6.  
 upahūto 'haṁ sumedhā varcasvī 1. 4.  
 upāśūsavanas te vyānaṁ pātu 6. 6.  
 upāśv-antaryāmau... te prāṇāpā-  
 nau pātām 6. 6.  
 upe 'mām suṣṭuṭim mama 5. 1.  
 uru viṣṇo vikramasva 2. 2.

ūrg asy ūrjaṁ mayi dhehi  
 6. 1.

ṛtave tvā 2. 9.  
 ṛdhyāsma putraiḥ paśubhiḥ 6. 5.  
 ṛbīśād atrim mumcatho gaṇena 6. 9.  
 ṛṣim narāv aṁhasaḥ pāñcajanyaṁ  
 6. 9.  
 ṛṣim narā vṛṣaṇā rebham apsu 6. 9.

eṣā te agne 3. 7.

om svar janat (cf. svar janat)  
 3. 4; 4. 1.

om bhuvo janat (cf. bhuvo janat)  
 3. 4; 4. 1.

om bhūr janat (cf. bhūr janat) 4. 1.  
 om bhūr bhuvah svar janat 3. 4; 4. 4.  
 ośadbībhyas te lomāni spruṇomi svahā  
 2. 9.

kakṣivantaṁ ya auśijah 4. 1.  
 kavir grhapatir yuvā 2. 7.  
 kasmai devāya haviṣa paridadema  
 3. 10.

kāyamāno vanā tvam 6. 2.  
 kim utpatasi kim utproṣṭhaḥ 4. 2.  
 krṇuhi brahmaṇaspate 4. 1.

gaccha tvam ādāya parāvato  
 'nyān 2. 5.

garbho na mṛtaḥ 6. 3.  
 gavimdrāgni kalpatā yuvam 6. 6.  
 gāyatrīm parṣam adhaḥśirā 'vapa-  
 dyasva 2. 9.  
 gāyatrī tvā śataḥśaraya samda-  
 dhāmi 4. 1.  
 gāyatrī chandase 'bhībhūtyai svāhā  
 6. 6.  
 grṇāno havyadātaye 2. 7.  
 goṣā indo nṛṣā asi 6. 3.

gharmo viśvāyuh 4. 1.

candrāt te mana[h] spruṇomi  
 svāhā 2. 9.  
 cālyakam ca(?) 6. 2.

chidrayā vācā chidrayā  
 jihvā(?) 3. 10.

janitā vayaṁ mā loko 'nu-  
 samtanutām 1. 5.

jāgatiṁ parṣam adhaḥśirā 'vapa-  
 dyasva 2. 9.  
 jivalā nāma stha tā imaṁ jīveta  
 samjiveta 6. 6.

jīvā nāma sthā tā imaṁ jiveta 6. 6.  
 jivikā nāma sthā tā imaṁ jiveta  
 samjiveta 6. 6.

juṣṭo hotā vareṇyaḥ 2. 1.  
 jyotir bhūtvā devān apy etu(?) 1. 5.  
 jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtān  
 1. 3.

taṁ vo mā 'va kramiṣam 6. 2.  
 tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi 2. 4.  
 tato no vṛṣṭyā 'vata 6. 2.  
 tato mā draviṇam āṣṭa 1. 5.  
 tatra rayiṣṭhām anusambharai 'taṁ  
 5. 2.

tatre 'mam yajñam yajamānam ca  
 dhehi 2. 6.

tad it padaṁ na viciketa vidvān 6. 3.  
 tad vai purāṇam abhinavaṁ strīṣva  
 2. 5.

tantum tanvan rajaso bhānum a-  
 nvīhi 1. 3; cf. 6. 5.

tan no astu viśāmpate 2. 5.

tan no mitro varuṇo māmahantām  
 6. 1.

tam deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān 4. 1.  
 tam nirjagāmo haviṣā ghr̥tena 2. 6.  
 tamnavas tanturupa seduragne 1. 3.  
 tapa śamsam araruṣaḥ parasya 5. 6.  
 tapā tapiṣṭha tapasā tapasvān 5. 6.  
 tapo vaso cikitāno acittān 5. 6.  
 tapo hy agne am̐tarām amitrām 5. 6.  
 tam ajarebhir vṛṣabhis tava svaiḥ  
 5. 6.  
 tam abhyukta etena saṃdadhāmi 3. 4.  
 tayā 'nantam kāmam aham jayāmi  
 1. 2.  
 tayā me hy āroha 3. 7.  
 tayā me hy āviśa 3. 7.  
 tava jyotiṃsy arcayaḥ 2. 7.  
 tābhiḥ t̐vam ubhayibhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ  
 6. 2.  
 tām eṣām pariṇirjahi 2. 5.  
 tubhyaṃ tā āngirastama 5. 3.  
 tṛtiyaṃ tṛtiyena jyotiṣā 5. 3.  
 tejodā asi dhruvas tejo me dāḥ  
 svāhā 6. 3.  
 tena narā vartir asmabhyaṃ yātaṃ  
 6. 9.  
 te no rakṣantu sarvataḥ 2. 5.  
 tya tha dṛṣṭam adṛṣṭam no duṣkṛtaṃ  
 karat 2. 3.  
 trātāram indraṃ 1. 5; 2. 1, 2; 6. 9.  
 trāyatām asmāt (?) 2. 2.  
 trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt 6. 3.  
 tredhā nidadhe padaṃ 5. 2.  
 traīṣṭubhiṃ parśam adhaḥśirā 'va-  
 padyasva 2. 9.  
 tvam hi vettha yathā haviḥ 2. 4.  
 tvam hy agne agninā vipraḥ 2. 7.  
 tvam agne vratapā asi 2. 4, 8.  
 tvam agne saprathā asi 2. 1, 3, 8.  
 tvam tantur uta setur agne 1. 3.  
 tvam no agne 4. 1; 6. 1.  
 tvam no agne varuṇasya vidvān 4. 1.  
 tvam eva no jātavedaḥ 2. 5.  
 tvam pathā rajasi devayānaḥ 1. 3.  
 tvayā 'gne pṛṣṭhaṃ vayam āruhema  
 1. 3.  
 trayā yajñam vitanvate 2. 1.  
 tvaṣṭā me daivyaṃ vacaḥ 2. 6.  
 tvaṣṭre svāhā 2. 6.  
 tvām yajño viṣṇuḥ 3. 4.  
 tvām śasvanta upa yanti vājāḥ 6. 1.

**dakṣakratū te mitrāvaruṇau**  
**pātām 6. 6.**  
 dakṣas ca tvā mānasas ca śr̥ṇitām  
 6. 3.  
 darbho rājā samudriyaḥ 2. 5.  
 darsas ca tvā pauraṃmāsaḥ ca śr̥ṇi-  
 tām 6. 3.  
 digbhyas te jyoti[h] spr̥ṇomi svāhā  
 2. 9.  
 divaṃ stabdhvā 'ntarikṣam ca 6. 1.  
 divaṃ pṛthivīm 2. 5.  
 divas parjanyaḥ antarikṣāt samu-  
 drāt 6. 2.  
 divā vṛdham (?) 3. 10.  
 divi turīyaṃ 1. 5.  
 divi hotrām airayat svāhā (?) 3. 10.  
 divo 'chata (?) 6. 8.  
 duritāt pāhi tasmāt 2. 5.  
 dūredr̥sam gṛhapatim atharyuṃ 6. 1.  
 devasya heḍo 'vayāsiṣṭhāḥ 4. 1.  
 devā udno datto 'dadhim bhintta  
 6. 2.  
 devān janam agan 4. 1.  
 devān apy etu (?) 1. 5.  
 devānām devaḥ 6. 3.  
 devān yajñena bodhaya 2. 4.  
 devān yajño 'gāt 1. 5.  
 devā yujo mitrāvaruṇā 'ryamā yu-  
 ktaṃ 6. 2.  
 devā vasav[y]ā agne indra sūrya 6. 2.  
 devāḥ sapitayo apām napāt tanūna-  
 pāt 6. 2.  
 devo devebhyo havyaṃ vahatu pra-  
 jānan 5. 1.  
 doṣā vastoh svāhā 4. 4.  
 dyubhir aktubhiḥ paripātam asmān  
 6. 1.  
 dyaus ca tvā pṛthivī ca 6. 3.  
 dyaus ca ma indras ca me 6. 5.  
 drapsas caskanda 2. 5.  
 dvitīyaṃ dvitīyena 5. 3.  
 dviṣantam agne dviṣatām ca vittam  
 2. 5.

**dhartri dharitri janitri ya-**  
**mitri 6. 1.**

dhātā dadātu pituḥ pitānaṣṭaḥ 4. 1.  
 dhānā dadhātu naḥ pūrṇā darve  
 2. 4.

dhruvaṃ dhruveṇa 6. 3.  
dhruvā dyauḥ 6. 3.

**naktam cid dūra ā sate** 5. 6.  
na tat te agne pramṛṣe nivartanaṃ  
6. 2.

namas te astv āyate 4. 1.  
namas te pathyā revatī(?) 1. 4.  
namas te bhuvāḥ 6. 2.  
na me yajño yajamānaś ca riṣyāt 2. 6.  
namo astu parāyate 4. 1.  
namo yatra niṣīdasi 4. 1.  
namo rudrāya mīdhuse 2. 4.  
narāśamsa udno datto 'dadhīm  
bhintta 6. 2.  
na vām jūryamti pūrvyā kṛtāni 6. 9.  
nā 'ntarāgamanam teṣāṃ sādhu  
vichedanād bhayaṃ 1. 3.  
nirdagdā no amitrāḥ 2. 5.  
ni hotā satsi barhiṣi 2. 7.  
nediṣṭho asyā uśaso vyuṣtau 4. 1.

**para ū ta ekam** 5. 3.  
pari naḥ pātu viśvataḥ 2. 5.  
paśūn naḥ sarvān gopāya 2. 4.  
pāpmānam agne tam ito nudasva  
2. 5.

pāvako yad vanaspatīn 5. 6.  
pitrye praṇīta upasāmyamānaḥ 2. 5.  
piprtāṃ no bharīmabbhiḥ 4. 1.  
pibata ghṛtam imūṃ ghṛtam 6. 6.  
putrāso yatra pitaro bhavanti 6. 1.  
punar mai 'tv indriyaṃ 1. 4; 6. 5, 9.  
punas tvā "dityā rudrā vasavaḥ 2. 5.  
punas tvā prāṇaḥ 2. 4.  
punas tvo 'ddīpayāmasi 2. 5.  
puṣṭinā puṣṭim prāṇena prāṇam te-  
jasā tejaś cakṣuṣā cakṣuḥ śro-  
treṇa śrotram āyusā "yuh punar  
dehi 6. 6.

prtanājitaṃ sahamānam 2. 1.  
prthivīm turiyaṃ manuṣyān yajño  
'gāt 1. 5.

prthivī vibhūvarī(?) 6. 2.  
prthivyāṃ ca dṛdhā bhava 6. 1.  
prthivyāṃ te śarīraṃ sprṇomi svāhā  
2. 9.

prthivyai śrotrāyā 'ntarikṣāya prā-

ṇāya vayobhyo dive cakṣuṣe na-  
kṣatrebhyāḥ sūryāyā 'dhipataye  
svāhā 6. 10.

prśadaśvā marutaḥ prṣnimātaraḥ  
6. 1.

prajāṃ dviṣadbhyo naya dakṣiṇena  
2. 5.

prajāpataye svāhā dhātre svāhā  
pūṣne svāhā 6. 8.

prajāpatir yaṃ prathamō jigāya 1. 2.  
prajāpatiḥ sarvam eve 'dam utṣṛjet  
3. 10.

prajāpater viśvabhṛtaḥ skannāhutam  
asi svāhā 4. 3.

pra ṇa āyūṃṣi tāriṣat 2. 7.

praṇīta upasāmyasi 2. 5.

pra tad viṣṇuḥ 5. 2.

prati na im surabhiṇi vyantu 6. 1.

pratnāni pāti kāvyāḥ 6. 3.

pratno hotā vivāsate vām 6. 9.

pra vām dāmsāmsy aśvināv avocaṃ  
6. 8, 9.

prasastā kratunā 'jani 6. 2.

prā skannāt prāyatām haviḥ 5. 5.

preddho agne dīdhi puro naḥ 6. 1.

**barhiṣmati rātrir viśritā**  
giḥ 6. 9.

brahmaṇas tvā samtatyaṃ samtanomi  
1. 3.

**bhadram karnebhiḥ śṛṇu-**  
yāma devāḥ 6. 1.

bhadram paśyemā 'kṣabhir yajatrāḥ  
6. 1.

bhadrād abhi śreyāḥ prehi 1. 5.

bhadrād adhi śreyāḥ prehi 2. 4.

bhuvāya svāhā bhuvanāya svāhā

bhuvanapataye svāhā bhuvāmpa-

taye svāhā viṣṇave svāhā 2. 6.

bhuvo janat cf. om bhuvo janat.

bhūpataye svāhā 4. 1.

bhūmir bhūmim agāt 6. 5.

bhūr janat cf. om bhūr janat; 4. 1.

bhūs 5. 3.

**maṇinā rūpāni** 5. 6.

madhvaḥ somasyāśvinā madāya 6. 9.

manase cetase dhiye 2. 5.

manur bbava janayā daivyaṃ ja-  
naṃ 1. 3.

mantravanti ca kāryāṇi sarvāṇy  
adhyayanam ca yat 1. 3.

mamā 'gne varcaḥ 2. 5; 6. 1.

mayobhuvā supraṇīti gamema 6. 1.

mahato mahimā asya 3. 10.

mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī ca naḥ 4. 1;  
cf. 4. 3.

mātā mātaram apy agāt 6. 5.

mā tvā dabb(y)an yātudhānaḥ 2. 5.

mā na āpo medhām 1. 4.

mā naḥ kiṃcana rīriṣaḥ 4. 2.

mā naḥ piparid (l. piparad?) aśvinā  
6. 9.

mā naḥ prāpad uchunā kācid anyā  
3. 10.

mānuṣāt ta ākāśād divyam ākāśam  
sprṇomi svāhā 2. 9.

mā no asya jagataḥ pāṛthivasya 3. 10.

mā no madhyā rīriṣatāyur gantoḥ  
6. 1.

mā no mabāntaṃ 4. 1.

mā no medhām mā no dīkṣām 1. 4.

mā no vidan 2. 4; 6. 9.

mā no hiṃsiṣṭa(m) yat tapaḥ 1. 4.

māndā vāśaḥ śuādhyūr ajirāḥ 6. 2.

mā prajāma patho vayaṃ 6. 5.

mā prahāsiḥ 4. 4.

mā bradhnaḥ śarmabhiḥ ṣṭuhi (?)  
2. 5.

mā brahma pramathīṣṭana 1. 4.

mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam 4. 4.

mā hiṃsir deva preṣitaḥ 4. 2.

mitraḥ kṛṣṭir animiṣā 'bhicaṣṭe 4. 3.

mitraḥ pṛthivyā adhyakṣaḥ (?) 1. 2.

mitrabhrtaḥ kṣatrabhrtaḥ svarāṣṭrā  
iha mā 'vata 6. 2.

mitrāya varuṇāya ca 2. 4.

mitrāya havyaṃ ghṛtavaj jubota 4. 3.

mitro janān yātayati 4. 3.

mitro dādāhā pṛthivim 4. 3.

minamṭā dasyor aśivasya māyāḥ  
6. 9.

**ya indreṇa sṛṣṭo yadi vā  
marudbhiḥ 2. 6.**

ya imaṃ 2. 2.

ya ṛte cid abhiśriṣaḥ 6. 5.

yakṣmād asmād āmayataḥ 2. 2.

yajamānaṃ ca varddhaya 2. 4.

yajiṣṭho vahnitamaḥ śośucānaḥ 4. 1.

yajña eti vitataḥ kalpamānaḥ 2. 9.

yajñaś ca tvā dakṣiṇā ca śṛṇitām 6. 3.

yajñaś ca tvā vāyuś ca śṛṇitām 6. 3.

yajñasya tvā pramayo-'nmayā-'bhi-  
mayā pratimayā paridadema svāhā  
4. 1.

yajñasya saṃtatir asi yajñasya tvā  
saṃtatyā saṃtanomi 1. 3.

yajñasya hi stha ṛtvijā 6. 6.

yato jātas tato 'py avām (?) 4. 1.

yatkāmās te juhumaḥ 2. 5.

yat kiṃ ce 'dam varuṇa 1. 2.

yat tvam agne 2. 5.

yatra devaiḥ sadhamādam madema  
1. 3.

yatra naś cakraḥ jarasaṃ tanūnām  
6. 1.

yathe 'dam barhis tathā 2. 5.

yad agnir barhir adahat (?) 2. 5.

yad agne pūrvaṃ nihitaṃ padaṃ  
hi te 5. 2.

yad asmṛti 3. 4.

yad udagān mahato mahimā asya  
3. 10.

yad dūre sann ihā 'bhavaḥ 6. 2.

yad vā grhān ghoram utā 'jagāma  
2. 6.

yad vāco yac ca me hrdaḥ 6. 1.

yad vā yajñam no 'dbhutam ājagā-  
ma 2. 6.

yad vā 'skandad dhaviṣo yatra-yatra  
1. 3.

yaṃ tvam agne 2. 5.

yan mātṛ ajagann apaḥ 6. 1.

yan mṛtaḥ punar apy eti jīvān 6. 3.

yan me chidraṃ manaso yac ca vā-  
caḥ 1. 3.

yan me manasaś chidraṃ 6. 1.

yan me skannaṃ 3. 4.

yan me skannaṃ manaso jātavedaḥ  
1. 3.

yamo rājā no yayau (?) 2. 3.

yayor ojaś 1. 5; 6. 9.

yayoḥ sarvaṃ 2. 9.

yas tvam agne pramattānām 2. 5.

yasmāt kṛṇoti ketum ā 5. 6.

yasmād bhītā niśīdasi 2. 4.  
 yasmān minoty ajarah 5. 6.  
 yās te agna ādrā yonayo jāh kulā-  
 yiniḥ 6. 2.  
 yās te agne tanva ūrjo nāma 6. 2.  
 yūpaḥ papāta dviṣatām vadhāya 2. 6.  
 yūpo virohaṇ chataśākho adhvarah  
 2. 6.  
 yūpo hy arukṣad dviṣatām vadhāya  
 2. 6.  
 ye te agna indavo yā u nabhayah  
 6. 2.  
 ye devā yajñam āyānti 2. 5.  
 yena gachathah sukṛto dūronam 6. 9.  
 yena pathā vaivasvataḥ 2. 3, 8.  
 yebhiḥ sapitvam pitaro na āsan 6. 9.  
 yo agniḥ 3. 7.  
 yo ajitaro mitramaho vanuṣyāt 5. 6.  
 yogakṣemasya śāntya 4. 2.  
 yo naḥ sanuty abhidāsad agne 5. 6.  
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upasthāna 4. 4.

upāśvantaryāma 3. 2; 6. 6.

upākṛta 2. 9; 5. 5.

upāyana s. vrato°.

ubha 4. 4.

uṣṇa 1. 3.

**ūdhas** 2. 4.

ūru 3. 1; 6. 7.

ūrj 5. 6.

uh + nis 1. 3.

**re** s. arddharca; tṛc; 1. 2, 5; 2.  
 1, 4, 6, 9; 3. 4; 4. 1.

rjīṣa 3. 3.

rtu s. tadahartau.

rtvij 1. 2; 2. 6; 3. 9; 6. 4, 7, 9.

rddhi 1. 5.

ṛṣabha 5. 6.

**ekakapāla** 2. 8; 4. 1, 4.

ekatantra 3. 9.

ekahāyana 4. 1.

ekāgni 1. 1; 2. 9; 6. 9.

ekādaśa 3. 7.

ekādaśakapāla 3. 10.

ekānnaṭṭiṃśaḥ (?) 6. 8.

ekāha 3. 9.

ekaika 6. 5.

edha 3. 8.

**aindra** 2. 1; 3. 3, 10; 4. 1.

aindravāyava 6. 7.

aindrāgna 3. 1, 3.

aindrābārhaspatya 3. 3.

aindrāvaruṇa 3. 3.

aindrāvaiṣṇava 3. 3.

**odana** s. brahmau° 4. 1.

oṣadhi 3. 2; 5. 6; 6. 4.

**auttaravedika** 6. 1, 2.

audumbara 6. 1.

audgātra 3. 4.

aupavasathya 2. 9.

**kakubha** 3. 3.

katham 1. 1, 5; 2. 3, 8, 9; 3. 5, 7, 8.

kapāla s. eka°; ekādaśa°; catuḥ°;  
trayodaśa°; tri°; dvādaśa°;

dvi°; nava°; sapta°; 4. 1; 6. 2.

kam 6. 4.

kar s. kṛta.

+ apa + ā 4. 1.

+ upa + ā s. upākṛta; 2. 9;  
4. 2; 6. 6, 8, 9.

+ abhi + upa + ā 6. 3.

+ paryagni 2. 9.

+ punas 1. 1.

karna 5. 2.

karman s. avadāna°; āsanna°;  
yajamāna°; 1. 1; 2. 5, 6; 3. 5,  
6, 8; 4. 2.

karmaviparyāsa 3. 4.

karmaśeṣa 2. 5.

kalaśa s. tat°; soma°; 6. 4, 6.

kalp s. klpta.

+ upa 2. 5.

kalpa s. ācārya°; nitya°.

kavyavāhana 2. 9.

kāṅkṣ + ā 1. 1.

kāṅva 3. 5, 8.

kāma s. vakṣya°; 3. 9, 10.

kāmasūkta 2. 5.

kārin s. soma°.

kārya s. yathā°; 1. 3.

kāla s. nityahoma°; bhakṣa°;

varittamāna°; 3. 6.

kālātipāta 5. 3.

kimcit 3. 8, 9; 6. 1, 4.

kim 2. 2, 3.

kiyant 3. 6.

kiṭāvapanna 2. 6; 4. 1, 3.

kīrttanastotra 6. 7.

kīrtay 6. 7.

kuśala 2. 9.

kṛta 2. 2, 3; 3. 10.

kṛtāmtva (?) 6. 4.

kṛṣṇa 6. 2.

klpta 6. 8.

klpti 3. 8.

keśaśmaśru 3. 7.

kratu s. sarva°; 6. 4.

kram + ati 3. 9.

+ upa (?) 6. 4.

krayaṇa s. soma°.

kṛi 3. 1; 6. 4.

+ pari s. parikṛita.

kṛita 3. 1; 6. 4.

kṛitasoma s. a°.

kṣal + pra 2. 5; 5. 2.

kṣāma s. vi°; sarva°; 2. 1.

kṣāmavati 5. 5.

kṣānavant 2. 1; 5. 4.

kṣīraśrī 3. 3.

kṣodiṣṭha 5. 3.

**khyā + vi + ā** s. vyākhyāta; 1. 1;  
2. 9; 3. 1, 6; 6. 1.

khyā + pari 3. 1.

+ pra 2. 4.

+ sam + pra 2. 4.

+ pra + sam 3. 6.

+ prati s. pratikhyāta.

**gaṇa** s. ahar° 3. 3.

gam 6. 5.

+ adhi 2. 4, 9.

+ anu s. anugata; 1. 5; 3. 9

4. 3; 5. 1, 3; 6. 1.

+ ā s. āgata.

+ ā 2. 4; 3. 5, 6, 8; 6. 7.

+ apa + ā 6. 8.

3 gar 1. 5.

garbha s. hiraṇya°; 2. 5.  
 2 gā 3. 8.  
 + ud 3. 10.  
 gāyatrī 5. 6; 6. 6.  
 gārhapatyā s. āhavanīya°; 1. 1, 3,  
 5; 2. 3; 3. 4, 8; 4. 1, 4; 6. 1.  
 gārhapatyalakṣaṇa 5. 1.  
 gārhapatyājya 2. 3.  
 guṣpita 1. 5.  
 gr̥ha s. agni°; 1. 1; 5. 4.  
 gr̥hapati 3. 9.  
 gr̥hita s. catur°; 2. 5.  
 go 2. 8; 5. 5, 6.  
 gotrin 3. 7.  
 gopāyana 3. 5, 8.  
 gaurīvita 6. 6.  
 granthi 2. 9.  
 grabh s. gr̥hita; caturgr̥hita;  
 samkrahīṣyām; 3. 9; 6. 2,  
 3, 7, 10.  
 + ud 3. 2; 6. 1.  
 + pari 4. 1; 6. 6.  
 graba 6. 3, 7.  
 grāma 2. 7.  
 grāmya 2. 7; 5. 4.  
 grāvan 6. 3.  
 ghar + abhi 2. 1, 9.  
 gharmadugha 2. 4.  
 ghṛta 4. 1.  
 cakṣ + ā 2. 2, 3.  
 + pari 5. 2.  
 cakṣus 1. 2.  
 catuḥkapāla 4. 1.  
 caturgr̥hita 1. 5; 2. 3; 6. 8.  
 catuḥśarāva 4. 1.  
 candramās 3. 4, 10; 5. 3, 6.  
 cam + ā 2. 9.  
 camasa 3. 5; 6. 3, 7.  
 car + abhi 2. 9.  
 + pari 2. 9.  
 + pra 3. 6, 9; 4. 1.  
 + anu + pra 4. 1.  
 caru 1. 2; 4. 4; 5. 1, 3.  
 carusthālī 1. 3.  
 cāndramasa 3. 4.  
 cārin 3. 7.  
 ci + vi 3. 1.

ci + sam 6. 2.  
 cittavyāpattys (?) 3. 5.  
 cintā 3. 8.  
 1 cyu 1. 5.  
 chad + anu (?) 3. 7.  
 chandas 3. 1, 2; 5. 6; 6. 6.  
 chāyā 1. 1.  
 chid + pra 6. 1.  
 + vi s. vichinna; 2. 1, 10;  
 5. 1; 6. 5.  
 + abhi + vi 6. 9.  
 chedana 6. 9.  
 jan 2. 9; 5. 2, 5.  
 janapada s. samāna°; 6. 1, 4.  
 japa s. bhakṣa°; 2. 9; 6. 9.  
 jarāmarya 3. 6.  
 jāgata 2. 9.  
 jāṅgala 3. 10.  
 jānu 1. 3.  
 jānim (?) 6. 8.  
 ji s. aparājita.  
 jiv 3. 6, 9.  
 + ati 2. 9.  
 jñā 3. 8.  
 + anu 6. 6.  
 + ā s. anājñāta.  
 + pra s. prajñāta.  
 + vi 3. 8; 6. 6.  
 + sam 3. 2.  
 jyotiṣmant 2. 7; 5. 1, 4.  
 jyotis 1. 5; 3. 4.  
 jval + pra 2. 5; 3. 7, 8.  
 taṇḍula 5. 3.  
 taṇḍulābhava 5. 3.  
 tatkalāṣa 6. 6.  
 tatrastha 3. 10.  
 tadahartau (?) vgl. ahan; ṛtu; 6. 8.  
 taddevatya 3. 3.  
 taddaivatya 6. 8.  
 tadrūpa 2. 9; 5. 5.  
 tadvarṇa 2. 9; 5. 5.  
 tan 1. 5.  
 + sam s. samtata; 1. 3.  
 tanū s. soma°; 6. 8.  
 tantu s. uda°.

- tantumant 2. 1, 8; 5. 4, 4.  
 tantra s. eka°; nānā°; 2. 8; 3. 9,  
 10; 6. 7.  
 tap + sam 2. 9.  
 tapas 3. 1; 5. 6.  
 tapasvatī 5. 1.  
 tar 1. 1.  
 taruṇī s. pālāśa°.  
 tānūnaptra 3. 1.  
 tāntrika 2. 5.  
 tāvant 2. 8; 3. 6.  
 tiraśca 4. 4.  
 tirtha 3. 3.  
 tūṣṇīm 1. 1; 3. 8.  
 trea 6. 4.  
 tṛṇa 2. 4.  
 tṛṭiya 5. 3.  
 tṛṭiyasavana 3. 3; 6. 4, 9.  
 tṛṭiyāha 2. 9.  
 tejas 2. 3.  
 taittiriyabrāhmaṇa 6. 8.  
 trayastrimśat 6. 8.  
 trayodaśa 6. 1.  
 trayodaśakapāla 5. 5.  
 tri 2. 9; 6. 7, 8.  
 trikāpāla 4. 1.  
 trivṛt 5. 6.  
 triṣṭubh 6. 6.  
 tredhā 2. 2; 5. 3.  
 traiṣṭubha 2. 9.  
 tvaj 3. 8.  
 tvar 5. 1.  
 + sam 1. 5.  
 tvāṣṭra 2. 6; 5. 6.  
**dakṣiṇa** 1. 3, 5; 2. 6; 3. 2; 4. 2;  
 5. 2; 6. 1, 7.  
 dakṣiṇatas 2. 9.  
 dakṣiṇa s. pañcadakṣiṇa; sar-  
 vavedasa°; 3. 3; 5. 3, 5; 6. 1.  
 dakṣiṇāgni 1. 1, 5; 3. 4, 8; 4. 1, 4;  
 5. 1.  
 dakṣiṇāgra 4. 4.  
 dadhī 5. 3.  
 1 dar + ā 4. 1.  
 + vi 6. 4, 6.  
 darbha s. sa°; 1. 2; 2. 5; 3. 8; 5. 3.  
 darbhasṭamba 5. 2.  
 darś 2. 2, 3; 6. 10.  
 darś + abhi + ud s. abhyuddrṣṭa;  
 drṣṭābhyuddrṣṭa.  
 darśapūrṇamāsa 5. 3.  
 daśarātra 3. 7.  
 daśahaviṣka (?) 6. 7.  
 das + upa 6. 3, 5.  
 dah 2. 9; 3. 8.  
 + api s. apidagdha.  
 + ava 5. 1.  
 + sam 2. 9.  
 dahana 6. 9.  
 1 dā + ā 6. 5, 9.  
 + vi + ā s. vyātta; 2. 9  
 3 dā + ava 2. 9; 5. 5.  
 dātar 2. 2; 5. 3.  
 dārumaya 6. 5.  
 dāva 2. 7; 5. 4.  
 dāśya (?) 6. 4.  
 divya 2. 7; 3. 1; 5. 4; 6. 10.  
 diś s. pratidiśam.  
 + anu 2. 9.  
 + pra 2. 9.  
 dīkṣ + upa s. upadīkṣū; 6. 7.  
 + sam s. saṇḍīkṣita.  
 dīkṣā s. avāntara°; 3. 1; 6. 8.  
 dīkṣāvāṇṭva (?) 6. 4.  
 dīkṣita 2. 9; 6. 1, 7.  
 dīp 5. 2.  
 + ā 2. 5.  
 durita 6. 8, 9.  
 durgāpatti 3. 9.  
 duḥśrita 4. 1.  
 1 duḥ 4. 1.  
 duṣṭa s. abhakṣa°; 2. 6; 4. 2.  
 duh s. adugdha; śūdradugdha;  
 1. 3; 2. 4; 4. 1.  
 dūrvājya 6. 10.  
 dṛḍha 5. 5.  
 drṣṭa 2. 3; 6. 10.  
 drṣṭābhyuddrṣṭa 2. 2.  
 deva 2. 6; 5. 6; 6. 10.  
 devatā s. taddevatya; taddai-  
 vatya; yaddevatya; viṣṇu-  
 va-rūnadevatya; 3. 2, 4; 6. 6.  
 devatāntara 4. 1.  
 devatāmaya 6. 1.  
 devatāvadāna 4. 1.  
 devaloka 3. 8.  
 devasṛpti 2. 9.



daivata 2. 2, 3; 3. 4.

daivatya s. tad°.

daivya 1. 2.

dohana 4. 3.

dyo 3. 1, 4; 5. 6.

dyotāna 6. 3.

dru + anu 5. 1.

dvādaśakapāla 2. 3; 4. 4; 5. 3.

dvādaśarātra 4. 4.

dvādaśi (?) 6. 4.

dvi 2. 4.

dvikapāla 4. 1.

dvitiya 5. 3.

dviṣ + vi 6. 6.

dveṣyāyata (?) 4. 1.

dvaiddha 2. 1; 4. 1.

dvaipāyana 2. 2, 3.

dhana s. adattapūrvā°.

dhar cf. bar; 1. 2.

+ ud 5. 1; 6. 7.

dhavanīya 3. 3.

dhā + abhi s. abhihita.

+ ava 5. 1; 6. 1.

+ vi + ava s. avyavahita.

+ ā 5. 2; 6. 2.

+ anu + ā s. anvādhāna.

+ abhi + ā 2. 5, 9; 4. 3; 6. 6.

+ pari + ā 2. 9.

+ pra + ā 2. 9.

+ vi + ā 2. 9.

+ upa + sam + ā 2. 5; 4. 4.

+ ni 1. 1; 3. 3, 5, 8; 6. 7.

+ upa + ni 6. 7.

+ pra 6. 1.

+ prati s. rukmapratihita.

+ vi s. vihita.

+ sam 3. 1, 4; 4. 1; 6. 8.

dhāv + abhi 1. 3.

dhīṣṇya 3. 2.

1 dhū 2. 9.

dhenu 3. 2; 5. 5; 6. 2.

dhruva 6. 3.

dhvāṅkṣā 2. 6.

nakṣatra 5. 6.

nakha s. loma°.

namas 2. 9.

nava 2. 4.

navakapāla 2. 8.

naś s. naṣṭa.

naṣṭa 2. 8; 4. 1; 6. 4, 5. 9.

nah + sam s. saṃnaddhedhmā-barhis.

+ upa + sam s. upasaṃ-naddha.

nādeya 5. 6.

nānātanta 3. 9.

nārāṣaṃsa 3. 3; 6. 5.

nigama s. brāhmaṇa°.

nitya 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8; 6. 4.

nityakalpā (?) 6. 8.

nityahomakāla 2. 1; 5. 1.

nidhana s. vaṣaṭkāra°; 6. 4.

nibhūyapūr (?) 3. 3.

niyatavrata 3. 7.

niyutvant 2. 9.

nirmathya 3. 7; 5. 1.

nirvapaṇaprabhṛti 4. 1.

nivṛtta 6. 2.

nivṛtti 6. 8.

niśā 4. 4.

nī + api 4. 3; 6. 3.

+ ud s. unnita; 3. 2, 3; 4. 3; 5. 1.

+ ni 2. 4; 4. 1.

+ upa + ni 1. 5.

+ pra 1. 5; 2. 5; 3. 1; 5. 3; 6. 1.

+ anu + pra s. anupraṇita.

nṛcakṣas 3. 3.

nyagrodha 5. 6.

nyāya 6. 8.

nyupta 3. 1.

pañca 1. 1, 2; 2. 4; 5. 6; 6. 5, 8.

pañcadakṣiṇa 6. 4.

pañcaśarāva 4. 1.

pañcājya 2. 9.

pañcājyāhuti 3. 9.

1 paṇ 3. 1.

pat + ut 4. 2.

+ ni 2. 6.

+ sam + ni s. saṃnipatita.

+ pra s. prapatita; 2. 6, 9; 5. 5; 6. 1.

patatrin 5. 6.

patuī 2. 6; 4. 2.

patnya (?) 3. 8.

2 path 5. 3.

pathikṛt 2. 3, 8.

pad + ati s. atipanna.

+ ava s. avapanna; kīṭāva-  
panna.

+ ā 1. 3; 2. 1; 3. 8.

+ vi + ā 2. 1; 3. 4, 10; 4. 2;  
6. 5.

pada 5. 2.

pannejana cf. pānnejanī.

payas 2. 8; 6. 7.

par 2. 9.

parāk 5. 3.

parāsa 5. 3.

parikṛta 6. 4.

parikhyāta 3. 1.

paridhi s. bahiṣṭ; antaḥpari-  
dhideśa.

parimāṇa 6. 10.

parṇa 4. 1.

paryagnikṛta 3. 2.

paryāya s. rātri; 3. 3.

parvan 5. 4.

parśam (?) 2. 9.

pavamāna 6. 4.

pavitra 3. 3.

paś + parā 5. 2.

paśu 1. 1; 2. 6; 3. 1, 2, 3, 10; 5.  
5. 6.

paśugava 5. 5.

paśubandha 2. 9; 3. 10.

paśuśrapaṇa 6. 1.

paśuṣṭhā (?) 3. 1.

paścāt 1. 2; 2. 3, 9; 3. 10; 5. 1.

pā s. apīta; pītāpīta.

pākanagnim (?) 6. 8.

pāṇi 5. 2; 6. 7.

pātra s. pūrṇa; 3. 3, 7.

pātraviniyoga s. mṛt; 3. 6, 7, 8.

pāthikṛt 2. 2.

pāthikṛta 3. 10.

pāthikṛti 5. 3.

pāda 5. 2.

pānnejanī 6. 5.

pāpman (m.) 1. 1, 5.

pāra 3. 3.

pārthiva 6. 10.

pālāsatsaru l. pālāsataruṇī (?) 3. 8.

piṅgala 5. 6.

piṇḍa s. śakṛt.

pitar 3. 3; 5. 6.

pitṛdevatya 3. 2.

pitṛmedha 2. 8, 9.

pitṛloka 3. 8.

pitrya 2. 5.

pipāsā s. aśanā.

pīta s. a.

pītāpīta 6. 6.

piṭa s. asthi.

putra 3. 9; 5. 5; 6. 7.

punar 3. 6; 6. 4.

punariṣṭi 4. 2.

punaḥsamāya 5. 6.

purastāt 2. 2, 9; 5. 3; 6. 4, 6, 7.

purastāddhoma 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4  
7, 8; 5. 1.

purā 6. 1, 4.

puruṣa 5. 2.

puruṣavidhi 6. 8.

puruṣākṛti 3. 8.

puroḍāsa 1. 2; 2. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8; 3.  
10; 4. 1, 2; 5. 3, 4; 6. 9.

1 pū s. anupūta; utpūta; su-  
pūta.

+ ut 1. 5; 2. 3.

pūtabbṛt 3. 3.

pūtika 6. 4.

pūrṇapātra 4. 2.

pūrṇamāsa s. darsapūrṇamāsa.

pūrṇāhuti 5. 6.

pūṣan 3. 1.

pṛthivi 3. 1, 4.

prṣadāya 5. 5.

prṣṭha 3. 3.

paurṇamāsyā 3. 10.

paurṇamāsyāmāvāsyā 2. 2.

prakṛti s. yathā 3. 10.

prajāpati 3. 1, 2; 4. 3; 6. 8.

prajñāta 2. 9.

pratikhyāta 3. 3.

pratidiśam 6. 6.

pratiprasthātā 6. 1.

pratimā 3. 1.

pratiṣṭhā 4. 1.

pratiharaṇa 2. 2, 3.

pratyak 2. 6.

pratyāñc 1. 5.

prathama 3. 5 (?); 5. 1, 5.

pradātā 2. 2; 5. 3.

pranabhasvatī 2. 5.  
 prapatita 2. 9.  
 prabhu 6. 10.  
 prabhṛti s. aṅga°.  
 pramā 3. 1.  
 pramukha 6. 7.  
 prayāja 2. 6; 3. 3; 4. 1.  
 prayukta 6. 10.  
 pravara 3. 3.  
 pravargya 6. 8.  
 pravāsa 2. 8.  
 pravṛtta 3. 9, 10; 6. 2, 3.  
 prasavya 2. 9.  
 prasiddha 1. 3; 2. 9.  
 prastotar 6. 5.  
 prāk 6. 8.  
 prākṛta 2. 4; 3. 10.  
 prākśīras 2. 5.  
 prāṇmukha 1. 3.  
 prācīna 4. 3.  
 prācīnāvītam 6. 7.  
 prāñe 1. 5; 2. 6, 7; 3. 5, 9; 5. 1.  
 prāṇa 1. 1, 2, 5; 2. 3; 3. 2; 4. 1;  
 5. 6.  
 prāṇāpāna 6. 6.  
 prātar 1. 2; 4. 3.  
 prātaranuvāka 3. 2; 6. 6, 8.  
 prātarāśa 4. 4.  
 prātarābuti 4. 4.  
 prātardoha 2. 1; 4. 1.  
 prātardohasthāna 4. 1.  
 prātaḥsavana 3. 3; 6. 4, 6, 9.  
 prādeśa 4. 1.  
 prāyaṇīya 3. 1, 3, 6.  
 prāyaścitta s. sarva°; 1. 1, 3; 3. 8;  
 5. 1, 5; 6. 9, 10.  
 prāyaścittaprakaraṇa 6. 10.  
 prāyaścitti s. upacārabhākṣa°(?);  
 1. 2, 3, 5; 2. 1; 3. 8, 10.  
 prī 2. 3.  
 plu + abhi 2. 7; 5. 4.

### phaṭkārprabhṛti 6. 6.

**bandh** 1. 2; 2. 5.  
 barhis s. adobarhiṣa; samna-  
 ddhedhmā°; 2. 5; 3. 2; 4. 1.  
 basta 5. 6.  
 bahiṣparidhi 4. 2.

bahiṣpavamāna 3. 3; 6. 1, 5.  
 bahis 2. 9.  
 bahu 2. 9.  
 bahurūpa 5. 6.  
 bahuvid 5. 1.  
 bādhaka 2. 9.  
 bārhaspatya cf. aindrā°.  
 budh + ud 4. 1.  
 + ni 6. 10.  
 bṛhaspati s. aindrābārhaspatya;  
 3. 1.  
 brahmatva 3. 4.  
 brahman m. 1. 2; 2. 6; 3. 4; 5. 6;  
 6. 1, 5, 6, 7.  
 brahman n. 3. 3; 5. 6.  
 brahmabali 5. 6.  
 brahmavrata 3. 1; 6. 8.  
 brahmasāma 6. 3.  
 brahmaudana 4. 3.  
 brāhmaṇa m. 3. 7; 4. 4; 5. 1, 2, 6;  
 6. 6, 8.  
 brāhmaṇa n. s. taittirīya°; vā-  
 jasaneyī°; 2. 9.  
 brāhmaṇaṅgama 1. 1.  
 brāhmaṇācamaṣin 3. 3; 6. 7.  
 brāhmaṇokta 2. 2.  
 brū + pari 6. 6.  
**bhākṣ** s. bhākṣita; 3. 3, 5; 6. 3.  
 bhākṣa s. a°; upacāra°; 3. 3, 5.  
 bhākṣakāla 3. 5.  
 bhākṣajapa 3. 5.  
 bhākṣaṇa 3. 5.  
 bhākṣaṇīya 6. 3.  
 bhākṣabhākṣaṇa 3. 5, 10.  
 bhākṣita 3. 3.  
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 bhaj + vi s. devatāvibha-  
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 bhadra 3. 1.  
 bhaya 1. 3; 2. 4.  
 bhar 5. 2.  
 + sam 5. 3.  
 bhasman s. sabhasmaka; 1. 3; 2.  
 5, 6; 5. 1, 2.  
 bhāga s. ājya°; saṃsṛāva°; so-  
 ma°.

bhāgadheya 3. 2.  
 bhāgini 4. 1.

bhāṇḍa s. yajña°.  
 bhārūṇḍasāman 3. 8.  
 bhārgava 4. 1.  
 bhāryā 5. 5.  
 bhid s. bhinna; 6. 2, 5.  
     + ava 4. 3.  
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 bhuḥ 4. 4.  
 bhū + anu 5. 6.  
 bhūyas 1. 5.  
 bhedana 6. 9.  
 bhojya (?) 3. 10.  
 bhram + vi 2. 5.  
 bhrātar 3. 9; 6. 7.  
 bhrātrvya 3. 2.  
  
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 1 math 2. 4, 8; 5. 2.  
     + nis s. nirmathya; nir-  
     manthya.  
 madhya (?) 2. 1.  
 madhyama 5. 3.  
 man + abhi s. abhimata.  
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 mantra 6. 8.  
 mantray + anu 1. 5; 2. 4; 6. 2.  
     + abhi 1. 3; 2. 5; 4. 1; 5. 5;  
     6. 3, 5.  
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 manth 2. 4, 8; 3. 1; 5. 1, 2; 6. 1.  
     + nis 3. 8.  
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 maya s. āsma°; dāru°; devatā°;  
     yava°; loha°.  
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 1 marj 3. 6, 7.  
     + abhi + vi 1. 3.  
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 marś + abhi s. abhimrṣṭa.  
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 mahāpāthikṛtī 2. 3.  
 mahāvira 6. 9.  
 mahendra 2. 1.  
 3 mā 3. 1.  
     + upa (?) 6. 1.  
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 2 mi + pra 3. 7.  
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     + sam + ā s. samāmnāta.  
 mluc + abhi + ni 4. 4; 5. 1.  
  
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 yathāsukham 3. 7.  
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yavāgū 2. 9; 5. 5.

yaviṣṭha 6. 6.

yaśas 2. 3.

yā + upa 3. 9.

+ pra 4. 5; 5. 3.

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yājyānuvākyāvratyāsa 4. 1.

yāna 1. 3.

yāvānt 2. 8.

yuga s. vāso°

yugamdhara 6. 2.

yugapat 3. 8.

yuj 2. 9.

+ pra s. prayukta.

yūpa 2. 6; 3. 2.

yūpavirūḍha 5. 6.

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rathambara 6. 5.

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raśana 3. 2.

rājan 5. 6.

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rātri s. daśarātram; ṣoḍaśarātra.

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rātrī 6. 6.

rāthambara 3. 3.

1 riṣ + vi s. viriṣṭa.

rukmapratihita 6. 7.

rudra 3. 1, 3.

2 rudh + apa 4. 2.

— ava s. avaruddha.

+ upa 5. 2.

+ vi 1. 1.

ruh + sam + ā s. asamārūḍha;

2. 4; 3. 8.

— vi 2. 6; 5. 6.

+ sam 2. 4.

rūpa s. tad°; soma°; 5. 6.

raudra 2. 4.

**labh** s. alabhyamāna.

+ ā 1. 3; 2. 5, 9; 5. 6; 6. 7.

+ anu + ā 3. 8; 4. 2.

+ upa + ā 6. 7.

+ upa 6. 10.

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1 lī + vi 1. 5; 2. 3.

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+ upa 2. 9.

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+ abhi 3. 2.

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+ vi + ā 3. 4.

+ sam + ā 3. 7.

+ upa 2. 6; 5. 2.

+ ni s. nyupta.

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4. 1.

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trā°; viṣṇuvaruṇa°; 3. 1, 3.

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varṇa s. tad°.

varj + sam 2. 7.

varjam s. sampraisa°.

varṇa s. tad°.

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+ abhi + ā 3. 3; 4. 2.

+ vi + ā s. vyāvṛtta, 6. 6.

+ ud 1. 5.

+ ni s. nivṛtta; 1. 3; 6. 2.

+ pari 5. 5.

+ pra s. pravṛtta; 3. 9; 6. 2.

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 3 vas + pra 1. 1; 3. 6; 5. 4  
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 5 vas (?) 5. 3.  
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 vrata s. niyata°; brahma°.  
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 1 śar s. śirṇa.  
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sad 3. 8.

+ ava 3. 2.

+ ā 3. 1, 10; 4. 2.

+ sam + ā s. samāsanana.

+ ud s. utsanna.

+ upa 3. 7.

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   + adhi 4. 1.  
   + ava s. avaskauna.  
   + vi s. viṣkanna; 1. 5.  
   + sam s. samskanna.  
 skanna 1. 3; 3. 4; 4. 1; 5. 5.  
 skannāhuta 4. 3.  
 stabh (?) 6. 1.  
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 stu 6. 1, 3, 4, 5.  
 stena (?) 3. 5, 8.  
 stotra s. kīrttana°; 6. 3, 7.  
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 sthā + ava 6. 7.  
   + ud s. uttha; utthita; 2  
   4, 9.  
   + upa + ud 4. 1.  
   + upa 1. 1; 3. 5; 5. 3.  
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sthā + sam 1. 2; 2. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8;  
 5. 1; 6. 4.  
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 sparś + sam 2. 8; 5. 1.  
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 svarga 1. 1, 3.  
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 + apa s. apahatapāpman;  
 1. 5.  
 + ā 6. 7.  
 + pari + nis 2. 5.  
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 + apa 2. 1; 4. 1; 6. 1, 4.  
 + abhi 3. 1, 2.  
 + abhi + ava 4. 1.  
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 + ā 2. 5; 3. 5, 7; 6. 4.  
 + anu + ā 1. 1, 3.  
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 + abhi + ud s. anabhyu-  
 ddhṛta; 1. 1, 2; 2. 7; 5. 4.  
 + sam + ud 5. 1.  
 + abhi + upa 2. 9.  
 + pari 1. 5.  
 + anu + pra 2. 6; 4. 1.  
 + vi 2. 8; 3. 7; 5. 2.  
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 1 hvā + ā 1. 3.

## Berichtigungen.

1. 3. S. 73 Z. 8 lies statt dhārayed: dhārayed |.
1. 5. S. 77 Z. 1 " " cyavate<sup>79</sup>: cyavate.
- " " Anm. Z. 3 streiche: <sup>79</sup> A cyavamte.
2. 2. S. 79 Z. 2 lies statt "jyahaviṣe-ṣṭyā: "jyahaviṣe ṣṭyā.
2. 7. S. 89 Anm. Z. 19 lies statt vidyamāna: 'vidyamāna.
2. 9. S. 93 Z. 15 lies: pitṛmedha <sup>362</sup> |
3. 1. S. 94 Z. 13—14 lies statt brahmavrate: brahma vrate |.
- " " letzte Zeile lies samrāḍ āsandyām.
3. 2. S. 95 Z. 2—1 von unten lies nibhūyapūr ādhāvāniye.
3. 5. S. 97 Z. 18 lies statt ce' | ty: ce'ty |
3. 8. S. 99 Z. 12 lies: vā 'samāmnātānām.
3. 10. S. 101 Z. 12 lies statt vāto ātmānam: vātaṃ te ātmā.
4. 1. S. 104 Anm. <sup>613</sup> lies statt bhutaṃ: bhūtaṃ.
- " S. 105 Z. 9 lies statt uṣaṣo: uṣaso.
- " S. 106 Z. 4 lies statt om: oṃ.
- " " Anm. Z. 24 lies statt viparyāseno 'dvāsane: viparyāse 'nudvāsane.
- " " " Z. 33 " " trarthiyā: trārthiṣyā.
- " S. 107 " Z. 3 " " viparyāsenā 'vāhane: viparyāse 'nāvāhane.
- " S. 108 " Z. 32 " " °-samkhyā-°: °-saṃkhyā-°.
- " " " Z. 44 " " sunavāma-soma: sunavāma soma.
- " S. 109 " Z. 21 füge hinter apy agā ein: gemeint ist yato jātaḥ tato 'py avām.
- " S. 110 " Z. 6 lies statt āmikṣa-°: āmikṣā-°.
- " " " Z. 28 " " jātavedā: jātavedāḥ.
- " S. 111 Z. 3 lies statt suprajās tvaṃ: suprajāstvaṃ.
- " " Anm. Z. 5 lies statt sahaṃ: ahaṃ.
4. 2. S. 112 Z. 6 lies statt "gahi: "gāhi.
- " " Anm. Z. 18 lies statt "gnidhraḥ: "gnīdhraḥ.
- " " " Z. 2 von unten lies statt ṛayate: trayate.
4. 3. S. 113 " Z. 9 lies statt śabdāyet: śabdayet.
- " " " Z. 12 " " °dvāsitaṃ: 'dvāsitaṃ.
- " S. 114 Z. 5 lies statt prajāpater: prajāpater.
- " " Anm. Z. 17 lies statt oben: unten.
4. 4. S. 117 " Z. 12 " " akaśad: akśad.
- " S. 118 " Z. 10 " " praṇīteśv: 'praṇīteṣv.
- " " " Z. 23 " " viśvadarśataś: viśvadarśataḥ.
- " " " Z. 28 " " vratabhṛc: vratabhṛt.
- " " " Z. 29 " " athā pra-: athā 'pra-.
- " S. 119 Z. 2 lies statt °-aha: °-ahā.
- " " Anm. Z. 21 lies statt "dānīm: 'dānīm.
- " S. 120 " Z. 2 " " 'havanīyāv: "havanīyāv.
- " " " Z. 7 " " die: das.

5. 1. S. 121 Anm. Z. 10 lies statt baddh[*v*]eti: baddheti [gemeint: bādhyate].  
 " " " Z. 18 " " 'ddharaṇādīni: 'ddharaṇādīni.  
 " S. 122 Z. 5 lies statt samrād: samrād.  
 " S. 123 Anm. Z. 15 lies statt abhimamtraṇādīni: abhimamtraṇādīni.  
 " " " Z. 17 " " samrād: samrād.  
 " " " Z. 21 " " sāyam agnihotre: sāyam-agnihotre.  
 " " " Z. 22 " " viśeṣā-'bhidhāt: 'viśeṣā-'bhidhāt.  
 " " " Z. 25 füge hinter itaraściṣminn ein: „lies wahrscheinlich:  
 abutam iti 'tarasminn“.  
 " " " unterste Zeile lies statt kuryat (!): kuryāt (!).  
 5. 2. S. 125 " Z. 3 von unten lies statt dvipadāprasidhy-: dvipada-  
 prasidhy-°.  
 5. 3. S. 126 " Z. 2 lies statt °śiñcet: śiñcet.  
 " " " Z. 32 " " °-siddy-: °-siddhy-°.  
 " S. 127 Z. 2 lies statt vāsaṃ<sup>331</sup>: vāsaṃ<sup>331</sup>.  
 " " Z. 6 " " anuprāyāya: anupreyāya.  
 " " Anm. <sup>336</sup> Dem hier gegebenen Rekonstruktionsversuch des  
 Textes gegenüber ist es mir wahrscheinlich, daß  
 wir statt upavakṣayet und avakhyāyās etwa ava-  
 kṣāyet und avakṣāyaṇe zu lesen haben, und daß śamyāḥ  
 parā parāśac hinter den Mantra gehört, so daß  
 die folgenden Worte zu übersetzen wären: „wenn  
 aber das Feuer, über einen Keulenwurf hinaus an-  
 geschwollen, erlischt, so möge er ihm nachgehen  
 und sodann sich dort niedersetzen . . .“; zu ver-  
 weisen ist u. a. auf Kāth. 35. 17; T. B. 3. 7. 1. 3—4; eine  
 eigentliche Rekonstruktion des Textes ist angesichts  
 dessen ungewöhnlicher Verderbtheit ausgeschlossen.  
 " S. 128 Z. 6 lies statt dadhani: dadh(a)ni.  
 " " Z. 7 " " śipiviṣṭāya | śrite prāg ukte: śipiviṣṭāya śrite  
 prāg ukte |.  
 5. 4. S. 129 Z. 4 lies statt anagnir: anagni-.  
 " " Anm. Z. 12—13 streiche die Worte „unter“ bis „verstehen“, und  
 setze an deren Stelle: „unter agnigrhāḥ wären dann  
 die Häuser zu verstehen, die sich auf dem Opfer-  
 platze befinden, aber nicht Feuerhäuser sind.“  
 " " " Z. 17 lies hinter samavāye: s. Dhātup. 4. 114 (Boehdtingk).  
 " " " Z. 28 lies statt buddhi-pūrvakaretaḥ-pāte: buddhipū-  
 vaka- retahpāte.  
 " S. 130 " Z. 1 " " dagnaye: agnaye.  
 5. 6. S. 131 Z. 15—16 " " (nabhihita): 'nabhihita.  
 5. 5. " Anm. Z. 2 " " prajāyatām: jāyatām (wie Āp. S. 9. 17. 1.).  
 6. 1. S. 132 " Z. 14 " " „vielleicht Imperative plus „anas“: „  
 vielleicht vulgäre Imperative plus „anas“;  
 möglich ist es auch, daß „pamānau“  
 des Textes durch Fortfall einer Silbe  
 aus 'pa[stam]bhānau corrumpt und  
 daß das Dvandva „stambhāno- 'pamā-  
 nau“ eine grammatische Glosse ist.

6. 1. S. 134 Anm. Z. 6 lies statt *praṇītena*: *praṇī[ta]tena*.  
 " " " Z. 14 " " „(l.: \**nimitta-prāyaścittam*)“: (l.: *prāyaścittam*).  
 " " " Z. 22 " " *smārtavaj*: *smārtavad*.  
 " " " Z. 23 " " *ūrdhvaṃ*: *ūrdhvaṃ*-.  
 6. 3. S. 136 Z. 20 lies statt *sthālī*: *sthālī*.  
 6. 4. S. 137 Z. 14 " " *upakrameranyam*: *upakrame 'raṇyam*.  
 " " Anm. Z. 12 streiche: „zu“.  
 " " " Z. 14 lies statt *krameranyam*: *krame 'raṇyam*.  
 " S. 138 " Z. 23 " " *prayoga*: *prayogaḥ*.  
 6. 5. S. 139 Z. 12 lies statt *nārāśamsā(d)*: *nārāśamsād*.  
 " " Z. 14 " *iti saṃsiñcet*.  
 6. 6. " Z. 2 von unten lies statt *vaiṣṇavatiṣu*: *vaiṣṇaviṣu*.  
 " " unterste Textzeile lies statt *stūyuh*: *stuyuh*.  
 6. 5. " Anm. Z. 9 lies statt *unnītā?*: *unnītād?*  
 6. 6. " " letzte Zeile: gemeint ist *prātaḥsavanāc cet somo 'tiryacyeta*. . . ; so richtig auch *Pañc. Br. 9. 7. T. B. 1. 4. 5. 1.*  
 " S. 140 Z. 6 lies statt *ṣṭākapālam*: *'ṣṭākapālam*.  
 " " Z. 9 " " *śamse[t]*: *śamse[d]*.  
 " " Anm. <sup>1057</sup> füge hinzu: lies *mahati rātryāḥ*; vgl. *Pañc. Br. 9. 4. 1. T. S. 7. 5. 5. 1. T. B. 1. 4. 6. 4. und Pet. Wb. u. prātaranuvāka*.  
 6. 7. S. 141 Z. 13 lies: (*saṃvatsare* <sup>1097</sup> *'sthipuṭam* <sup>1097</sup> *nidadhyuh* <sup>1098</sup>).  
 " " Z. 14 lies statt *yājayet* | *saṃāpte saṃvatsare*: *yājayet (saṃāpte saṃvatsare)*. |  
 " " Anm. Z. 17 lies statt *'diyād*: *'diyād*.  
 " " " Z. 22 " " [*']śvavadva*: [*']śvavad vā*.  
 " S. 142 Z. 1 lies statt *savanīyasyuh*: *savanīyasya syuh*.  
 " " Z. 4 " " „*daśa-haviṣam*“: „*daśa-haviṣkām*“, und bemerke unter dem Texte, daß diese Form eine Correctur der Msse ist.  
 " " Anm. Z. 3 lies statt erwähnten: erwähnen.  
 6. 8. " Z. 18 lies etwa: *aparāhṇikam cet pravargyam abhyastamiyāt*.  
 " " Anm. Z. 9 lies am Ende der Reihe: l. *taru-payasām?*  
 6. 9. S. 143 Z. 10—11 lies: *prātaḥsavanam ced (mādhyamdinam savanam) abhyastamiyād*.  
 " " Z. 13 lies: *cet (ṛtīya-) savanam*.  
 " " Z. 22 lies statt *ṛtvijām*: *ṛtvijāś*.  
 S. 144 Anm. Z. 3 von unten l.: | *śake* ||1785|| *raudranāmasaṃvatsare māse māgha-*°.

*Additions to Field from the Lyons Codex of the Old Latin.*

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The following are Hexaplaric elements in the Old Latin of the first nine chapters of the book of Joshua (Codex Lugdunensis, edited by Ulysse Robert, 1900) hitherto unknown and therefore constituting additions to Field's monumental work:

5, 4—6 is presented by the codex in a composite text the constituent elements of which come from three recensions. Heavy-faced type indicates the recension with which the Latin ordinarily goes (**r** or **ruf**; see *AJSL.*, XXVIII [1911], 4); Origen's plus (which was inserted in the Hexapla sub asterisco) is printed in Italics; Roman type indicates the text of B. Between Origen's plus and the B text there is an element which, as will be shown below, is derived from Symmachus; it is printed in Italics with the siglum σ' in front. In the parallel column the Greek is printed as found in the sources pointed out except in the case of Symmachus where the Latin is simply translated back into Greek.

**hoc autem modo pur-**  
**gavit Iesus filios Istra-**  
**hel et hoc verbo quo**  
*circumcisa est omnis*  
*plebs quae exierat ex*  
*Aegypto masculi om-*  
*nes viri bellatores*  
*mortui sunt in deser-*  
*to in via exeuntibus*  
*ipsis ex Aegypto quia*  
*incircumcisa erat om-*  
*nis plebs quae exierat*  
*et omnis plebs quae*

τουτον τον τροπον περιεκα-  
θαρεν Ιησους τους υιους  
Ισραηλ|| και ουτος ο λογος ον  
περιετεμεν Ιησους· πας ο  
λαος ο εκπορευομενος εξ 5  
Αιγυπτου το αρσενικον παν-  
τες ανδρες πολεμου οι  
απεθανον εν τη ερημω  
εν τη οδω εξελθοντων  
αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου. οτι 10  
περιτετμημενοι ησαν πας  
ο λαος ο εξελθων  
και πας ο λαος οι γεν-

	<i>fuerať in deserto in</i>	νηθεντες εν τη ερημω εν
15	<i>via cum exierunt</i>	τη οδω εξελθοντων
	<i>ipsi ex Aegypto non</i>	αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου ου
	<i>circumcisi erant</i>	περιετμηθησαν
	<i>σ' quia XL annis</i>	σ' οτι μ̄ ετη
	<i>habitaverant filii</i>	ενδιετριψαν οι υιοι
20	<i>Istrahel in deserto</i>	Ισραηλ εν τη ερημω
	<i>donec consummaretur</i>	εως ανηλωθη
	<i>omnis plebs virorum</i>	πας ο λαος ανδρες
	<i>bellatorum qui exie-</i>	πολεμισται οι εξελ-
	<i>runt ex Aegypto qui</i>	θοντες εξ Αιγυπτου οι
25	<i>non audierant vocem</i>	μη ακουσαντες της φωνης
	<i>Domini quemadmo-</i>	Κυριου    ον δε τροπον
	<i>dum autem circumci-</i>	περικαθαρεν
	<i>dit Iesus qui aliquando</i>	Ιησους τους υιους Ισραηλ·
	<i>fuerať in itinere et</i>	οσοι ποτε εγενοντο εν τη οδω
30	<i>quia quando incir-</i>	και οσοι ποτε απερι-
	<i>cumcisi erant qui pro-</i>	τμητοι ησαν των εξ-
	<i>fecti erant ex Aegypto</i>	εληλυθων εξ Αιγυπτου,
	<i>omnes istos qui pro-</i>	παντας τουτους
	<i>fecti erant circumcidit</i>	περιετεμεν
35	<i>Iesus XL enim annis</i>	Ιησους μ̄ γαρ ετη και δυο
	<i>conversatus est Istrahel</i>	ανεστραπται Ισραηλ
	<i>in deserto ideoque in-</i>	εν τη ερημω τη μαδβαρειτιδι
	<i>circumcisi erant illo-</i>	διο απεριτμητοι ησαν οι πλει-
	<i>rum plurimi viri bel-</i>	στοι αυτων των μαχιμων
40	<i>latores qui exierant</i>	των εξεληλυθων
	<i>de Aegypto qui non</i>	εκ γης Αιγυπτου οι
	<i>obaudierant praecep-</i>	απειθησαντες των
	<i>tis Domini quibus</i>	εντολων του θεου οis
	<i>et definierat etc.</i>	και διωρισε κτλ.

1 *hoc autem modo*] τουτον τον τροπον (ο has the dative, comp. 4, 3 τροπω ω iz for ον τροπον; 2, 2 τη νυκτι iz for την νυκτα; 8, 9 τη νυκτι εκεινη iz for την νυκτα εκεινη) a rephrasing of ον δε τροπον B.  $\mathfrak{A}$  presupposes τουτον δε τον τροπον | *purgavit*] Correctly for περικαθαρεν, but l. 28  $\mathfrak{A}$  has *circumcidit* =  $\mathfrak{E}$ ! Comp. περικαθαριζειν = מול De 30, 6 (α' περιτεμνειν) and περικαθαριζειν την ακαθαρσιαν = ערל ערלה Le 19, 23 (but ακροβυστιζειν την ακροβυστιαν M<sup>m</sup> v<sup>m</sup> sine nom. = λ. Field). Nevertheless  $\mathfrak{E}$  employs in the sequel, the grosser περιτεμνειν | 2 *filios Istrahel*] τους υιους ιηλ, so B

omitted in  $\mathfrak{L}$  l. 28. Not in  $\mathfrak{B}^M$  | 3 *hoc verbo*] Read *hoc verbum*. Observe the literalness: *και* for *δε* and *λογος* (comp. De 15, 2 *ουτος ο λογος* k for *ουτως το προσταγμα* — *sit*  $\mathfrak{L}$  is error for *sic*—; *προσταγμα* also 19, 4 but Ngkn have *πραγμα* comp. *πραγματεια* III K 19, 15) for *τροπος* (comp. Nu 18, 7 *כָּל דְּבַר הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* *κατα παντα τροπον του θυσιαστηριου*; De 1, 14  $\mathfrak{S}$  *וַיִּשְׁמַע לָהֶם לְדַבָּר הַזֶּה* *εχρησατο αυτοις τον τροπον τουτον* free) | 4 *circumcisa est omnis plebs*] A bad adaptation of *περιετέμεν*  $\mathfrak{S}$  *πας ο λαος* | 8 *mortui sunt*]  $\mathfrak{L}$  read *απεθανον* without *οι* in front which rests on error | 11 *incircumcisa*] Read *circumcisa* | 14 *fuerat*]  $\mathfrak{L}$  read *γενηθεντες* with one *ν* | 19 *habita-verant*] *ενδιετριψαν* on the basis of *ενδιετριψεν*  $M^m$  sine nom (the singular is inexact; in marginal citations the scribe is interested in the main point of difference, here the choice of the verb, but he is careless in details which he assimilates to the reading of the text, here the sing.  $\mathfrak{S}$  namely read *הָלַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל*. But  $\mathfrak{L}$  (that is his source) follows  $\mathfrak{B}^M$ : *הָלַכְוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*). The verb comports with the diction of *σ'*, comp. *διατριψεν σ'* Jd 19, 8 (Barhebr.  $\mathfrak{S}$ ) and II K 5, 9 | 21–24 *donec consummaretur omnis plebs virorum bellatorum qui exierunt ex Aegypto*] = *σ' חָמַל וְלָחַם מִלְּחָמָה עַד מָוֶת*  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  correctly done back into Greek by Field (*αναλωθη* is merely a slip for *ανηλωθη*). In the parallel rendering of *α'* likewise recorded in  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  *εξελειπεν* but *ετελειωθη. εκλειπειν* is found in *α'* for *נִכְרַח* Mi 7, 2; *נִכְלָה* Ez 31, 15 and the part. for *נִכְרַח* Je 15, 18; on the other hand *τελειουσθαι* =  $\mathfrak{H}$  Nu 14, 33; De 2, 14; I K 16, 11; III K 14, 10; Ps 9, 7 (*consummata sunt*  $\mathfrak{S}$  *נִכְלָה*); Je 14, 15 and *τελειουν* =  $\mathfrak{H}$  Da 9, 29; similarly  $\mathfrak{S}$  *נִכְלָה* Je 44, 12 will go back to *τελειωθησονται*. — *αναλiskeσθαι* for  $\mathfrak{H}$  is found in *σ'* elsewhere: Ps 72 (73), 19, also Ez 24, 10, 11, and in agreement with  $\mathfrak{S}$  Nu 14, 33. 35; 32, 13. With *ανδρες πολεμισται* comp. *σ'* Is 42, 13 *אִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת* *ανηρ πολεμιστης*. The telltale word is *plebs* = *λαος*; while  $\mathfrak{S}^m$  has *חַמַּל* both for *α'* and *σ'*, Field is right in writing *ethnos* in *α's* rendition; *ethnos* is rendered *gens* throughout Joshua | 27 *circumcidit*] see above on l. 1 | 28 *τους υιους ιηλ*] see above on l. 2 | 29 *fuerant*] Inadequate rendering of *εγενοντο*. Of the passages cited in the Concordance under *γιγνομαι* for the passives of *לָד*, we may eliminate the forms of the aor. pass. where the single *ν* may be orthographic, in some cases the inferior spelling is singular or restricted to a few codd. (comp. e. g. Ge 11, 28A<sup>+</sup>); but there remain the passages with

the aor. med. (comp. in the Pentateuch Ge 21, 9; 35, 26; 36, 5; 41, 50; 46, 20. 27; Le 25, 45; comp. also Ge 17, 17 *γενησεται* A and cursives) | 30 *quia*] Read *qui*=οσοι | 31 *qui profecti erant*] **℣** obliterates the partitive construction; comp. **℣** | 33 *qui profecti erant*] Inner-Latin addition | 35 και δυο] Om **℣**=**℣℣** | 37 τη μαδβαρειτιδι] Om **℣**=**℣** | *ideoque*] Prob. = και δια τουτο **ruf** | 38 *illorum plurimi*] = αυτων οι πλειστοι **rs** | 41 *de Aegypto*] = ες αιγυπτου **rh℣**.

The net result is the rendering of σ' covering the greater portion of v. 6.

6, 11 According to the margin of the Syrohexaplaris Symmachus rendered the verbs in a future (imperative) sense, thus drawing v. 11 to the instructions in the preceding verses. Reminiscences of this conception are found in n 85<sup>m</sup> απελθτω, κοιμηθγω and **℣** *circumeat* . . . *et feratur*, but *mansit*, then erroneously carried into v. 12: *praeceadant*.

6, 20 *tubis corneis* looks like a doublet = ταις σαλπινξιν ταις κερατιναις. Comp. Judges 3, 27 *tuba cornea* = σαλπινγι κερατινη 59; 6, 34 *tuba cornea* = κερατινη; 7, 8 *tubas corneas* comp. κερατινας σαλπινγας 55, σαλπινγας 54. 59. 75; 16 *tubas* = σαλπινγας 54. 59. 75; κερατινας σαλπινγας 55; 18 *tuba* = τη σαλπινγι 54. 59. 75; 18 *tubis* = ταις σαλπινξι 54. 59. 75; 19 *tubis* = τη σαλπινγι 54. 59. 75. 118; 20 *tubas* = αι σαλπινγες 54. 59. 75; 22 *tubis* comp. αι σαλπινγες 54. 59. 75. — κερατινη is found in this chapter frequently in Hexaplaric additions for **רָפָא**. The three use it in v. 9 and elsewhere.

9, 1 f. The Hebrew order according to which the building of the altar and the reading of the Law follow after 8, 29 instead of after 9, 2 as in the Septuagint was naturally adopted by Origen (AFΘufb<sup>S</sup>). The Latin follows its text (**r**) of the parallel recension which in this respect goes with the B texts. Nevertheless at the end of verse 35 (end of chapter 8 in the Hebrew) the Latin inserts a fresh translation of 9, 1 f. The parallel renderings may be presented here in juxtaposition:

ut autem audierunt reges amorrei qui erant ultra iordanen in montanis et in campis qui erant in fine maris magni et qui erant ab antelibum et chettei et amorrei et channanei	et factum est ut audierunt omnes reges qui erant trans iordanen in monte et in secelat et in omnibus litoribus maris magni contra faciem libani chettaeus et ferezaeus et eucha-
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et ferezei et euchaiei et gergessaei et iebussaei et convenerunt in unum expugnare iesum et istrahel simul omnes

The text of the second version is defective in the Latin, several names having dropped out. But the literalness of the translation is unmistakable. Contrast the two versions in Greek:

ὡς δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Ἀμορραίων οἱ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ οἱ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οἱ πρὸς τῷ Ἀντιλίβανῳ καὶ οἱ Χετταῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀμορραῖοι καὶ οἱ Χαναναῖοι καὶ οἱ Φερεζαῖοι καὶ οἱ Εὐαῖοι καὶ οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἰεβουσαῖοι καὶ συνήλθον ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκπολεμῆσαι Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἅμα πάντες

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσαν πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐν τῷ ὀρεῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ σε<φ>ηλαθ καὶ ἐν πασῇ τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς μεγάλης κατὰ προσώπον τοῦ Λιβάνου ὁ Χετταῖος καὶ ὁ <Ἀμορραῖος καὶ ὁ Χαναναῖος καὶ ὁ> Φερεζαῖος καὶ ὁ Εὐαῖος <καὶ ὁ Ἰεβουσαῖος> καὶ συνήθροισθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὥστε πολεμῆσαι μετὰ Ἰησοῦ καὶ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν στοματὶ ἐν

In all likelihood, the source is Theodotion: comp. transliteration of  $\text{לְהִלָּחֵם}$  (elsewhere II Chron. 26, 10; Obad. 19; Jerem. 39 (32), 44; 40 (33), 13; I Maccab. 12, 38), the construction  $\text{πολεμεῖν μετὰ}$  for  $\text{עִם נִלְחַם}$  (comp. 22. al. Jerem. 41 (48), 12),  $\text{ἐν στοματὶ ἐν}$   $\text{פֶּה אֶחָד}$  (comp. III King. 22, 13 where  $\text{ἐπὶ}$  B error for  $\text{ἐν}$ ; II Chron. 18, 12). Professor Torrey will prob. be right in deriving the version of Chronicles from Theodotion, that is *a parte potiori*.

9, 7  $\text{בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$   $\text{ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ}$   $\mathfrak{A}$  only, contrast  $\text{Ἰσραὴλ}$   $\text{ro}\mathfrak{E}$ , οἱ υἱοὶ  $\text{Ἰσραὴλ}$  B  $\text{rell } \mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{S}$ . Comp. De 27, 14  $\text{παντὶ Ἰηλ } \mathfrak{E}$ , ὁ παντὶ ἀνδρὶ  $\text{Ἰηλ } \alpha'\sigma'$  (πρὸς)  $\text{παντὰ ἀνδρά } \text{Ἰηλ}$ , but  $\theta'$  πρὸς πάντας υἱοὺς  $\text{Ἰηλ}$  (just as Judges 12, 1 οἱ υἱοὶ Εφραιμ A for  $\text{ἀνὴρ Εφραιμ}$  B); comp. also Joshua 10, 24 where  $\text{ἀνδρά}$  was inserted by Origen sub asterisco. The literal rendering is found in  $\mathfrak{E}$  in Judges and Kingdoms; contrast  $\text{ἀνδρες Ἰουδα}$  in Jerem. (e. g. 4, 4), but 44 (51), 26. 27  $\text{ἀνδρὸς (ἀνὴρ) sub *}$ ; Isaiah 5, 3. 7 writes  $\text{ἀνθρώπος τοῦ Ἰουδα}$ . In Chron.  $\text{ἀνὴρ (Ἰηλ)}$  BA II 20, 27; elsewhere om omnes II 34, 30 or om B II 5, 3; om S I 10, 7; 16, 3; or  $\text{ἀνδρες}$  in the pl. II 13, 15. 15.

*The Chronology of Certain Indo-Iranian Sound-Changes.*  
— By ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania,  
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Sanskrit  $\bar{o}$  normally represents an earlier diphthong. The main elements of the peculiar development of final *-as* in Sanskrit and in Avestan to  $-\bar{o}$ <sup>1</sup> were solved by Bloomfield (*American Journal of Philology*, iii. 25—45) who demonstrated that the  $\bar{o}$  is here the descendent of an IE.  $\bar{o}$  whose quality had not yet changed to  $\bar{a}$ , and that this  $-\bar{o}$  for  $-\bar{o}s$  was extended at the expense of the less common  $-\bar{e}$  for  $-\bar{e}s$ .

In some details, however, Bloomfield's article must be corrected. He argues that the immediate precursor of *aśvō dravati* was *\*aśvoz dravati*, and that the  $-\bar{o}$  is the product of compensatory lengthening due to the loss of  $-z$  (from  $-s$ ) before a voiced dental stop, just as  $-iz-$  and  $-uz-$  before voiced dentals result in  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  (*Am. Journ. of Phil.* iii. 27). But we have here to deal with two sets of phonetic changes of very different date: that of final  $-\bar{a}s$  to  $-\bar{o}$  appears in Avestan (where  $-\bar{o}$  is extended to use in all positions, regardless of the following sound, except before certain enclitics), but compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before  $z$  or  $\check{z} + d$  or  $dh$  is unknown in Avestan;<sup>2</sup> thus Skt. *mīdha-*, Av. *mīdha-*; Skt. *dūdhi-*, Av. *duždā(y)-*. It is manifest, therefore, that the change which produced final  $-\bar{o}$  for  $-\bar{a}s$  is not the same as that which produced the long vowel of *mīdha-*. Rather, the history of final  $-\bar{o}$  is the following: Final  $-s$  before a pause became a sound similar to the Skt. *visarga*. This  $h$ -sound

<sup>1</sup> Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. 338 (with bibliography); Brugmann, *Grundr.* i.<sup>2</sup> 886, and *KVG.*, i. 264; Thumb, *Handbuch d. Sanskrit*, § 184 ff.; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Av. *hiō-a'ti* (*hiō-*) is not equivalent to Skt. *śidati*, cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 172; 504; Walde, *Lat. Etym. W.*<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *sedeo*.

was then transferred to positions within the sentence, where before voiced stops a voiced *h* resulted which was lost with compensatory lengthening.<sup>1</sup> Thus \*-ōs became \*-oh and then -ō before voiced stops. The further extension of this final -ō to other positions in the sentence and its substitution for \*-ē<sup>2</sup> from \*-ēs has been treated in masterly fashion by Bloomfield (*Amer. Journ. Philol.*, iii. 32—39), and needs no comment here.

It is important, however, that IE. -ōs became Skt. -ās and appears before voiced initials as -ā, not as -ō, while IE. -ōs, though appearing in Skt. as -ās, has the form -ō before sonants. Similarly, in Avestan, IE. final -ās, -ēs, -ōs appear as -ā, while IE. final -ōs, etc. appear as -ō. This difference of treatment can be explained in only one way: The IE. long *ō*, *ē* became *ā* in primitive Aryan before the short *ō*, *ē* became *ǎ*. In the period intervening between the change of the long vowels and the change of the short vowels, the loss of -*h* before voiced stops produced -ō, -ē from the short final -ōs, -ēs, and ā from the long vowel followed by *s*. These new long vowels -ō and -ē were not subject to a further change to -ā, since the law converting IE. *ō*, *ē* to Aryan *ā* had already ceased operating.

As to the lengthening resulting from the loss of *z* or *ž* before *d* or *dh* in Skt., it has already been remarked that this change does not appear in Avestan; thus Skt. *nédīyas*-, Av. *nazdyah*-; Skt. *miyédha*-, Av. *myazda*- etc.<sup>3</sup> We have here ample proof that the quality of IE. *ē* was maintained distinct down to the time of this specifically Sanskrit change.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomae, *KZ.* xxix. 572 ff.; Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 886. A similar suggestion by Brockhaus (1842): "Sollte nicht vielleicht auch der Nominativ auf -as wie -ōs ausgesprochen worden sein, dessen dumpfes *s* vor allen tönenden Buchstaben verloren gehen mußte, aber wie fast immer im Sanskrit, wenn ein Consonant abfällt, dieser durch die Verlängerung des vorhergehenden Vowels ersetzt wird, auf diese Weise aus -ōs die Form -ō wurde", (*Zt. Kunde d. Morg.* iv. 85).

<sup>2</sup> On the debatable question whether the Aryan possessed such an -ē (from -es) see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. 338; Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 886, § 1005, 5, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the examples in Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 37, § 34; p. 274, § 237, b, β; Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 735; *KVG.*, p. 545, § 710, 2; Joh. Schmidt, *KZ.*, xxv. 60 ff.; Bloomfield, *AJP.* iii. 27 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Seeming exceptions like Skt. *sāḍhar*- for \**sēḍhar*- (from \**seḡh-tor*-) have *ā* by analogy of the *ā* in other forms and derivatives. Cf. Bloomfield, *AJP.*, iii. 30; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38 (middle), § 34; p. 44, § 40.

That the quality of *ō* was similarly maintained can hardly be proved, since the final *-ō* received a great extension, even in the middle of words.<sup>1</sup> But words with an original long vowel show consistently *-ād(h)-*, never *-ēd(h)-* nor *-ōd(h)-*: thus, *śādhi*, *śāsādhi*, *cakādhi*; *ādhvam*, *śādhvam*, *ārādhvam*; *ādagnā-* (for *\*ōz-d<sup>o</sup>*, cf. Lat *ōs*).<sup>2</sup>

The conclusions are therefore:

1. That IE. *ē*, *ō* became *ā* in the primitive Aryan period before the loss of final *-h* before voiced stops.
2. That IE. *ě*, *ō* kept their quality until after the loss of final *-h* before voiced initial stops.
3. That IE. *ě* certainly, and IE. *ō* presumably, kept their quality until after the Indian loss of *z* and *ž* with compensatory lengthening before voiced dental and cerebral stops.

For convenience the following chronological table of the changes is presented:

### Primitive Aryan Changes.

1. Palatalization of gutturals by following palatal vowels and *i*.
2. Change of IE. *ē*, *ō* to *ā*, becoming identical with IE. *ā*.
3. Loss of final *-h* before initial voiced consonants, giving new *ē* and *ō*.

<sup>1</sup> The *ō* of *śō-daśa* "sixteen", *śō-dhā* "sixfold" (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 38, § 34, b) may be the result of such an extension. The post-vedic *sōdhum*, *sōdhar-* from the root *sah* is certainly an imitation of the Vedic *vōdhum* from *vah* (Bloomfield, *AJP*, iii. 30). Vedic *vōdhum* etc. (Skt. *vāhati*, Av. *vaza<sup>ti</sup>*, Lat. *vehit*) cannot have IE. *ō* and must be due to some analogy; there are some parallel forms of this root with zero grade showing *ūd-* from *\*užd-*: *ūdhvam* (by the side of *vōdhvam*). *ūdā-* (by the side of *vōdā-*), *ūdhvā* und *ūlhi-*; a comparison with certain forms of *ruh* such as *rūdā-* by the side of *rōdhum*, *rūdhvā* by the side of *-rodhar-* suggests a starting point for an analogy-formation.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, *Skt Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 166; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, i. p. 273, § 237, a, α; Brugmann, *Grundr.*<sup>2</sup>, i. 735, § 830, a. According to the rule (allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiśākhya) that the first consonant of a group be doubled (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> § 229; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.* i. p. 112, § 98, a) the spelling *āddhvam* etc. is frequent.

(Division into Indian and Iranian.)

**Indian Changes.**

1. Cerebralization of dentals by preceding cerebral sibilants.

2. Loss of *z* and *ž* before voiced dental and cerebral stops, with compensatory lengthening.

3. Change of IE. *ě*, *ǫ* to *ǣ*, becoming identical with IE. *ǣ*.

**Iranian Changes.**

1. Change of IE. *ě*, *ǫ* to *ǣ*, becoming identical with IE. *ǣ*.

*The Peshitta Text of Gen. 32, 25.*—By RICHARD GOTTHEIL,  
Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

In preparing the final part of my edition of the second half of the glosses of Bar Ali, I stumbled over the following:

ܐܢܐ ܡܬܠܝܡ. ܫܕܪܬ ܬܚܬܐ.

i. e. "The flank became torpid or benumbed". The dictionaries try to explain the word ܐܢܐ, which evidently comes from the passage Gen. 32, 25, as from the root ܬܠ, to change, to be altered—adding "for the worse", to be displaced, dislocated. So Mrs. Margoliouth in her *Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, p. 586. Audo, *Dictionnaire de la langue Chaldéenne*, II, 584:

ܐܠܗ ܡܬܠܝܡ ܬܚܬܐ. ܬܠܐ ܕܬܚܬܐ: ܬܠܐ ܡܥ ܬܠܐ — ܡܥ ܬܠܐ ܬܚܬܐ. ܐܢܐ ܕܬܠܐ: ܬܠܐ ܕܬܚܬܐ.

i. e. to become slack; to lose the power of speech through laughter; his leg or his hand lost its cunning.

But these meanings are all derived from the passage in Genesis in its faulty tradition. And yet that tradition is quite old. Not only is the reading found in the Mss. used by Le Jay for the Paris Polyglott and by Walton for the London Polyglott, and taken over by Lee in his reprint for the London Bible Society. It is also to be found in the Urmia Edition printed by the American missionaries. That these are based upon good Ms. authority, may be seen from the fact that the Jacobite seventh century Ms. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan reads ܐܢܐ, as does the excellent Nestorian Massoretic Ms. in the British Museum (Add. 12, 138 fol. 15b) of the year 899 A. D., which the Rev. G. Margoliouth has been kind enough to look up for me:

ܐܢܐ ܡܬܠܝܡ ܕܬܚܬܐ

Bar Ebhrāyā, in his scholia to the passage, is careful to punctuate the word; ܐܢܐ ܡܬܠܝܡ ܕܬܚܬܐ (See Uhry, *Die Scholien des ... Barhebraeus zur Genesis Capitel 21—50*, Strassburg 1898, p. 12); and in the sixteenth century Abhdisho

of Jāzartā wrote in his heptasyllabic poem dealing with Syriac homonyms: **ܬܝܦܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ** (Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 68, 8).

Of course, the correct reading is **ܬܝܦܐ**,  $\sqrt{\text{ܬܝܦܐ}}$  become weak, feeble, debilitated, torpid; and this reading was not unknown in certain parts of the Syriac Church. The scholarly grammarian and writer Jacob of Edessa (seventh century) reads correctly **ܬܝܦܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ** (see von Lengerke, *Commentatio de Ephraemo Syro*, p. 20)—a reading which has been preserved in another place by Bar Ali himself (ed. Gottheil p. 108, 6) and by Bar Bahlūl (ed. Duval, col. 1283, falsely punctuated **ܬܝܦܐ**). I might add that Payne-Smith in his *Thesaurus*, though seemingly suspecting the reading (see cols. 1360 s. v. **ܬܝܦܐ** and 2471 s. v. **ܬܝܦܐ**), has listed the passage also s. v. **ܬܝܦܐ** col. 4233).

The accepted reading in the texts has not failed to lead scholars astray; which is a signal proof how necessary a correct edition of the Peshitta is. Ball, in his edition of the Hebrew text for the Polychrome Bible (1896) p. 91, has the following note:

**ܬܝܦܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܚܝܬܐ** *ὁ ἐνάρκησεν which became dumb.* **ܬܝܦܐ** thus renders **ܬܝܦܐ** v. 25. Here **ܬܝܦܐ** evidently read **ܬܝܦܐ** and pointed **ܬܝܦܐ** cfr. **ܬܝܦܐ** = **ܬܝܦܐ** v. 25.

In this connection I might mention the curious translation in the Polyglotts of the Syriac rendering for **ܬܝܦܐ** — **ܬܝܦܐ**. They translate “nervum muliebrum” which they have gotten from a false punctuation of the Arabic rendering **عرق النساء** “the sciatic nerve”—a common expression in Arabic medical works. They punctuate **عرق النساء**!!—which Payne-Smith has also incorporated in his *Thesaurus*.

*The Çāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda.* — By G. M. BOLLING, Henry E. Johnston Jr. Scholar in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. xxxv, 1904, pp. 77—127, I published with introduction, translation and commentary the text of the Çāntikalpa as found in the Chambers Codex. Weber's transcript of this codex was at that time the only manuscript readily accessible, but since then there has been a considerable increase of such material. In the first place, I have had the opportunity to collate the Chambers Codex itself, and also the British Museum manuscript (L) mentioned on p. 78 of my edition; while, furthermore, the University of Tuebingen's publication of its catalogue of Roth's manuscripts has brought to light another copy of the text. Of this last manuscript a copy, made by a pupil of Professor Garbe, was very kindly secured for me by Dr. J. von Negelein, my collaborator in the publication of the Atharvan Pariçīṣṭas.

From this new material the chief result, as regards the published text, is the corroboration of my opinion, that the text could be little improved by the collation of additional manuscripts. There are, to be sure, some gleanings,<sup>1</sup> but the

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<sup>1</sup> The following seem worthy of mention: 1. 6 read *punarvaso* with L (cf. p. 90); Roth *punarvasor*. — 2. 2. Roth uses forms of *āgleṣā* here and 12. 2. — 3. 2. LRoth *mṛdukarmaprasādhaki*. — 3. 4. L *ugratejasam*. — 4. 4. Read: *dhruvasādhike*; Roth reads *-sādhaki*; L *-sādhakim*, but M has *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhakāim* corrected to *-sādhakāi* or *-sādhake*, and from this J would restore (cf. p. 91) the normal form. — 6. 7. *imā āpa iti* refers to Çāntik. 1. 14. 1—6. — 12. 2 Roth *phalgunībhyām*. — 12. 3. Read: *masūrā*, with LMRoth. — *ibid.* Roth *abhijitaye*. — 14. 2 L *viśāsahim ityādayo*; Roth \* *ityādayor*. — 15. 1. LRoth *dakṣiṇāpare*. — 15. 3. L *valima lomikā*; Roth *balimam lomakā*. — 17. 3. L (a) *bbhutotpraty-abhicādesu*; Roth (a) *bbhutotpany-abhicāreṣu*. — 17. 4. L *jalabhaya-jalakṣayayoh*; Roth *jalabhaye jalakṣayamyo*. 18. 1. The correct punctuation is *athāc-*



main importance of the new material lies in a different direction. That the published text was incomplete, was suspected neither by myself, nor—as far as I know—by anyone else who has handled it. There was, indeed, no ground for such a suspicion. The colophon of the Chambers Codex gives no hint of it; the contents of the text, a description of the *mahācānti* and its preliminary *nakṣatrayāga*, seem complete in themselves; and the tract begins with an abruptness no greater than the beginnings of several *Parīṣṭas*. Under such circumstances it was impossible to divine that the *mahācānti* required two other preliminary ceremonies,—a propitiation of the *Vināyakas* (cf. MG. 2. 14) and a *grahayāga*. Nevertheless, after giving a brief introduction, both the London and the Tübingen manuscripts proceed to give a description of these ceremonies, and then label this portion of their text the first chapter, or the first half, of the *mahācānti*.

Immediately after this new material (of which I now present an edition to the Society) follows in each manuscript the text already published from the Chambers Codex. Curiously enough this is not designated in either manuscript as the second chapter, their colophons being (like that of the Chambers Codex) simply: Roth, *iti cṛī atharvavede mahācāntiḥ samāptaḥ* (!), L *iti mahācāntiḥ samāptaḥ* (!). This might at first sight suggest the idea that the first chapter is a later addition. Such a belief—except as a possible theory about the ultimate sources of the text—will prove however to be untenable. Not only is the first chapter cited by Sāyaṇa, but the *Parīṣṭas*, cf. xviii b. 19. 3; lxx. 9. 3, juxtapose a *grahayāga* and a *nakṣatrayāga* in such a way as to show that their authors had the text with both chapters, and there is also a reference from the second to the first chapter. From this it follows that the Chambers Codex is incomplete. On account of its pagination it is best to regard it as the second of two volumes which contained the whole text.

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*pikāḥ* | *cāntaya iti amṛtāyām* | — 19. 1. L *pūtadāru*; Roth *pūtūdāram*. — 19. 6. Roth *cātāvarām*. — 19. 8 Roth *ājaṣṛṅgyam*; L *ājaṣṛṇ*. — 21. 1. For *sahām*: L *tsarum*; Roth *svaram*. — 22. 1. L Roth *sikatāḥ*. — 22. 3 L Roth *upalepayet*. — 23. 4 Roth *vyatiṣakte tha*. — 23. 5. Read with LMRoth: *atra mantrān*. — 24. 4. L *acaminayānādāu snapanārthān*; Roth *arcanayānādāu stapanārthān*. — 25. 1. Roth *badhyāu*. L *vṛihyāvo*. — 25. 3. Roth *tad avākārya*. — 25. 4. Roth *tathādhikam*.

With the full text of the Āntikākalpa we get a better insight into Sāyaṇa's employment of the ancillary Atharvan literature. Beside the Kāuṣika and Vāitāna Sūtras and the (probably no longer extant) Āngirasakalpa, Sāyaṇa cites the Āntikākalpa, the Nakṣatrakalpa and various Pariṣiṣṭas from ii. 5. 5 to xxxiii. 7. 3, cf. the references given in our edition, p. 645 f. That Sāyaṇa's quotations from the Nakṣatrakalpa come in reality from the second chapter of the Āntikākalpa was first pointed out by Bloomfield, SBE. xlii. p. 233, and is proved in detail in my commentary. The source of the quotations from the Āntikākalpa was unknown, but now proves to be the first chapter of that text. That Sāyaṇa has simply blundered, is to my mind clear beyond the possibility of discussion, and I think it possible to explain the origin of his mistake. The Chambers Codex of the Pariṣiṣṭas is an edition in three volumes, containing respectively AVPar. i—the true Nakṣatrakalpa, AVPar. ii—xxxvi and AVPar. xxxvii—lxxii. If we assume that Sāyaṇa had only a broken set, namely vol. ii., of such an edition, we can understand why his citations from the Pariṣiṣṭas are so limited and also his ignorance of the Nakṣatrakalpa. He was however familiar with the tradition of the five *kalpas*, and as the second chapter of the Āntikākalpa began with an elaborate *nakṣatrayāga*, he identified this portion of the text with the Nakṣatrakalpa of which he had no knowledge except the name.

### TEXT OF THE ĀNTIKĀKALPA.

om̐ namaḥ ṛibrahmavedāya namaḥ

Omitted in Roth. L om̐ namo.

1. om̐ mahācāntīm pravakṣyāmi yām prāpya mahatīm ṛiyam |  
brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyo vāpi vāiṣyo vāpy upasarjati ||

Roth ṛiyāḥ. L brahmaṇaḥ; Roth brāhmaṇa.

2. brāhmaṇaḥ sarvakāmāptīm kṣatriyaḥ prthivījayam |  
sarvatas tu samṛddhim ca vāiṣyaḥ samadhigachati ||

Roth samṛddhigachati.

3. divyaṁ vā pārthivaṁ vāpy āntarīkṣam athāpi vā |  
mahācāntiḥ ṣamayaty anyad vā bhayam utthitam ||

Roth va. L parthivām. Roth ṣamayany. L ucchitam.

4. ārogyam arthaputrāṅ. cā 'namitraṁ tathāiva ca |  
sāubhāgyam ca samṛddhim ca mahācāntiḥ prayachati ||

L arthaṁ putrāṅ. L numitraṁ; Roth numitra. Roth mahācānti.

5. mahādevābhirmṛṣṭasya mṛtyor āsyagatasya vā |  
 grahaghorābhitaptasya mahācāntir vimocanī || 1 ||  
 L -bhisṛṣṭasya. Roth ca. Roth vimocanīm.

1. dānavāir abhirmṛṣṭasya mahendrasya purā kila |  
 mahācāntiṁ paritrāṇiṁ brhaspatir amanyata ||  
 Roth mahācānti. L vṛhaspatir amanvata.
2. anayaṁ valagaṁ kṛtyāṁ caṅkamānaḥ parājayam |  
 ichann ṛddhiṁ samṛddhiṁ ca mahācāntiṁ prayojayet ||  
 L caṅkyāmānaḥ; Roth cikyāmānaḥ; perhaps caṅkyāmānaḥ was intended.
3. pāyasaṁ samidhaḥ cāntā yavān ājyaṁ prthak-prthak |  
 rudrarāudraparāir mantrāir mahācāntiṁ prayojayet ||  
 L pīyasaṁ.
4. cākabhakṣaḥ payobhakṣaḥ phalabhakṣo 'pi vā punaḥ |  
 bhūtvā dvādaśarātraṁ tu mahācāntiṁ prayojayet ||
5. bilvāhāraḥ phalāhāraḥ payasā vāpi vartayet |  
 saptarātraṁ ghṛtācī vā mahācāntiṁ prayojayet || 2 ||

1. saptarātraṁ ato 'nyena vartayitvā yathāvidhi |  
 mahācāntiṁ prayuñjānaḥ payasā vartayet sakṛt ||  
 L yasyīvidhi. L prayuñjīnaḥ; prayuñjīta should perhaps be read.
2. kāmān nakṣatrasaṁyogād anukūlaṁ yadā bhavet |  
 tadā karma prayuñjīta 'pahatya vināyakān ||  
 Roth kāmān.
3. karmasiddher mahāyogī iṣṭāyuktaḥ samāhitaḥ |  
 bahiḥ karma prayuñjīta karmasiddhim avāpnuyāt ||  
 LRoth -siddhir mahāyogā. Roth iṣṭāmuktaḥ. Roth barhiḥ. Roth avā- not clear, arā- in margin.
4. āmnāye kāmikā mantrāḥ prajñātāḥ syuḥ prthagvidhāḥ |  
 āvāpe tān prayuñjīta prathamāṁ tantraṁ iṣyate ||  
 Roth āmnāje. Roth mantrā. LRoth prajñātā. Roth -vidhā. With pāda d begins a dittography of one śloka in L.
5. balayaç cānu karmāṇi 'jyā cāivānu devatāḥ |  
 haviṣā ca prayuñjīta 'jyena manaseti ca || 3 ||  
 LRoth maṇayaç. Roth yā for jyā. L maneseti; Roth tamaseti (not clear).

1. nir lakṣmyam iti  
 L lakṣyam. AV. 1. 18. 1.
2. catvāraḥ khalu vināyakā bhavanti ||  
 Quoted by Sāyaṇa at 7. 118, p. 542.

3. çalakatañkataç ca kūsmāṇḍarājaputraç cotsmṛtaç ca devaya-janaç cety

L çalakṛ-. L -rājayutraç. MG. gives third name as: utsmita.

4. eteṣāṃ samanvāgatānāṃ imāni rūpāni bhavanti

5. apaḥ svapne kaluṣāḥ paçyati sarpān paçyati muṇḍān paçyati jaṭilān paçyati kāṣāyavāsasaḥ paçyati hastinaḥ paçyaty antarikṣaṃ sthānaṃ cañkramaṇam iva manyate divaḥ patanam iva manyate 'dhvānaṃ vrajan manyate prṣṭhato mā kaç cid anuvrajjatiti prāsādārohaṇam antarikṣāt kramaṇam ity.

LRoth kalukhāḥ. L sarpāna. Roth kākḥāya-. Roth cakramaṇam. Roth diva. Roth dhvāna vrajan. L manyato. L nā kaç; Roth vā kaç.

6. etāḥ khalu vināyakāir grhītā rājaputrā rājyakāmā rājyaṃ na labhante kanyāḥ patikāmāḥ patinī na labhante striyaḥ putrakāmāḥ putrān na labhante crotriyā adhyāpakā ācā-ryatvaṃ na labhante 'dhyetṛṇām adhyayanāni mahāvi-ghnakarāṇi bhavanti kṛṣātāṃ kṛṣir alpaphalā bhavati vaṇi-jāṃ vāṇijyam alpaphalaṃ bhavati

L prājaputrā. L labhate. Roth omits: kanyāḥ ... labhante. LRoth kṛṣītāṃ. LRoth bhavanti vāṇijām.

7. tatra prāyaçcittam || 4 ||

1. mṛgākharāt kulāt kulālamṛttikā guggulu vṛṣabhacarma ro-canā<ṃ> sarvabījāni sarvaratnāny upahr̥tya

L mṛgākharākṛlā kulālamṛttikā (mṛ being inserted). LRoth guggula. L -vijāni. L upahlatya.

2. puradvārād valmīkād adhidevatāveçyā-rājāṅgaṇābhyām ca mṛttikā madhusarpiṣi ca

L puraddhārād vaḥlmīkād. L adhidevatāveçyā-; Roth adhidevanāveçyā-; lengthening in dual compd., but prob. read -veçma-. L -rājāṅgaṇābhyām. L mṛtti. Roth -sarpiṣi. LRoth carry the *saṃdhi* over to next sentence.

3. etāṃ saṃbhārān saṃbhṛtya

Roth etām.

4. pavane kṛtvā

5. grāmacatuṣpathe nagaracatuṣpathe vā vṛṣabhacarmāstṛya

L vā vā ṛṣabham-.

6. tatṛāinaṃ snāpayet pāvamānibhiḥ || 5 ||

Roth tatṛaitām. L pāvamānīdbhiḥ.

1. pavitraṃ çatadhāraṃ <yad> ṛṣibhiḥ pāvana<ṃ> kṛtam | tena tvām abhiṣīncāmi pāvamāniḥ punantu tvā ||

L omits. See Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance.

2. yena devāḥ pavitreṇā "tmānam punate sadā |  
tena tvām abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamāniḥ punantu tvā ||  
L omits: yena devāḥ, but repeats the verse correctly.
3. yā te 'lakṣmī yaç ca pāpmā hrdaye yaç canodare |  
ūrvor upasthe pāyāu ca tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||  
L yaḥ; Roth yaçah; for yaç ca. L yāṇç; Roth yāç. Roth pāyu.
4. yā çirasi grivāyām <ca> pāṇipādau ca sevate |  
çronyām pr̥sthe tu yālakṣmī tām ito nāçayāmy aham ||  
L çronyo. L nu. Roth yālakṣmī.
5. prācīm diçam avadhāyendraṁ dāivatam āindrīm pariśadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L avadhāyemīm; Roth avadhāyendra. L āindrīm; Roth āindri. L pariśam.  
L kaṁnyā. This section is modelled after AV. 4. 40.
6. indreṇa dattā oṣadhaya āpo varuṇasaṁmitāḥ |  
tābhiḥ tvām abhiṣiñcāmi pāvamāniḥ punantu tvā ||  
L iddhe || dattā.
7. dakṣiṇām diçam avadhāya yamaṁ dāivatam yāmīm pariśa-  
dam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||
8. yamena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||
9. praticīm diçam avadhāya varuṇam dāivatam vārunīm pari-  
śadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L prati. L vahaṇam.
10. varuṇena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||
11. udicīm diçam avadhāya somaṁ dāivatam somīm pariśadam  
yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth omits.
12. somena dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||
13. dhruvām diçam avadhāya viṣṇu<m> dāivatam vāiṣṇavīm  
pariśadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||
14. viṣṇunā dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||
15. vyadhvām diçam avadhāya vāyunī dāivatam vāyavīm pari-  
śadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth vāyu. L vāyamvīm.
16. vāyunā dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||
17. ūrdhvām diçam avadhāya bṛhaspatīm dāivatam bārhas-  
patyām pariśadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
L vṛhaspatīm; Roth bṛhaspati.
18. bṛhaspatinā dattā oṣadhaya āpo ° | ° ° ||  
L vṛhaspatinā; Roth brihaspatinā.
19. sarvā diçah sarvān antardeçān avadhāya brahmānam dāi-  
vatam brāhmīm pariśadam yāḥ kanyā ye siddhāḥ ||  
Roth sarvāntardeçān, with also some confusion after brahmānam.

20. brahmanā dattā oṣadhaya āpo varuṇasaṁmitāḥ |  
tābhiṣ tvām abhiṣīncāmi pāvamānīḥ punantu tvā ||

Pādas cd are quoted by Sāyaṇa at 7. 118, p. 542.

21. pra patetaḥ pāpi lakṣmīti catasraḥ || 6 ||

AV. 7. 115. 1—4; quoted by Sāyaṇa, loc. cit.

1. atha snātasyārdharātre sadyahpīḍitena gāurasarṣapatālena  
sadyonmathitena vā ghrtenāudumbareṇa sruveṇa juhōti ||

L snātasyārdva-. Roth -pīḍitena. L stuveṇa; Roth sraveṇa mūrḍhni.

2. ṣalakaṭaṅkaṭāya svāhā kṣmāṇḍarājaputrāya svāhotsmrtāya  
svāhā devayajanāya svāhety

Roth kuṣmāṇḍa-. L devajanāya svāhāhety.

3. aṭha snāto yām tv āryām upatiṣṭhate tām brūyād bhaga-  
vati bhagām me dehi dhanavati dhanām me dehi yaças-  
vati yaço me dehi sāubhāgyavati sāubhāgyām me dehi  
putravati putrām me dehi sarvavati sarvām kāmām me  
dehīty

L snato. Roth yām tvāryām upatiṣṭhante. L tā. Roth yaçasvati.  
L sāubhāgyavati. Roth putravati. Roth sarvavati. L sarvāṇva  
kāmām me; Roth sarvām me kāmām. A deletion in L between dehi  
and ty.

4. \*athendrānyuṣīraduhitrikāni bhavanti bhagavati\*  
sarvabhūteṣvari devi ṣaraṇām tvāham āgataḥ |  
sāubhāgyakāmāḥ subhage jahi mahyam vināyakān ||  
\*nityam || 7 ||

Roth athendrāny-. L -duhitrikāni; Roth -duhitrī kani. Roth tvāpam.  
L -kāma. The ṣloka is not marked off by punctuation in the mss.

1. ata ūrdhvaṁ vināyakopahārāḥ

2. ṣuklāḥ sumanasa upahared raktāḥ sumanasa upahared  
guptāḥ cāguptāḥ ca taṇḍulāḥ phalīkṛtāḥ cāphalīkṛtāḥ ca  
piṣṭāṁ pakvaṁ cāmaṁ ca māṁsaṁ pakvaṁ cāmaṁ ca  
dhānā matsyāḥ ṣaṣkulyāḥ puroḍaṣaḥ kulmāṣā ajaka-  
ṣigruka-bhūstṛṇaka-mūlako-padaṇṣānām gandhapānaṁ ma-  
ricapānaṁ surāpānaṁ iti

Roth ṣuklāḥ sumanasaḥ. L upahareṁd. L upahareta. L, phalīkṛtoḥ.  
L māṁsa. L Roth ṣaṣkulyāḥ. L gaja-ṣiyuka-. L -bhūstṛṇaka-; Roth  
-bhūstṛṇaka-. L maricayāvaṁ; Roth maricepānaṁ.

3. naveṣu ṣūrpeṣu caturbhīḥ kṛtvopahared

4. athopatiṣṭhate || 8 ||

1. ṣyeno vimukho bakaḥ pakṣī śiṇhakalakalī kalahabbhīrur vinā-

- yakaḥ kubjaḥ kūṣmāṇḍarājaputro hāimavato jambuko virū-  
pākṣaḥ \*kālīṅgākumārī\* sūkaraḥ krodhī  
L vimuko; Roth bhimukta. LRoth -kalāmkaḥ. Roth kalahavīra. L kuṇ-  
bhaṇḍarākṣaḥputrāu. L jāmbūkā. Roth virūpākṣeḥ. Read: kālīṅgaḥ  
kumārī, or: kālīṅgo 'kumārī. L çukara krodhīm; Roth çukrakrodhī.
2. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo  
3. yas tiṣṭhati vāiçravaṇasya dvāre kubjaḥ karālo vinato vinā-  
yakas tam ahaṁ çaraṇaṁ prapadye brahmacāriṇam amum  
L vāiçravaṇasya. L kuḥbjaḥ. Roth prapate. L omits: amum.  
4. amuṣya kāmam imāṁ samardhaya  
Roth kāmāḥ imāṁ; L kāpayimāṁ. Roth somaddhaya.  
5. vāiçravaṇāya rājñe namo  
6. atha çvobhūte vimalam ādityam upatiṣṭhate  
L tha.  
7. namas te astu bhagavañ chataraçme tamonuda |  
jahi me deva dāurbhāgyaṁ sāubhāgyena mā saṁsrjety  
L asru. L bhagavañ; Roth bhagavaḥ. L chataraçmi; Roth not clear.  
L tya jahi (i. e. scribe started to skip pādas cd.) cf. MG. 2. 14. 31.  
8. ata ūrdhvaṁ brāhmaṇatarpaṇaṁ  
9. gomithunaṁ hiraṇyaṁ vāsaç ca kartre dakṣiṇā || 9 ||  
L gomithuna; Roth so- (but not clear). Roth kartre ye.
1. athāto 'gnir mahāçānteḥ pralipste sthaṇḍile same |  
çuklavāsāḥ pramathnita prokṣate çāntivārīṇā ||  
Roth gner mahāçāntiḥ. Roth -vāsā pramathnītā.  
2. kravyādāgniṁ pranirhatya sambhared araṇī çubhe |  
om ity etena mantreṇa mathitvāgniṁ samāhitaḥ ||  
Roth kravyādāgniṁ pranirhṛtya. Roth çubhi.  
3. aṇço rājeti rcam vidvān vibhāgaṁ manasā japet |  
kravyāde nāirṛtaṁ karma vakṣyate tat svake krame ||  
Kāuç. 71. 1, L aço. Roth sake; L khake. Çāntik. ii. 15. 1—6.  
4. samāstviyena havyāu hi pūrṇākhyāṁ sarpiṣāhutim |  
hutvā samindhayed agnim āhutīr jubuyāt tataḥ ||  
AV. 2. 6. 1. L havyū. L pūrṇākṣām. L samedhayed; Roth samindhayed;  
finite forms of caus. are not cited.  
5. divas prthivyā ākūtiṁ kāmasyendrasye 'ndro rājeti ||  
AV. 19. 3. 1 (and elsewhere); 4. 2; 9. 2. 6; 19. 5. 1. L dro; Roth ndra.  
6. içānaṁ prathamāṁ devaṁ yajed brahmā samāhitaḥ |  
pākayañavidhānena prārambhe sarvakarmaṇām ||  
7. mahāçāntiṁ prayuñjānas tarpayitvā grahān budhaḥ |  
pūjitā devaputrās te tuṣṭāḥ santu phalapradāḥ || 10 ||  
Roth -çānti. L -putrārthe. L -pradā.

1. devaputrā vāi grahā uṇanā āṅgirāḥ sūryaḥ prājāpatyaḥ  
somaḥ ketur budhaḥ ṇanāiṣcaro rāhur ity

L uṇanāṅgirāḥ; Roth uṇanāṅgirā (double sandhi). L -patyaḥ. L vudhaḥ.

2. ete brahmāṇam upasasrur bhāgadheyaṁ no bhagavan kal-  
payasveti

Roth upasusrur.

3. tān abravīd brahmā aṣṭāviṅṇatinakṣatreṣu paryāyeṇa carata  
rāhuḥ somārkayoḥ parvakāleṣu dṛṇyatām iti ||

L ṣṭāviṅṇato-. Roth rāhu. L somārkayoḥ. Roth omits punctuation.

4. te devā abruvann atha yasya nakṣatraṁ grahepārtaṁ  
bhavati tam ārto 'dhitīṣṭhati nāsyārthāḥ sidhyanti

Roth ta; L<sub>1</sub> omits. L abruvann. L nakṣatre. L -ārta; Roth -ārthanī.

Roth ārtho. L nāsyārthāḥ. There is a lacuna at this point.

5. svayaṁ vā manyetām svastimān aham iti

L manyetā; in Roth the anusvara is not clear. L svastiprācan

6. deṇasya grāmasya vā \*sinam anu\* dikṣitaḥ karmanyāḥ  
surabhir ahatavāsāḥ

L<sub>1</sub> grāmasyā. L va siṣṭhuni. Roth dikṣitaḥ | anudikṣitaḥ. L -vāsā.

7. pāurnamāsaṁ tantraṁ vratopāyanāntaṁ kṛtvā

8. purastād agner gomayena gocarmamātraṁ sthaṇḍilam upalipya

L agne gemiyena gocamar-. Roth -mātrām. L Roth elide at the end of  
this and the following sentences.

9. athāmīṣaṁ grahāṇāṁ hiraṇmayāni chatraṇy āsanopānat-  
pādapiṭhāni nidhāya

L -yānatyāda-. L nidadhāya.

10. ahatena vastrenodagdaṇāsanāny avachādyā

L -dagadaṇā-. L Roth -āsanāṇny. L avatsādyā; Roth acatsādyā.

11. ādityādīn grahān āvāhayed

L -ādīna. Roth grahāny.

12. yaṁ vahanti ṇṇakarnā iti navabhiḥ || 11 ||

L yā.

1. yaṁ vahanti ṇṇakarnāḥ pratilomā vājinaḥ |  
tam aham sarvatejomayam ādityam āvāhayāmiha ||

L ryam. L pratiloma. L -yāmi ha. The meter is too bad to warrant  
corrections for its improvement.

2. yaṁ vahanti haṇsavarṇā anulomā vājinaḥ |  
tam aham dvijāir āpyāyāmānaṁ somam āvāhayāmiha ||

L yām. L āpyājya-; Roth āpyayya-.

3. yasya raktaṁ rūpaṁ raktānulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |  
tam aham raktavarṇābham bhāumam āvāhayāmiha ||

Roth raktām. L -leyanaḥ. L stuvārṇābham.



4. *yasya pītaṁ rūpaṁ pītānulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |*  
*tam ahaṁ pītavarṇābhaṁ budham āvāhayāmiha ||*  
 L *pītai. L vudham.*
5. *yaḥ cāivāṅgirasah putro devānāṁ ca purohitaḥ |*  
*tam aham hiraṇyavarṇābhaṁ bṛhaspatim āvāhayāmiha ||*  
 L *yo ṁgirasah. L vṛhaspatim.*
6. *yasya ṣuklaṁ rūpaṁ ṣuklānulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |*  
*tam ahaṁ ṣuklavarṇābhaṁ ṣukram āvāhayāmiha ||*  
 L *-yāmi ha.*
7. *yasyāyasaṁ rūpaṁ āyasā ca prakṛtiḥ |*  
*tam aham \*ādityatejoniyasthāpyāyamānaṁ mṛtyuputram*  
*āvāhayāmiha ||*  
 L *yasyāyesaṁ. Roth āyasāya ca. L ādityenoniyasthāpyamānaṁ.*
8. *yasya kṛṣṇaṁ rūpaṁ kṛṣṇānulepanaḥ ca yaḥ |*  
*tam ahaṁ kṛṣṇavarṇābhaṁ rāhum āvāhayāmiha ||*
9. *yasya dirghā ṣikhā mukhaṁ ca parimaṇḍalam |*  
*tam ahaṁ brahmaṇaḥ putraṁ ketum āvāhayāmiha ||*  
 L *vrahmaṇaḥ. Combined with next: L -he || ty; Roth -he | ty.*
10. *ity āvāhya varṇakamayīr vṛkṣamayīr dhātumayīr vā graha-*  
*pratimāḥ pratyāñmukhīr āsaneṣūpaveṣayati || 12 ||*  
 L *vakṣamayīr. L grahapratimāṁḥ; Roth pratimā L āsaneṣupa-*
1. *bhāskarāṅgārakāu raktāu ṣvetāu ṣukraṇiṣākārāu |*  
*rāhuketuyamāḥ kṛṣṇāḥ pītāu budhabṛhaspatī ||*  
 L *-āṅgārako. L -vṛhaspatī.*
2. *cāndaṇāu somaṣukrāu tu bhāumārkaḥ raktacāndaṇāu |*  
*hāridrakāv ubhāu jñeyāu viprāir budhabṛhaspatī |*  
*kṛṣṇāguror grahāḥ kāryā rāhuketuṇāṁṣcarāḥ ||*  
 L *jñeyo viprā; viprāu is also possible emendation. Roth kṛṣṇāgaror;*  
 L *not clear.*
3. *bhāskarāṅgārakāu tāmrāu rāukmāu budhabṛhaspatī |*  
*rājatāu somaṣukrāu tu ṣeṣāḥ kārṣṇāyasā grahāḥ ||*  
 L *tāmnāu rāukabho; Roth tāmrē rukme. L -vṛhaspatī. L kārṣṇāyasā;*  
 Roth *kṛṣṇāyasā.*
4. *grahāṇāṁ divyaceṣṭānāṁ nakṣatrapathacāriṇām |*  
*yathāvarṇāni puṣpāni vāsāṅsy evānulepanam || 13 ||*  
 L *vāsāuṁsy; Roth vāsāsy. LRoth āivānu-*
1. *imā āpaḥ cīvāḥ cīvataṁāḥ cāntāḥ cāntatamāḥ pūtāḥ pūta-*  
*tamāḥ puṇyāḥ puṇyatamā amṛtā amṛtatamāḥ pādyāḥ cār-*  
*ghyāḥ cācamanyāḥ cābhiṣecanīyāḥ ca pratigrhṇantu bhaga-*  
*vanto devā grahā ity apo ninayati ||*

Roth puryā pur-. L amṛtatamyah; Roth abbreviated. L cārdhyāç.  
Roth ābhi-. L pratigrhantu. Roth deva. L çnahā.

2. ime gandhāḥ çubhā divyāḥ sarvagandhāiḥ samanvitāḥ |  
pūtā brahmapavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhñantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti gandhāir anulim-  
pati ||

L brahmāpavitraṇa sūryarā ca. Roth anulimpayati.

3. imāḥ sumanaso divyāḥ surabhivṛkṣayoniḥ |  
pūtā vāyupavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhñantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sumanobhir a-  
bhyarcayati ||

L imā sumanasare. L surabhivṛkṣa-. L vāyuḥ-.

4. vanaspatiraso medhyo divyo gandhāḍhya uttamah |  
āhārah sarvadevānām dhūpo 'yaṁ <pratigrhyatām ||>  
pratigrhñantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dhūpaṁ dahati ||  
L, vinaspati-. L gandhād ātuttamah (for: anuttamah). Roth uttamāḥ.

5. agniḥ çukraç ca jyotiç ca sarvadevapriyo hi saḥ |  
prabhākaro mahātejā dīpo 'yaṁ pratigrhyatām ||  
bālārcir dhūmaçikhas <tu> timirāriḥ svayaṁprabhuḥ |  
oṣadhīsnehasampanno dīpo 'yaṁ <pratigrhyatām ||>  
pratigrhñantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti dīpaṁ dadāti.  
Roth dhuma-. Roth svayaṁ pratigrhñantu prabhuḥ. L bhagavante divā;  
Roth bhagavato devā. L dadāmi.

6. ime bhakṣāḥ çubhā divyāḥ sarvabhakṣāiḥ samanvitāḥ |  
pūtā brahmapavitreṇa sūryasya ca raçmibhiḥ ||  
pratigrhñantu bhagavanto devā grahā iti sarvabhakṣān  
nivedayati ||

Roth bhikṣā. L sarvabhakṣān; Roth sarvabhikṣān.

7. hiraṇmayāñç camasān sarpiṣaḥ pūrṇān upaharet |  
L hiraṇyayāñç. Roth sarpiṣa upahāra. L omits punctuation.

8. paçcād agneḥ prāṇmukha upaviçya

9. karmaṇe vām ityevamādi

Kauc. 1. 36; 58. 5.

10. devasya tvā savitur ity ādity<ādy>ebhyo grahebhyo havir  
nirvāpet || 14 ||

Cf. Bloomfield's concordance.

1. athājyabhāgānte viṣāsahim ity ādityāya haviṣo hutvājyaṁ  
juhuyāt samidha ādhāyopatiṣṭhate ||

Quoted by Śāyaṇa at 10. 2, p. 737; 19. 6, p. 266. AV. 17. 1. 1. L sagid;  
Roth samid.

## 2. çakadhūmam iti somāya

AV. 6. 128. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 6. 127, p. 268.

## 3. tvayā manyo yas te manyo ity aṅgārakāya

AV. 4. 31. 1; 32. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 4. 31, p. 675.

## 4. yad rājānaḥ somasyaṅço yudhām pata iti budhāya

AV. 3. 29. 1; 7. 81. 3. Quoted by Sāyana at 3. 29, p. 494; 7. 85, p. 476.  
L yajñyajānaḥ. Roth somasyaṅço.

5. sa budhnyād bhadrad adhi çreyaḥ prehi brhaspatir na iti  
brhaspataye

AV. 4. 1. 5; 7. 8. 1; 51. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 7. 6, p. 320; 52, p. 394.  
Roth prahi. L vrhaspatir.

## 6. hiranyavarṇā nūnam tad asya çukro 'siti çukrāya

AV. 1. 33. 1; 4. 1. 6; 17. 1. 20 (2. 11. 5). L n nam.

7. sahasrabāhuḥ puruṣaḥ kena pārṣṇī prāṇāya nama iti ça-  
nāiçcarāya

AV. 19. 6. 1; 10. 2. 1; 11. 4. 1. Quoted by Sāyana at 10. 2, p. 737; 11. 6,  
p. 86; 19. 6, p. 266. L -vāhuḥ. L prāṇāya.

## 8. divyaṁ citraṁ rāhū rājānam iti rāhave

Kāuç. 99. 2; 100. 2. Roth rāhu. L rājānama.

9. yas te prthu stanayitnur devo devān paribhūr rtena ketum  
kṛvann aketava iti ketave

AV. 7. 11. 1; 18. 1. 30; 20. 26. 6. Cf. Sāyana at 7. 11, p. 328. L ttatena.  
Roth ketu. L kṛvann.

10. ketum kṛvann aketave peço maryā apeçase |  
sam uṣadbhir ajāyathāḥ || 15 ||

L kṛvann. L yeçon. L ajāyathā; Roth ajāyathāḥ.

## 1. mādhlukir lohitāṅgāya nāiyagrodhir budhāya ca |

ādadhyaṭ samidhaḥ plākṣiḥ sakṣirā bhārgavāya tu ||

Cf. AVPar. xxvi. 5. 6 ff. A page is transposed in Roth so that 16. 1—17.

4 (incl.) stand after the colophon of the chapter. L Roth mādhlukir.  
Roth -tāṅgāya nyāiyagrodhir. L sakṣirā.

## 2. ārkis tu ravaye dadyād rāhor āraṇyagomayam |

āudumbaryo guroḥ proktā āçvatthis tu çanāiçcare |

candrāya samidhaḥ pālāçih ketor ghṛtayutāḥ kuçāḥ ||

L ārkī ravaye. L omkrdumbaryo. Roth āçvatthas. L çanāiçcarā.

3. atha çāntaiḥ kṛtyādūṣaṇāiç cātanāir mātṛnāmabhir vāstoṣ-  
patyāir ājyam juhuyād

Cf. AVPar. xxxii. 1—5. Quoted in fragments by Sāyana at 1. 7, p. 48;  
2. 2, p. 198; 11, p. 243; 14, p. 260; 8. 3, p. 589. L çāntai. L mātṛ-  
nāmabhi. L juhuyād.

## 4. abhayenopasthāya tantraṁ parisamāpayed

Cf. AVPar. xxxii. 12. Sāyaṇa at 19. 15, p. 328: abhayenopatiṣṭhate.

## 5. atha dakṣiṇāḥ prayacchati || 16 ||

L dakṣiṇā. Roth prayachamti.

1. bhārgavāya hayaṁ dadyāt somaputrāya kāñcanam |  
vr̥ṣabhaṁ lohitaṅgāya chagalīm dhūmaketave ||

Roth -āṅgāja.

2. varam āṅgirasāya dadyād ādityāya tu gāḥ ṣubhāḥ |  
vr̥ṣalīm mr̥tyuputrāya gajaṁ dadyāt tu rāhave |  
rukmaṁ candramase dadyād etad ācāryaṇāsanam ||

L āṅgirse. Roth for gajaṁ: mamdām. L dadyā tu.

3. gr̥he br̥haspatāu viprān bhojayed ghṛtapāyasam |  
ṣukre sarvaguṇaṁ tv annaṁ madhunā cābhighāritam ||

L vr̥haspatāu. L bhojayet. L sarvagr̥ṇaṁ. Roth yābhighāritam.

4. ṣanāiṣṭcare haviṣyānnaṁ tathā kṣīrāudanaṁ budhe |  
kr̥ṣarānna ketūnām rāhor māṁsāudana tu ||

Roth starts to omit pādas bc. L kṣīrāudana; Roth kṣīradanaṁ. L vudhe; Roth budhāḥ.

5. bhāume guḍāudanaṁ dadyān modakāḥ samalam̐kṛtam |  
sarpiṣā payasā cāiva sūrye candre tathāudanaṁ ||

Roth gaḍāudanaṁ. L mohakāḥ.

6. samidādhanam eteṣāṁ grahapūjā vidhīyate |  
annadānam athāiteṣāṁ eteṣāṁ dakṣiṇāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

L ekeṣāṁ. L vadhīyate. L athāikeṣāṁm ekeṣāṁ. Roth dakṣiṇa.

7. tad etaḥ janmani karmani yātrāyām pratilomeṣu vā graheṣu  
ṣāntibhāṣajyaṁ kuryād ity evaṁ āhur manīṣiṇa ity

L eta junmani. Roth graheṣu | ṣāntir-. L āhu. Roth manīṣiṇa.

## 8. atrāite ṣlokā bhavanti || 17 ||

L bhavati.

1. yathā samutthitaṁ yantraṁ yantreṇa pratihanyate |  
evaṁ samutthitaṁ ghoram ṣīghram ṣāntir vināṣayet ||2. yathā bānaprahārāṇām kavacaṁ bhavati vāraṇam |  
tadvad dāivopaghātānām ṣāntir bhavati vāraṇam ||

L vāna-. L kevacaṁ. L tadvad devo-.

3. ahīṁsakasya dāntasya dharmārjitadhanasya ca |  
nityam ca niyamasthasya sadā cānugrahā grahāḥ ||L<sub>1</sub> -dhasya ca. L sānu, omitting: grahā which is in margin, but cf. next note.

4. grahā gāvo narendrāḥ ca brāhmaṇāḥ ca viṣṣataḥ |  
pūjitāḥ pratipūjyante nirdahanty apamānitāḥ ||

L omits: grahā, cf. last note. L narendrāḥ ca vrā-

5. etad grahāṇām ātithyam kuryāt samvatsarād api |  
ārogyabalasampanno jīvec ca çaradaḥ çatam ||

Roth -sampannā jīvena çaradaḥ.

jīvec ca çaradaḥ çatam iti || 18 ||

Roth omits.

iti prathamam 'dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ ||

Roth: mahāçāntiḥ (read: -çānteḥ) prathamārdham samāptam.

*Zum magischen Texte (Journal of the American Oriental Society 1912, p. 434 seq.). — Von Dr. J. N. EPSTEIN, Brest-Litowsk, Rußland.*

Zu dem von *James A. Montgomery* ibid. S. 435 veröffentlichten Texte ist Folgendes zu bemerken und berichtigen:

1) Zunächst ist zu lesen (s. die Tafel auf S. 434):

זה וזה על סכרא תחית דרום ביתא

„Zah, zah (fort! fort!) auf den *Riegel* unter der *Höhe* (Plafond) des Hauses“. זה als Verbannungsinterjektion — denn es ist eine Interjektion, wie das vorhergehende יה, syr. und mand. יא, aram. Papyri יה — ist in einem talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Verbannung eines *Löwen* erhalten: ניהא דאריה זה זה, Pes. 112<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup> סכרא ist natürlich das syrische ܣܚܪܐ, talm. סיכרא (סוכרא) „Türriegel“.<sup>2</sup> תחית, v. תחית „infra“ ist nach der Tafel ziemlich sicher (weniger wahrscheinlich תחנת). (ד)רום-ביתא „Höhe des Hauses“, nicht דרומן „südlich“! Vgl. auch das Talmudische עומקא ורומא eines Hauses. BB. 63<sup>b</sup>—64<sup>a</sup>; für „Süden“ gebraucht unser Text, wie wir sehen werden, ein anderes Äquivalent.

2) Von וסכרא...[א], unten, zeigt die Tafel bloß: וסכ וסכאל... und daher eine Ergänzung wie [א]וסכרא, das hier nicht paßt, höchst unwahrscheinlich.

3) Ibid. unten, l.: תראם עליכון שמשא וסינא נורדינא עליכון ועברא אסתאנא ואורניא שותא ונאבלא אסוריהון קירקא נחאשא ועברא... „Untersagt sei euch die Sonne und der Mond, verboten sei euch der *Norden* und *Wes[ten]*, der *[O]sten* und *Süden*, ihre (der Teufel) Fessel sind eherne Ringe und eiserne *Riegel*“ usw.

אסתאנא, talmudisch אסתן, אסתנא, syr. selten ܐܫܬܢܐ, ass.-bab. *istānu* „Norden“ (zu unserer Stelle vgl. den „Nordwind“ im

<sup>1</sup> Zur Etymologie, s. Montgomery, ibid. S. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Das סכרא scheint eine Zauberkraft gehabt zu haben, s. Sab. 67<sup>a</sup>: (סוכרי דבבא: ושבעה עפרי מו' סכרי).

Zendavesta: „vâtô daêvô“ „Dämonenwind“); אוריא „Westen“, wie im Talm., ass. *amuru* (avuru); שותא „Osten“, wie im Talm., ass. *šātu*. Es fehlt nun noch der „Süden“ (im Talm. שדיא, ass. *šadû*) und dieser wird wohl mit נאבלא gemeint sein, welches wohl Metathesis von לאנבא, נאנבא, hebr. נָנֵב, syr. ܢܢܒܐ ist, wie ähnlich z. B. talm. נירא „Fuß“ = mand. לינרא, Sendschirli לנרא, לנר = רנלא.<sup>1</sup> עברא ist nicht = אברא „Blei“, denn nach der Tafel ist zweifellos דפרולא (ר) zu lesen. Es bedeutet vielmehr, wie häufig im Talm. עברא (דרשא) „Riegel“<sup>2</sup> (Querbalken), entsprechend קרקא, die, wie im Syr. „Ringe“ sind und dienen hier zum Empfangen des „Riegels“. Zu שמחזא „Semayaza“ des Jubiläumbuches (Montgomery, S. 436), der Gigant שמחזא im Targ. j. Gen. 6, 4, b. Nidda 61<sup>a</sup>, vgl. noch den talmudischen Zauberspruch zur Bändigung eines Dämons, Sab. 67<sup>a</sup> ליטא: תבור ומשומת בר טיט בר טינא בשמנז מרינו ואיסממא: בשם מורינ ומוריפת ואיסמתמתי (bei Rabbinowicz) בשם מורינ ומוריפת ואיסמתמתי (bei Münch).<sup>3</sup> בשם מורינ ומוריפת ואיסמתמתי (bei Münch).<sup>3</sup> (das ב in בשם ist daher jedenfalls sicher).

4) Ibid. l. nach der Tafel: וניזוהון וניפקון כול שירא, statt וניזוהון, vgl. das וזה, oben.

5) נניבא (S. 436) ist ein häufiger Name im b. Talmud.

<sup>1</sup> Oder, was mir noch wahrscheinlicher ist, נאבלא (ar. جَبَل „Berg“) ist eine buchstäbliche Übersetzung des ass.-bab. *šadû* „Süden“ vom Stamme *šadû* „hoch sein“ von dem auch das gleichlautende Nomen *šadû* „Berg“ abgeleitet ist (s. Del., HWB. s. v.). Vgl. das נבלא des Targ. j. zu שעיר, bei dem Samaritaner נבלא (Levy, TWB. I, 123), das „Bergland“, „Hochland“ („Idumea“), das נבל der Bibel (Ps. 83, 8), heute Dschebāl, bei den Griechen Γεβαλγηδών, die Gebirgsgegend im Süden des toten Meeres (Gesen.-Buhl, s. v. נבל, vgl. s. v. שעיר). Hervorzuheben ist auch, daß jene Gegend ja im „Süden“ liegt! Zu נבלא vgl. auch das *gablu* (*ga-ab-lum*) bei Rawl. V 28, 842 zwischen *ša-du-ú* (Hoch s., Berg) und *a-la-ku* („Gehen“), Del. HWB. 193<sup>a</sup> u. 642<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. Targ. Jos. 6, 1: בעברין דנקחש, Ps. 107, 16: רשע נחש ועקביו פרולא.

*Iranian Miscellanies.*—By Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, Aberdeen, Scotland.

a) On the Aramaic Version of the Behistān Inscriptions.

THE value of the fragments of the Aramaic version of the Behistān inscriptions for solving some of the problems in the interpretation of these texts has recently been made evident by Tolman's identification of the Old Persian month Garma-pada with Tammuz.<sup>1</sup> These same fragments conclusively clear up two of the most difficult words in all Old Persian literature. The passage Bh. i, 65, the text of which has been definitely settled by Jackson<sup>2</sup> and by King and Thompson,<sup>3</sup> reads as follows: *abičariš gaiḡāmčā māniyamčā viḡabiščā*. The principal translations of these words, since this establishment of the text, are: Bartholomae, "Weideland (?), (und) fahrende Habe, (und) liegende Habe, (und) (?)":<sup>4</sup> Justi, "Volksversammlungen, Gehöfte, Hauskomplexe, (einzelne) Häuser";<sup>5</sup> King and Thompson, "the pasture-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses";<sup>6</sup> Tolman, "the revenue (?) and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences";<sup>7</sup> Weißbach and Bang, "das Weideland (?), die Viehherden und die Wohnungen, und zwar in den Häusern";<sup>8</sup> Hoffmann-Kutschke, "die Zusammenkünfte des Volkes, die Gehöfte sowohl wie die Hauskomplexe wie die (einzelnen) Klanten".<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *American Journal of Philology*, xxxii, 444 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. xxiv, 84 f., *Persia Past and Present*, p. 196 f.      <sup>3</sup> *Inscription of Darius . . . at Behistūn*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 89, 478, 1168, *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvii, Anzeiger, pp. 105—108, reading *abāčariš* and *viḡbiš* (!).      <sup>6</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 9, 64 f., 85, 116, 125 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. xv; similarly Weißbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 21, who omits the query and translates *māniyam* by "Wohnung(en)"; like Justi, he reads *viḡbiš*.

<sup>9</sup> *Altpersische Keilinschriften . . . am Berge Bagistān*, pp. 13, 51 f., reading *abičiriš* (!).



The Babylonian version for this passage is lacking, nor do the two New Susian words preserved as the equivalents of *gaiḫām* and *māniyam*, the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα *aš* and *kurtaš* respectively, give any assistance. Fortunately, the Aramaic version contains the equivalents for *māniyamčā viṭabiščā*—נכסיהם ובתיהם, "their wealth and their houses".<sup>1</sup> The word נכס—*plurale tantum*, like its Syriac equivalent, ܢܚܫܐ—occurs seven times in the Old Testament, the Septuagint rendering being χρήματα in Joshua xxii, 8, II Chronicles i, 11 f., ὑπάρχοντα in Ezra vi, 8, Ecclesiastes v, 18, vi, 2, and ζημία τοῦ βίου in Ezra vii, 26.<sup>2</sup> This term denotes material wealth, as in the mention of "the king's goods, even the tribute beyond the river" (Ezra vi, 8), and in Joshua xxii, 8, נכסים, "wealth", is expressly distinguished from מקנה, "cattle", just as *gaiḫām* and *māniyam* are contrasted in Bh. i, 65. As to the etymology of *māniya-*, its translation by נכס suggests that it is to be connected with Sanskrit *mānya-*, "honourable, venerable".

Turning to the second equation—*viṭabiš*: בתיהם—we are confronted by some difficulty. So far as the syntax is concerned, I see no reason to depart from the view which I formerly expressed—although incorrectly reading *viṭaibiš*—that the form is an instrumental neuter plural, used with accusativational force.<sup>3</sup> As to the form, I have been able to make no advance over my suggestion in a letter to Professor Tolman, incorporated by him in his *Lexicon*,<sup>4</sup> that *viṭabiš* is from the stem *viṭan-*, and is to be compared with Avesta *vīsan-*, "householder". As in Bartholomae's similar suggestion<sup>5</sup> to explain the difficult Old Persian word *viṭibiš* in Dar. Pers. d, 14, 22, 24, from a stem *viṭin-*, I feel the difficulty of meaning, since *-an-* normally forms nouns denoting a part of the body or *nomina agentis*,<sup>6</sup> rather than words of relationship to something. Despite this, I see at present no alternative but to repeat the suggestion to which I have already referred, that *viṭabiš* means "things

<sup>1</sup> Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 61 A. P. 13447 c, Nr. 1 (Vs), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> See, further, Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 647.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxiii, 58 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Zum altiran. Wörterb.*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*, p. 332, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik*, II<sup>2</sup>, i, 292—312.

relating to the house, *ṛā oikēā*". It may be noted, in this connexion, that the Aramaic, being rendered from the Babylonian rather than from either of the other two versions,<sup>1</sup> does not invariably represent exactly the Old Persian text.<sup>2</sup>

The translation of the Old Persian passage *abičariš gaiθāmčā māniyamčā viθabiščā* would accordingly be, "the pasturage, and the live stock, and the wealth, and the home possessions".

There is in these Aramaic fragments a very remarkable passage which has no parallel in any of the other versions of the Behistān inscriptions. This passage, which begins with Old Persian Bh. iv, 37 (Babylonian, 97; New Susian, iii, 63), is as follows:<sup>3</sup>

... אנת מלך וי אחרי תהיה וי יכרב  
 ... [י] מן כרבן שניאן אוהר ע[י] וי יכרב  
 ... [י] הודע איד וי עביר אנת וא[י]ך הלכתך  
 ... [י] כך יאמר שמע וי פרתר יאמר  
 ... [י] בר וי מסכן יעבד וך חוי אף קדמתך  
 ... טובך

"Thou who shalt be king after me,<sup>4</sup> the man who lieth,

"... of lies<sup>5</sup> beware mightily ... who lieth.

"... make known how thou hast been created,<sup>6</sup> and how hath  
 been thy going.

"... saith, Hear what he saith before.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ungnad, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent instance of such divergence is the Aramaic rendering of Old Persian *hargmatā paraitā*, "having assembled, they went" (for the form see Bartholomae, *Grundriß*, I, i, 220 f., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 501), in Bh. ii, 43, 52, 58, by ארמכשו אולו, "they assembled, they went", corresponding to Babylonian *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku*<sup>2</sup> or *ip-hu-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ungnad, 67, P. 13447 b (Vs.), p. 90. For a slightly different rendering see Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüd. Militärkolonie zu Elephantine*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> This use of אחר substantiates the suggestion of Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 77) that אַרַמְכְּשׁוּ אַלּוּ in Bh. iv, 37, 68, 87, should be read *apara<sup>h</sup>ma<sup>h</sup>* instead of *aparam*; cf. also *arkī'a* (Bab. 105) as the equivalent of *apara<sup>h</sup>ma<sup>h</sup>* (Old Persian iv, 68).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Babylonian plural *paršātu* as the equivalent of the Old Persian *drauga*, "lie" (Bab. Bh. 14 = Old Pers. Bh. i, 84).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the "making" of the earth, etc., and the "making" of Darius, etc., to be king in Dar. Pers. d, 2 f. (*adadā*), NR a, 1—6, Xerx. Pers. a, 1—4, b, 1—7, etc. (*adā*, *akunauš*)?

<sup>7</sup> The word פרתר represents Old Persian \**fratarā*-, "prior" (see Ungnad, p. 2, note to line 5).

"... who maketh alms, that man hath also been seen before thee.

"... good unto thee," etc.

### b) A New Fragment of the Avesta.

In Manakji Rustamji Unvāla's lithographed edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār, to which more particular reference will be made below, there are a large number of citations from the Avesta, including Westergaard's Fragment 4 (p. 179, l. 15—p. 180, l. 10),<sup>1</sup> but all these, excepting one, are taken from the Avesta as already known. This one exception, which may be considered a new fragment, and as adding one word to the Avesta vocabulary, occurs twice in the *Rivāyats*: first, in a *Rivāyat* of Dastūr Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn Sanjāna, who flourished in the seventeenth century (p. 39, l. 14—p. 40, l. 8); and, second, in a response of the Persian dastūrs to a letter of Barzū b. Qavām-ad-Dīn b. Kaikubād b. Ormazdyār, written in 1015 A. Y. (p. 431, l. 19—p. 432, l. 10).<sup>2</sup> The variants of the two passages are unimportant; the text, according to the first occurrence, with the translation, runs thus: *alurəm mazdqm raēvantəm x<sup>v</sup>arənanəhvantəm yazamaide. aməšāspəntā huxšaθrā ludānhō yazamaide. rašnūm razištəm yazamaide. arəstātəmča frādat-gaēθqm varədat-gaēθqm yazamaide. ərəzuxdəm vāčīm yaθ frādat-gaēθqm yazamaide. arəstātəm frādat-gaēθqm yazamaide. gaerīm uši-darənəm mazdaḏātəm ašax<sup>v</sup>āθrəm yazatəm yazamaide. ašānqm vanhōš sūrā spəntā fravšyō yazamaide. vīspehe a[ša]vana yazata yazamaide. ušehenem paīti-ratūm bərəzīm namānīmča paīti-ratūm yenhe hātqm*; "Ahura Mazda, radiant, glorious, we worship; the Aməša Spəntas, rightly ruling, fair of form, we worship; Rašnu, most righteous, we worship; and Arštāt, furthering living creatures, increasing living creatures, we worship; the rightly spoken prayer, furthering living creatures, we worship; Arštāt, furthering living creatures, we worship; the mountain Ušidarəna, created by Mazda, the happy abode of Aša, the yazad, we worship; the good, mighty, holy fravašis of the righteous we worship; every righteous yazad we worship; Ušahina, the counter-ratu; Bərəjya and Nmānya, the counter-ratu: yenhē-hātqm."

<sup>1</sup> On this fragment see Haas, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, pp. 181—187.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg, *Notices de littérature persie*, pp. 43, 67; on Barzū Qiyām-ad-Dīn see West, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 123.

In this fragment the occurrence of the term *paiti-ratu*-, "counter-ratu", which seems to be found nowhere else in Avesta literature thus far known, is noteworthy. Ušahina, Bərəjya, and Nmānya are frequently mentioned together as *ašahe ratu*,<sup>1</sup> and the question arises whether *paiti-ratu*- is synonymous with the ordinary *ratu*-, or whether it bears some special technical meaning.

### c) The Iranian Name בנִדְאַנָּה.

In the last volume of this *Journal* (pp. 434—438) Professor Montgomery discusses a magical bowl-text which contains the words בנִדְאַנָּה מְרִיא שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה, "Šamhizā, the lord Bagdānā". As Professor Moore suggested to him, this Šamhizā is obviously the fallen angel Semyaza of the Book of Enoch,<sup>2</sup> and it is equally evident that בנִדְאַנָּה is equivalent to שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה. The fallen angel שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה is frequently mentioned in post-Biblical Hebrew,<sup>3</sup> and his name means, according to Schwab,<sup>4</sup> "nom du visionnaire". As שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה is composed of שֵׁם, "name", and חֲזִיָּה, "seer", so בנִדְאַנָּה is composed of בִּנ, "God", and דְּאַנָּה (דָּאנָּה), which is, I think, represented by Modern Persian دان —, "knowing" (Pahlavi \*dānak), or else by دانا, "learned, wise" (Pahlavi dānāk). If בִּנ is equivalent to שֵׁם, the latter is a paraphrase of the Ineffable Name.<sup>5</sup> The Iranian appellation בנִדְאַנָּה means "God-knowing", and I suggest that the Semitic appellative שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה should be translated "he who sees the Name"<sup>6</sup> rather than "name of him who sees". I am, of course, aware that שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה scarcely describes the character of the fallen angel, but it was doubtless very appropriate before he fell and wedded one of the "daughters of men".

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.* *Yasna* i, 7; ii, 7; iii, 9; vi, 6; xxii, 9; *Gāh* v, 1, 5f.; *Srōš Bāz* 1.

<sup>2</sup> Enoch vi ff.; see Beer *ad loc.* in his translation in Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ii, 217 ff.; Barton, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xxxi, 165, explains Semyaza as "apparently the Heb. *šemi-az*, 'my name is mighty'."

<sup>3</sup> See Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, ii, 492, and *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv, 573; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., p. 1594; for the legends especially Grünbaum, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xxxi, 225—248.

<sup>4</sup> *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Blau, *Altjüdisches Zauberwesen*, p. 117 ff.; see also *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ix, 162—165, xi, 262—264.

<sup>6</sup> I reached this conclusion before I knew the similar view of Nathaniel Schmidt, *Harper Memorial Volume*, ii. 343f.: "Semyaza = שְׁמַחֲזִיָּה, 'he sees the Name, i. e. God.' or שְׁמִיָּה חֲזִיָּה, 'he surveys especially the heavens', as he reveals 'the revolution of the world'."

## d) Parsī-Persian Omen Calendars.

I recently published in this *Journal* (xxx, 436—442) and in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume* (pp. 454—464) two studies on Parsī-Persian omen-lists: one on the *Burj-Nāmah*, copied for me on 29 June, 1909, by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana from a manuscript in the Library of the University of Bombay (BU 29); and the other on two brief *maṭnavīs* edited by Salemann in *Travaux du III<sup>me</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, ii, 497 f. It was then unknown to me that another version of the *Burj-Nāmah*, differing in slight details, had been lithographed by Manakji Rustamji Unvāla in his edition of the *Rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ii, 193 f.). This work has not yet been published, but has been exhaustively analysed by Rosenberg, in his *Notices de littérature persie*. Through the kindness of the editor and of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, I have received proof-sheets of the volume, and since the readings are better, it seems to me advisable to re-edit the *Burj-Nāmah* from it, particularly as my former translation contained a number of errors, one of which—the rendering of *کودک وزن* (ll. 10, 23) by “boy and woman” instead of “child and wife” (though both are equally possible)—led me unjustly to criticise the moral tone of the poem. I also take this opportunity to correct a few minor errors in the two *maṭnavīs* on which I commented in the *Hoshang Volume*.

The text and translation of the *Burj-Nāmah*, according to Unvāla's edition, together with Dastur Sanjana's variant readings, are as follows:

بنام ایند مهربان دادگر  
حکایت در باب دیدن ماه نو اندرون هر یک برج که میاید  
زطاف خداوند روزیرسان  
بگویم زهر ماه نو من تو دان<sup>1</sup>  
زبرج حمد چون به بینی تو ماه  
بکن اندر آن دم بآتش نگاه  
که آن ماه کارت بود خوبتر  
زگفتار دانا<sup>2</sup> کنون درنگر  
هم از ثور بنگر به بینی کاورا  
که آن ماه بهتر بود مر ترا  
چو در برج جوزا به بینی تو ماه<sup>3</sup>  
بکن اندر آن دم<sup>3</sup> بزاهد نگاه  
بپرهیز از کور واورا مبین  
که باشد آن ماه نیکوترین  
چو در برج خرجنگ بینی قمر  
زگفت حکیم این تو بشنو خبر

<sup>1</sup> BU 29, میتوان.<sup>2</sup> BU, زگفتار دان.<sup>3</sup> BU, در آن وقت کن تو.

دگر سبزۀ<sup>۱</sup> خوب یا اوروران  
 تو در آسمان کن زمانی نگاه  
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار  
 زمضمون او بشنو از<sup>۲</sup> من چنان  
 که غمگین نکردی تو خود باوجود  
 که خوشحال کردی در آن ماه نوشت  
 در آینه وزر در آن دم بگر  
 هم از برج عقرب بگویم تو دان<sup>۳</sup>  
 جوان مرد با شد نه کور و نه کر  
 که آن مه به نیکی رسد خود بسر  
 همانکه نگه کن ابا سیم وزر  
 بهرهیز تا خود شوی شادمان  
 اشیم و هو<sup>۴</sup> برخوان همانکه سه ره  
 که باشی در آن مه بسی شادمان  
 ایثا اهوویرو<sup>۵</sup> میخوان تو اینها شنو  
 مبین کودک وزن تو ای نامدار  
 بلعل و جواهر کن انکه نگاه  
 بودی شاد و نبود ترا خود زیان  
 که باشد نگه دار پروردگار

در آن دم نظر کن باب روان  
 زبرج اسد چون به بینی تو ماه  
 بخواه حاجت از پاک پروردگار  
 چو در برج خوشه به بینی تو دان  
 مبین تو چنان رو دگر کس زدود  
 بخوان ذکر یزدان بصدق و<sup>۶</sup> درست  
 چو در برج میزان به بینی قمر  
 بخواه حاجت از کردگار جهان  
 تو بنگر ایا مرد نیکو<sup>۷</sup> نظر  
 مبین چیز مکروه ای نامور  
 چو در برج قوس اندر آید قمر  
 مبین روی بیمار را آن زمان  
 زبرج جدی چون به بینی تو مه  
 تو منگر زبیمار و هم کودکان  
 چو در دل و<sup>۸</sup> بینی همی ماه نو  
 بخواه حاجت از قادر کردگار  
 چو در برج ماهی به بینی تو ماه  
 به بین و بشو شادمان آن زمان  
 همین بیت<sup>۹</sup> مارا کنون یاد دار

IN THE NAME OF GOD, COMPASSIONATE, OMNIPOTENT!  
 TRADITION ON THE THEME OF WHAT HAPPENS AT SIGHT  
 OF THE NEW MOON IN EACH SIGN [OF THE ZODIAC].

(1) By the grace of God, Who giveth daily food, I shall tell of each new moon; be thou wise!

(2) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Aries, at that instant gaze on fire;

(3) In order that thy affairs may be better that month, consider now the word of the sage.

(4) Likewise at sight [of the new moon] from Taurus look on an ox in order that that month may be better for thee.

(5) When in the sign of Gemini thou seest the moon, at that instant gaze on an ascetic;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> BU, سبزۀ را.

<sup>۲</sup> BU omits.

<sup>۳</sup> BU, توان.

<sup>۴</sup> BU, ایام بنیکو.

<sup>۵</sup> BU, اشیم اهو.

<sup>۶</sup> BU, دل و در.

<sup>۷</sup> BU, ایثا اهوویرو.

<sup>۸</sup> BU, همین است.

<sup>۹</sup> Rosenberg (Бурдж-нāмэ, p. 8, note 1) regards this reference to the ascetic (زاهد) as a proof of the Indian origin of the *Burj-Nāmah*.

(6) Beware of mirage and look not upon it, in order that that month may be most good for thee.

(7) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Cancer—hark thou to tidings from the words of this sage—

(8) At that instant look on running water, but not on pleasant verdure or plants.

(9) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Leo, gaze a while upon the sky;

(10) Implore thy necessities from the pure Protector [God]; look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

(11) When in the sign of Virgo thou seest (the new moon), be thou wise; of its signification hear thou from me thus:

(12) Look not thou, under these circumstances, with sadness<sup>1</sup> on the face of any one else, in order that thou mayest not make thyself distressed with thyself;

(13) Recite thou praise of God with verity and perfectly, in order that thou mayest do happily in that moon, the new one.

(14) When in the sign of Libra thou seest the moon, gaze at that instant on a mirror and on gold;

(15) Implore thy necessities from the Creator of the world. Likewise of the sign of Scorpio I shall tell; be thou wise!

(16) Gaze thou, O man of good appearance, young man of vigour, not blind and not deaf;

(17) Look not on any thing abominable, O famous one, in order that that month may come to an end with goodness.

(18) When the moon entereth the sign of Sagittarius, gaze straightway on silver and gold;

(19) Look not on the face of the sick at that time; beware [of so doing] in order that thou thyself mayest be joyful.

(20) When thou seest the moon from the sign of Capricornus, straightway recite the *Aṣim Vuhū* [*Aṣem vohu*] thrice;

(21) Gaze not on the sick and likewise [not] on children, in order that in that month thou mayest be very joyful.

(22) When in Aquarius thou seest the new moon, recite thou the *Ayṭā Ahūviryū* [*Yatā ahū vairyō*], listen unto them;

(23) Implore thy necessities from the mighty Creator: look not thou on child and wife, O famous one!

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<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg (p. 9. cf., however, his uncertainty expressed on p. 4) renders "with pride" (съ надменностью).

(24) When thou seest the moon in the sign of Pisces, gaze straightway on rubies and pearls;

(25) Look and be joyful at that time; be joyous, and it is no harm to thee.

(26) Even so remember our verses now, in order that the Protector [God] may be guardian.

The two *maṭnavīs* (reprinted from the *Hoshang Volume*) on the omens to be drawn from the appearance of snakes on each of the days of the week and in each of the signs of the zodiac are as follows, with their revised translations:

### دیدن مار از خوب و بد هفته

به شنبه مار بینی روز کیوان	رسد بر آسمانت قصر و ایوان
به یکشنبه که روز (ز) آفتابست	به بینی مار را میکش ثوابست
دو شنبه روز روز ماه باشد	چو دیدی مار را دلخواه باشد
سه شنبه روز باشد روز مریخ	بکن بنیاد از در را تو از بیخ
چهار شنبه که باشد از عطارد	ترا امروز عیش و عشرت آرد
پنج شنبه که باشد روز برجیس	چو دیدی مار کشتی کشتی ابلیس
بود آدینه روز زهره ناهید	ترا امروز میباید کنی عید

### THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND BAD OF THE WEEK.

(1) On the Sabbath, the day of Saturn, [if] thou seest a snake, rear unto heaven thy castle and palace.

(2) On the day after the Sabbath, which is the day of the Sun, [if] thou seest a snake, kill it; it is a good work.

(3) Two days after the Sabbath—the day of the Moon it would be—when thou seest a snake, it would be desirable.

(4) Three days after the Sabbath—the day of Mars it would be—[if thou seest a snake,] dig up the serpent's foundation from the root.

(5) Four days after the Sabbath, which would be from Mercury, [if thou seest a snake,] it bringeth thee pleasure and society this day.

(6) Five days after the Sabbath, which would be the day of Jupiter, when thou seest a snake [and] killest it, thou killest Iblis.



(7) Friday is the day of Venus, of Aphrodite; that day [if thou seest a snake,]<sup>1</sup> thou shouldst keep festival.

دوازده برج که ماه باشد	دیدن مار را از خوب و بد
به بینی مار را بسیار نیکوست	چو در برج حمل باشد مه ایدوست
ترا از مار نیرو مینماید	به برج ثور نیکو مینماید
سرش در زیر سنگ و چوب باشد	مه اندر برج جوزا نیک باشد
طمع از مال و جان خود بریدی	چو در خرچنگ مه تو مار دیدی
فزاید دولت و محنت سر آید	5 چو در برج اسد بدر اندر آید
چو دیدی مار میخور در سفالی	به برج سنبله باشد هلالی
بود پشت و پناه <sup>2</sup> زور بازو	چو بینی مار را اندر ترازو
بکشتن ازدها باشد همایون	چو در عقرب قمر گردد نمایان
با ثین بینی دولت از نو	چه مه در برج قوس انداخت پرتو
مبین بر ازدها منمای رخسار	10 چه در جدی قمر گردد بدیدار
ستم بسیار بینی و جفارا	ببرج دلو مه شل اشکارا
به بینی بگذرانی پادشاهی	به برج حوت مه در برج ماهی
خداسری رسانی بر ضعیفی	اگر هشیار اگر خوشحال و کیفی

THE SIGHT OF A SNAKE ACCORDING TO THE GOOD AND  
BAD OF THE TWELVE [ZODIACAL] SIGNS, [ACCORDING TO]  
WHAT MOON IT IS.

(1) When the moon should be in the sign of Aries, O friend, [if] thou seest a snake, much good it is.

(2) In the sign of Taurus good doth it [the moon] show; to thee from a snake strength doth it show.

(3) The moon in the sign of Gemini should be good; his [the snake's] head should be under stone and stock.

(4) When the moon [is] in Cancer, [if then] thou seest a snake, thou cuttest off hope of thy wealth and life.

(5) When the full moon entereth the sign of Leo, [if then thou seest a snake,] good fortune increaseth, and calamity cometh to a head [i. e. ceaseth].

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg, who read an advance offprint of my article in the *Hoshang Volume*, does not think that this bracket should be supplied here. The parallelism of the other verses seems to require it, yet it is, of course, true that Friday, as the Muhammadan Sabbath, might form an exception to the other days of the week.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg suggests پناه و زور.

(6) Should the new moon be in the sign of Virgo when thou seest a snake, eat on earthenware.<sup>1</sup>

(7) When thou seest a snake in Libra, it [the snake] is thy protector and asylum, [and] the might of thine arm.

(8) When the moon appeareth in Scorpio, it would be fortunate for the killing of a serpent.

(9) When the moon darteth his ray in the sign of Sagittarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou dost customarily see wealth anew.

(10) When the moon doth make its appearance in Capricornus, look not on a serpent, show not thy face.

(11) [If] the moon becometh visible in the sign of Aquarius, [if then thou seest a snake,] thou seest [*i. e.* sufferest] much oppression and cruelty.

(12) [If] the moon [be] in the sign of Pisces, in the sign of the Fish, [if thou seest a snake,] thou seest the passing of sovereignty.

(13) If [thou art] prudent, if happy and joyous, thou causest the divine compassion to come unto [thy] weakness.<sup>2</sup>

As supplementary to my former studies, I may note that Rosenberg assigns both the *Burj-Nāmah* and the *Mār-Nāmah* (the latter edited by Modi, Bombay, 1893) either to Anūšīrvān ibn Marzbān of Kirmān, who flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or to one of his pupils.<sup>3</sup>

While I have endeavoured, largely on the basis of Rosenberg's criticism on my article in this *Journal* and his pencil notes on the *Hoshang* offprint, to correct the errors of reading and translation to which I confess, I remain unchanged regarding the only matter which I regard as of real importance in this connexion—the problem of the ultimate source of this whole type of Parsī-Persian omen-literature. I have long been perfectly aware of the existence of snake-cults in India, though I had overlooked the mentions of moon-omens in India made by al-Bīrūnī (*India*, tr. Sachau, ii, 97; *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 335); but these are scarcely of a weight sufficient to make any alteration in my theory. I have also long known that,

<sup>1</sup> Rosenberg, reading می خور, translates "drink wine in an earthen cup".

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg translates "thou reachest God's compassion with the feeble".

<sup>3</sup> Rosenberg, *Notices*, 11—13, 49, Бурдж-нама, 4.

as Rosenberg says, there was active communication between India and Persia in the Sasanian period, and long before; and that books of Indian authorship were translated into Pahlavi, and later into Persian and Arabic. It would indeed be strange if Indian works on astrology and divination had not been among this number.

But all this seems to me to be beside the mark. I myself mentioned, in the *Hoshang* paper, abundant instances of ophiomancy from India, Burmah, Melanesia, Greece, Italy, and the Balto-Slavs, etc. Instances of omens from the new moon are as wide-spread as the lunar light. Yet among only one people was the omen-system drawn up in regular and exact calendrical form—the Babylonians. If we assume an Indian source for such omen-lists as are here studied, we can allege in support of this view only the fact that omens were unsystematically drawn from moon and snakes, and the possibility that Indian works upon these omens were translated by Persians or Arabs, although no Indian book of this character is thus far known to exist. My own belief is still the one which I expressed in the *Hoshang Volume*: “In view, then, of the facts that omens from snakes cannot be explained as Zoroastrian, and that, while sporadic portents are drawn from serpents among Hebrews, Hindus, Burmese, Melanesians, Romans, Greeks, and Lithuanians, there is no systematic development of ophiomancy among any of these peoples, there seems to me but one possible derivation for the Persian *Mār-Nāmah*, for only among the ancient Babylonians was there at once a perfected ophiomancy and a regular calendar form for it . . . I would tentatively suggest that the alleged Zoroastrian ophiomancy is, in reality, a survival of Babylonian lore on the same subject. Whether this knowledge was transmitted orally, or how it received its recrudescence, of which the first trace known to me at present is al-Bīrūnī’s record, is a problem I cannot touch. I believe, however, that more than one element in Zoroastrianism, even as recorded in the *Avesta*, will ultimately prove to have Babylonian influence as at least a factor. The West of Asia has been for milleniums a fusing-furnace of religions; Sumerians and Babylonians, Jews and Persians, Gnostics, Mandæans, and Manichæans, Muhammadan sects, and Nestorian Christianity have all contributed their share. In this snake-calendar, perhaps, is one indebtedness of the later Parsis to Babylonia.”

In this same article I mentioned the close parallelism of the *De Ostentis* of Johannes Lydus to the Babylonian omen-literature. Since I wrote that paper, it has been shown by Bezold and Boll<sup>1</sup> that much of Greek astrology, as in lunaries, brontologies, steropologies, seismologies, etc., was modelled on, and, at least in part, more or less directly translated from, Babylonian tablets. If Babylonian astrology thus lingered on, and was carried to Greece, it is still more probable that it long survived in its native home. In the absence of any Indian work showing either in form or in spirit the slightest kinship to such compositions as the *Burj*- and *Mār-Nāmah*, and with the rich abundance of Babylonian omen-literature which is amazingly like this portion of Parsi-Persian, I can only abide by my conviction that these Iranian texts are to be derived from Babylonian, and not from Indian, sources.

#### e) Modern Persian *bi*-: Lithuanian *be*-.

In Modern Persian the future, the subjunctive, and the imperative are formed by the aid of the particle —, found in Afyān as *ba*-, in Kurdish as *b*- (*be*-, *bi*-, *bo*-, *bu*-), in Tālīš as *ba*-, in Gilakī as *be*-, in Māzandarānī as *ba*-, in Gabrī as *v*-, etc.<sup>2</sup> In Pahlavi the form is *bē*- (cf. the antevocalic — in Modern Persian), and in Pāzand *bā*-. The fact that in Pahlavi *bē*- is regularly rendered in Huzvarešh by *barā* (𐭠𐭣𐭥), "except, besides, without," has led some<sup>3</sup> to consider the verbal particle *bē*- identical with the preposition *bē*. The correct view regarding the particle *bē*- is, however, that of Salemann,<sup>4</sup> who connects it with the Avesta intensive particle *bōi*𐬨, which is compounded of Avesta *bā*- + *i*𐬨. The cognates of *bā* are numerous,<sup>6</sup> and are traceable to the monosyllabic bases *\*bhā* and *\*bhē*:

<sup>1</sup> "Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern", *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1911, *Abhandlung* vii.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, I, ii, 220, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, i, 213 f., Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, no. 143, *Grundriß*, I, ii, 150, West, *Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 249. On the source of *bē*, "without", see Salemann, *Grundriß*, I, i, 284, 318, Horn, *ib.* I, ii, 20, 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Grundriß*, I, i, 311.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, coll. 962, 912.

<sup>6</sup> Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 619, Feist, *Etymo-*

\**bhā*: Full grade: Avesta *bā*, Armenian *ba(y)* (?),<sup>1</sup> Old Bulgarian *bo*;

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bà*, Gothic *-ba(i)*,<sup>2</sup> Lettish *-ba*.

\**bhē*: Full grade: Greek *φῆ*.

Reduced or first null grade: Lithuanian *bè*, *be*, Old Prussian *bhe*.

Thus far, however, it seems not to have been suggested that an exact etymological analogue to the Modern Persian verbal particle  $\text{—}\dot{\text{e}}$  is to be found in Balticon Lithuanian *be-* prefixed to verbs adds a continuative force, as *be-vargstù*, "I am continually miserable", *mán bè-kalbant*, "while I continued speaking";<sup>3</sup> and in Old Lettish *-ba* was affixed to verbal forms to give a similar modification of meaning, as *lāidi-ba*, "let it continue to be".<sup>4</sup>

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*logisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 40, Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 36, Trautmann, *Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 311.

<sup>1</sup> On this difficult word see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 427 f.

<sup>2</sup> On *-bai* beside *-ba* see Brugmann, p. 669.

<sup>3</sup> Kurschat, *Grammatik der litauischen Sprache*, pp. 130, 385, and especially Leskien, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xiv, 92. The relationship stated to exist between Lithuanian *bè* and *beĩ* by Gauthiot, *ib.* xxvi, 357, and Trautmann, p. 311, seems uncertain, for *beĩ* would appear to be the reduced grade of the base \**b(h)ēi*. Osthoff, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv, 229, connects *beĩ* with Old High German *bī*; the latter is connected with Sanskrit *abhī*, with the form *abhī-* in *abhītvāri-*, "on-rushing", *abhīmanin-*, "one of the Agnis", *abhīlāpalāp-*, "lamenting".

<sup>4</sup> Bielenstein, *Lettische Sprache*, ii, 372 f.

*The names of two Kings of Adab.* — By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In the winter of 1903/4 Dr. Edgar J. Banks discovered at Bismya the statue of an ancient king. The statue bears on its right upper arm the inscription: <sup>1</sup>E-SAR <sup>2</sup>LUGAL-DA-UDU LUGAL <sup>3</sup>UDNUN<sup>ki</sup>. In an article in AJSL, XXI, 59, Banks in 1904 interpreted the inscription as follows: "(Temple) Eshar. King Daddu. King of Udnun." Dr. Banks suggested that Daddu was equivalent to David! This interpretation was written in Babylonia without the use of Brünnow's *Ideographs*, so that Banks did not then know the Semitic name of the city. In 1905 Thureau-Dangin in his *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad*, 216, 217, rendered the inscription as Semitic, thus: *é-sar šarrum da-lu šar adab*<sup>ki</sup>, "E-sar, roi fort, roi d'Adab". The same scholar in his *Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königinschriften*, 1907, 152, 153, transliterates as in his earlier work, rendering: "E-sar, der mächtige König, König von Adab (Udab, Usab)." Through the authority of Thureau-Dangin the name of the king was generally accepted as Esar.

We have now before us Dr. Banks long delayed *Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab*, in which he takes up again (p. 198ff.) the discussion of the translation of this little inscription. He maintains that from an examination of the many inscriptions from Adab, which are as yet unpublished, but which were accessible to him at Bismya, it is clear that E-SAR is the name of the temple and not of the king. He also points out that the Code of Hammurapi (col. iii, 67-69) shows that the real name of the temple was E-MAḪ, and hence in the earlier writing the signs were read E-MAḪ. The first of these contentions of Banks is borne out by material published in his book. The vase inscription (p. 201) of a king of Kish, whom

he calls Barki, but which should be read Maški<sup>1</sup> (or more probably Mēki) is in front proof of it. The inscription reads: <sup>1</sup>MÊ-KI <sup>2</sup>LUGAL KIŠ <sup>3</sup>E-SAR <sup>4</sup>IL-IL <sup>5</sup>BIR-IS-Si <sup>6</sup>GAR PA-TE-SI UD-NU<sup>ki</sup>, "Mēki, king of kish, to E-sar brought, Birissi being Patesi of Adab." Here E-SAR is clearly the name of the temple to which the king of Kish brought the vase.

The copper inscription (Banks, p. 200) proves either that the temple was really named E-MAḪ or that there was a temple named E-MAḪ in Adab, or that the sign MAḪ had also the value SAR. It runs: (I) <sup>1d</sup>MAḪ <sup>2</sup>E-ŠI-NIM-PA-UD-DU <sup>3</sup>GAR PA-TE-SI <sup>4</sup>UD-NUN<sup>ki</sup> E-MAḪ MU-NA-RU (II) <sup>1</sup>UR-BI KI KU <sup>2</sup>ITU BASI, "(For) the god Makh Eshinimpauddu, being Patesi of Adab, Emakh built; its foundations (were laid) in the earth, month Basi."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Poebel has shown me a list of temple-names, which is to appear in his forthcoming volume, in which the temple at Adab is spelled out E-SAR-Ra. This proves that the sign SAR was read *sar* and not *mah*. Either, then, the sign MAḪ had also the value *sar*, or there were two temples in Adab. In the present state of our knowledge we do not know which horn of this dilemma to accept. But whether there was one or two temples in Adab, it is now certain that one of them was called E-sar. Esar is not, then, the name of the king, but of the temple and is to be read Emah. Banks is, however, wrong in his reading of the name of the king. He still contends (*Bismya*, 202) that the king's name is to be read Da-udu and that it explains the name David. The inscription must be read "Esar: Lugaldau, king of Adab". Lugal-da-udu is the king's name. It is parallel to Lugal-ušum-gal, Lugal-pad-da, Lugal-šag-ga, Lugal-temen-na, and other well known Sumerian names.

The name of another king of Adab is given us in a vase inscription pictured by Banks, *Bismya*. 264. It reads: <sup>1</sup>E-SAR <sup>2</sup>MÊ-SI-TUG <sup>3</sup>LUGAL <sup>4</sup>UD-NUN, "Esar: Mēshitug, king of Adab".

<sup>1</sup> The reading BAR would require  $\overline{\text{I}}$ , not  $\overline{\text{V}}$ . The sign seems to be  $\overline{\text{V}}$ ; cf. the writer's *Babylonian Writing*. 478.

<sup>2</sup> This given us the name of one of the monthes in the calendar of Adab. Each of the early Babylonian cities had a different calendar.

*Kugler's Criterion for Determining the Order of the Months in the Earliest Babylonian Calendar.* — By  
GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,  
Bryn Mawr, Pa.<sup>1</sup>

In a paper read before the Oriental Society a year ago, the difficulties which confront the students of the early Babylonian calendar were pointed out, and some of the consequent diversity of opinion concerning it among scholars was noted. During the year that has passed Father Kugler has proposed in his *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, Buch II, II. Teil, 1. Heft, p. 213 ff., a new criterion for determining the order of the months. Many of the tablets have at the end of the account the words BA-AN or GAR-AN preceded by a numeral. Kugler holds that these numerals refer to monthly payments, and that the number refers to the payment of the month previous to that in which the tablet is dated. It is known from a passage in Gudea<sup>2</sup> that EZEN-<sup>d</sup>BAU was the first month. Kugler finds a tablet dated in EZEN-<sup>d</sup>BAU which concludes with XII BA-AN, which he takes to mean 12 payments, and to refer to the distribution made in the preceding months. He holds that the accounts were not written up until the month following that in which payments were made. This accounts for the number 12 on a tablet in the month EZEN-BAU. From this one fixed example he makes a general rule. A tablet that ends with III BA-AN or III GAR-AN belongs to the fourth month; one that has at its close VIII BA-AN belongs to the ninth month; if the months are named, their position in the calendar is, he holds, fixed.

Kugler himself is, however, confronted with the difficulty that, when the month name is the same, the numbers sometimes vary. Thus in the fourth year of Urkagina a month is marked IV BA-AN and in his fifth year, III BA-AN. Kugler

<sup>1</sup> Presented in March, 1913.  
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<sup>2</sup> Stat. E V. 1-2; G III. 5.  
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concludes that an intercalary month had been inserted in Urkagina's fourth year, and had pushed the months forward one place. It seems strange that the intercalary month should be introduced early in the year and not at its end, but for the moment we pass that difficulty by.

Langdon has tentatively accepted Kugler's rule, declaring that "the principle introduced by the genius of Kugler can be employed in settling the position of a month, but that certainty can be obtained only by the consistent evidence of several tablets."<sup>1</sup> Pinches accepts it also in theory,<sup>2</sup> though he does not place much reliance on it.

If Kugler had really discovered a principle which would throw light on this difficult problem, no one would rejoice more than I. Unfortunately his induction is contradicted by much evidence that was in his hands when he wrote, and since his work appeared Dr. Hussey's important publication of Harvard tablets has given us a much larger number of texts by which to test Kugler's principle. When tested by all the available material, the theory utterly breaks down. In the case of EZEN-<sup>a</sup>BAU the month for which the most material exists, two tablets dated in this month bear the desired subscription XII BA-AN, viz: TSA 10; H<sup>3</sup> 27, but one has the subscription XI BA-AN (DP 112), another XI GAR-AN (Nik.<sup>4</sup> 64), while two have for their subscription, IV BA-AN, (TSA 20; H 10). If, then, Kugler's principle were correct, EZEN-<sup>a</sup>BAU would occur three times in the year; it would be at once the first, the fifth, and the twelfth month! Each of these positions for it is supported by two texts, so that there is only Gudea's inscription to act as an arbiter among them. Still another tablet (Nik. 1), if this rule were followed, would make AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA also the first month!

Again the evidence is conflicting in the case of EZEN-BULUK-KU-<sup>a</sup>NINA. Kugler's principle would make it the second month on the authority of Nik. 57 and H 6, but the tenth month on the authority of Nik. 6. Similarly the month SIG-<sup>a</sup>BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA would be the fourth month on

<sup>1</sup> PSBA. XXXIV, 257.

<sup>2</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*.

<sup>4</sup> Nikolski's publication of Likhatchef's collection.

the authority of H 9, but the twelfth month on the authority of Nik. 63. Were we to take into account month names which vary in their spelling, but which probably refer to the same month, further proof of the impossibility of deducing any rule from these subscriptions might be obtained, but such proof is not needed.

In reality the tablets on which these subscriptions are found are not all accounts of the same class. Those labeled GAR-AN with one exception record the distribution of grain for the wages or food of donkeys and the men in charge of the donkeys. The donkeys assume the most important place in these tablets because they are placed first and are most numerous. This statement is true of TSA 34, 35, RTC 51, Nik. 57, 64, 66, H 31, 34, 35, 36. The one exception occurs in RTC 55, which deals exclusively with 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, which Pinches thinks may have been some kind of wheat.<sup>1</sup> This exception is, however, more apparent than real, for 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, whatever it was, figures in the donkey tablets also; see H 31 and Nik. 57. It is quite possible that the yearly accounts of ass-hire might, for economic reasons, begin with a different month from the yearly accounts of the wages of the employees of the harem.

An examination of the BA-AN accounts reveals the fact that they are not all of one class. Thus TSA 20 and H 10, which are dated in EZEN-<sup>a</sup>BAU and have the subscription IV BA-AN, record payments to herders of she-asses (SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA-ME), fresh-water fishermen (HA-A-DUG-GA), gardeners (NU-ŠAR), head farmers (SAG-APIN), cow-'punchers' (LID-RU-ME), carpenters (NAGAR), overseers (MU-ME), scribes (DUP-ŠAR), shepherd of the wool-bearing-sheep (SIB UDU-SIG-KA-ME), porters (PA-IL-ME), bird-catchers (RI-HU-ME), etc. There are some others whose functions are not certainly determined, but in general it is clear that these men had to do with out-door affairs.

Another group of tablets has to do with the royal harem. These also bear BA-AN after their numbers. The names contained in them are those of women, boys and girls, though three or four men are included. To this series belong TSA 10,

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<sup>1</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 31.

DP 112, Nik. 1, H 20, 21, 22 and 23. These include maid-servants, pages, wool-workers (weavers), and a few men.

These tablets, which range in date from Lugalanda's sixth year to Urkagina's sixth year, all state that a certain Lugal-pa-ud-du was SIB-DUN; i. e. the same officer was in charge of all these payments.

Another group contains a greater variety of workmen and takes in both men and women. This group includes TSA 18, RTC 54, DP 113, 114, 116, 117, Nik. 2, 16, H 15, 26 and 27. This series is by no means so uniform as the other two; it contains a far greater variety of workers, some tablets mentioning but one or two classes and others a considerable number. Thus TSA 18 records the pay of NAGAR, a carpenter, KI-SIG, "workers in wool" (weavers?), women of the palace, and QA-ŠU-DU, whose occupation is not determined. RTC 56 mentions GIN-UŠ "weighers", RI-ĤU bird-catchers, SIB-GUD "ox-herds", NU-ŠAR "gardeners", DUP-SAR "scribes", NAGAR "carpenters", SIB-AMA-GAN-ŠA "herders of she-asses", SIB-ANŠU "ass-herds", SIB-UDU-SIG "shepherds of wool-sheep", and ĤA-A-DUG-GA "fresh-water fishermen". To these some of the others, as DP 113, and Nik. 9 add IGI-NU-DU "assistant gardeners", DU-A-KUD "diggers", NI-DU "gate keepers" and others. This list is by no means exhaustive. Some of the tablets mention PA-IL "porters" NIMGIR "stewards", SAG-NANGA "chiefs of districts" or "sections", ŠU-I "branders" or "barbers" etc. This group of tablets at times seems almost identical with the first group, and at times almost identical with the second, since, as in the modern east, women seem to have been employed in out-door work. That all such accounts should begin their year at the same time is pure assumption; the fact that these numbers, when attached to the same month, differ so much is proof that, even if these accounts recorded monthly payments, such was not the case.

Kugler's criterion thus turns out to be no criterion at all. It rests upon no basis of fact.

As Kugler's criterion breaks down, his evidence for the year with an intercalary month fails. We can, however, from other evidence prove that the fourth year of Urkagina was an intercalary year. As pointed out last year, DP 99, a tablet dated in the year mentioned, contains the name of an intercalary

month.<sup>1</sup> It was the custom in Babylonia to introduce the intercalary month at the end of the year. The year at Lagash, as previously shown,<sup>2</sup> began in the autumn. Before the time of the dynasty of Ur a new calendar was introduced according to which the year began in the spring. In the earliest calendar the intercalary month fell about August; in the later calendar, about February. The tablets from the time of the First dynasty of Babylon reveal survivals of both systems; ITU KIN-<sup>d</sup>NANA II <sup>kam</sup>, which corresponds roughly to August, being the intercalary month in CT VIII, 3, No. 12, while ITU DIR-ŠE-GUR-KUD, which corresponded roughly with February, was ordinarily the intercalary month. Originally the ordinary succession of the months in the year was not disturbed. Intercalary months were inserted at the end. When the beginning of the year had been pushed back to the spring by the introduction of a new calendar, two precedents survived; one favored the introduction of the intercalary month at the end of summer, the other at the end of winter. Both customs can be traced in First Dynasty tablets. If ITU KIN-<sup>d</sup>NANA was the intercalary month, the last six months in the year would be pushed forward one place in the enumeration. Perhaps it was this custom which led at least once in the time of the First Dynasty to making Nisan the intercalary month. This appears to have been the case once in the reign of Abishu (cf. CT VIII, 27, No. 320). Of course this would push all the months for the year forward one place, as Kugler supposes was done in the time of Ur-kagina, but it is hazardous to base a theory on the supposition that such irregularities had occurred before the mixture of precedents from different calendars had prepared the way for it.

Kugler has called attention<sup>3</sup> to the fact that the label sent by Barnamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, with her contributions to certain festivals (DP 25), shows that the feast EZEN-AB-Ê occurred in the same month as EZEN-<sup>d</sup>BAU. This had been recognized by me as a possibility,<sup>4</sup> though I hesitated to adopt the view. It is, however, undoubtedly correct.

The same label of Barnamtarra (DP 25) affords other

<sup>1</sup> See JAOS. XXXIII, 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 253.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. 219.

<sup>4</sup> JAOS. XXXI, 256 n.

evidence which Kugler has overlooked. The mutilated sign at the beginning of col. i, 3 is not DUB as Allotte de la Fuye supposed, but EZEN,<sup>1</sup> and the tablet records the succession of feasts: EZEN-<sup>d</sup>LUGAL-ERIM<sup>ki</sup>, EZEN-AB-Ê, EZEN-KISAL, and EZEN-<sup>d</sup>BAU. This testimony confirms the conjecture which I made three years ago on other grounds, that ITU EZEN-<sup>d</sup>LUGAL-ERIM immediately preceded ITU EZEN-<sup>d</sup>BAU.

Langdon and Pinches have both written on the calendar of Lagash in PSBA during the past year. The latter mentions the calendar only incidentally and with all reserve; the former finds himself beset with difficulties from conflicting evidence. A postscript to his last article<sup>2</sup> expresses opinions diametrically opposed to those in his previous article.

Nevertheless in this wavering some things of interest have developed. He has now come around to my view that the month name ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA-ŠUB-A-A is a reference to the star Sirius. Since it now appears from the computations of the astronomer, Dr. Frothingham, that at 2500 B.C. the heliac setting of Sirius occurred on April 13th and its heliac rising on July 3rd, Langdon would now interpret ŠUB in the month name as ŠUB "be bright", "shine" rather than ŠUB "incline", "fall". This is probably right. It involves, however, no change in my previous arrangement of the calendar.

Langdon still believes<sup>3</sup> that the harvest in Babylonia came in the month May-June, because in the list of months published in VR 43 line 13 calls the month Simanu *arab̄ ši-ir-i ebur̄i*, or "month of the grain harvest". The document in question is, however, an Assyrian document; and the statement referred to is an Assyrian statement, true of Nineveh and its environs, but not true of southern Babylonia. Dr. Talcott Williams, whose boyhood was passed in that region, writes me: "The harvest in Mosul comes May-June. It is earlier from Baghdad to Bussorah by at least a month." The statement for Mosul is confirmed by Layard.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Williams' statement is corroborated by Mr. D. Z. Noorian, who writes: "In southern

<sup>1</sup> Allotte de la Fuye, in a private letter, admits that this is the probable reading.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. PSBA. XXXV, 49 ff. with XXXIV, 248 ff.

<sup>3</sup> PSBA. XXXV, 50. <sup>4</sup> *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, 361 ff.

Babylonia barley is harvested in the latter part of March; immediately after barley wheat is harvested, and so rice, rather early in April. Round about and south of Nippur all tender vegetation dies and dries up by the end of March except such as grows along canals or swamps."<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed by a statement of Hilprecht's.<sup>2</sup> The harvest at Lagash was earlier by from one to two months than at Mosul. All European scholars have based their theories of the calendar of Lagash on a statement intended for Nineveh. Their systems are accordingly wrong. The persistence of the agricultural seasons, unchanged through the centuries, is the surest datum on which we can build.

Two years ago I was led through pure conjecture to place the month ITU UZ-NE-GÜ-RA-A in the season Dec.-Jan. Recently a section of Hammurabi's laws has seemed to me to be evidence for a Babylonian agricultural custom which confirms the conjecture. In order to make the point clear it is necessary to quote two sections.

§ 57. If a shepherd cause his sheep to eat vegetation and has not made an agreement with the owner of the field, and without the consent of the owner has pastured his sheep, the owner of the field shall harvest the field, and the shepherd, who without the consent of the owner of the field caused his sheep to eat the field, shall pay the owner of the field in addition 20 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

§ 58. If, after the sheep have come up out of the fields and are mingled<sup>3</sup> on the public common by the city gate, a shepherd turn his sheep into a field and cause the sheep to eat the field, the shepherd shall oversee the field which he has caused to be eaten, and at harvest time shall measure to the owner of the field 60 GUR of grain for each BUR of land.

It would seem from these sections of the code that it was a Babylonian custom to let the flocks graze in the fields until after the crops had been planted in the autumn and had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JAOS. XXXI, 259 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> The verb is *it-ta-ah-la-lu*, which has been a puzzle to scholars. Scheil rendered "et que le troupeau (?) en entier à l'intérieur de la porte s'est déjà glissé"; Harper, "have crowded their way out" (of the gate); Johns, "have passed into" (the common fold by the city gate); Ungnad [sie sich ein Schlupfloch (?) "gegraben haben"; Rogers, "closed within" (the gate). This Babylonian *ittahlalu* has the force of the 8th stem of the Arabic خَلَّ, which means among other significations, "be put in disorder" or "confusion".

grown sufficiently so that crop might be harmed by the grazing of sheep; and that later the flocks were brought in from the fields and turned into a common by the city gate. It seems safe to assume that such an agricultural custom would be general and not confined to one city, and that it would apply to all flocks whether of sheep or goats. As the crops were sown in November the month UZ-NE-GÛ-RA-A "the month they call the goats", i. e. to bring them up from the fields, would naturally fall in Dec.-Jan., where I placed it. The conjecture has, then, some slight confirmation. The changes which a year's progress in knowledge would lead me to make in my previous arrangements of the months are indicated in the following list of month names, in which such new readings of the signs are adopted as seem to be established.

First month, Sept.-Oct.,	{	ITU-EZEN- <sup>d</sup> BAU
		ITU-EZEN-AB-Ê
		ITU EZEN-AB-Ê-LAGAŠ <sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>
Second month, Oct.-Nov.,	{	ITU EZEN-BULUK-KU- <sup>d</sup> NINA
		ITU EZEN-ŠE-KÛ- <sup>d</sup> NINA
		ITU GAR-KA-ÏD-KA <sup>2</sup>
Third month (??), Nov.-Dec.,		ITU ŠI-GAR-MA
Fourth month, Dec.-Jan.,		ITU UZ-NE-GÛ-RA-A
Fifth month, Jan.-Feb.,	{	ITU GAL-ŠAG-GA
		ITU GAL-UNUG <sup>ki</sup> -GA
Sixth month, Feb.-March,	{	ITU AMAR-A-A-SIG-GA
		ITU AMA-UDU-TUK
Seventh month,	{	ITU ŠE-GUR-KUD
March-April,		ITU GÀ-UDU-UR
		ITU GÀ-UR
		ITU SIG-BA
		ITU SIG- <sup>d</sup> BA-U-E-TA-GAR-RA-A

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<sup>1</sup> H 17.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is not certain. Dr. Hussey reads ITU NIK-KA-ÏD-KA, which would mean, "month of the possession of the rivers", or month of high water. On this reading the month would correspond to May-June, when the water was at its height.

Eighth month, April-May,	{	ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-IL-LA- <sup>d</sup> NINA
		ITU UDU-ŠE-A-IL-LA
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>d</sup> NINA-TIL-LA-BA <sup>1</sup>
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>d</sup> NINA
		ITU UDU-ŠU-ŠE-A- <sup>d</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		ITU ŠE-GAR-UDU
		ITU GÜR-DUB-BA-A
		ITU GUR-IMI-A-TA
Ninth month, May-June,	{	ITU GUR-IMI-GABA-A
		ITU ŠI-NAM-DUB-NI-BA-DUR-BA-A
Tenth month, June-July,	{	ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A
		ITU HAR-RA-NE-MA-A- <sup>d</sup> NINA
Eleventh month, July-Aug.,	{	ITE EZEN- <sup>d</sup> NE-GUN-NA
		ITU EZEN-BULUK-KÙ- <sup>d</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		ITU EZEN-ŠE-KÙ- <sup>d</sup> NIN-GIR-SU
		(?) ITU <sup>d</sup> NIN-GIR-SU-E-BIL-AN-TA- SUR-RA-KA-NA-NI-DU-DU
Twelfth month, Aug.-Sept.,	{	(?) ITU AN-TA-SUR-RA
		ITU EZEN- <sup>d</sup> LUGAL-ERIM <sup>ki</sup>
Intercalary month, ITU BABBAR-MIN-GÀL-LA-A	{	ITU MUL-BABBAR-SAG-E-TA- ŠUB-A-A

<sup>1</sup> H 26.



*Two Forged Antiques.* — By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

Archaeological frauds have been multiplying rapidly of late, and this country has become a dumping-ground for forgeries of many kinds. Not a few modern antiques—aged long before their time—have found a resting place in our public and private collections.

It has fallen to my lot to assist in the exposure of several such frauds. In 1890 I brought to the attention of this Society an Alhambra vase belonging to this category; in 1909, a pair of beautiful doors said to have come from the madrasah of the Mameluke Sultan Barkūk, in Cairo; and in the same year, a manuscript of that arch-forgery of Arabic History in the Island of Sicily, Vella. This last-named forgery is one of the two described in the following pages.

**A. A Remarkable Gold Amulet.**

During the last five or six years a certain number of amulets made of gold or silver foil have come to light, covered for the most part with Hebrew inscriptions. With the exception of one or two, these amulets are now in the possession of the New York Public Library. They are said to have been found in graves excavated at Irbid in the Hauran; a statement which rests entirely upon the good faith (God save the mark!) of the dealers themselves. At the last meeting of this society, Professor Montgomery favored us with a translation of two of these amulets. Since then, one further copy has been brought to this country, which raises the number of these objects in the New York Public Library to six. It is with the sixth that the present paper has to do.

In size and general appearance, it is easily recognized as belonging to the same class as the other amulets, though it is the first of the larger size to be presented in gold. As an ord-

inary amulet, it would not especially arouse our interest; but when we come to examine the writing upon it, our curiosity is engaged. The surface is divided into two fields, which are evidently quite distinct one from the other. The first field contains writing evidently meant to be either Phoenician or old Aramaic—a strange circumstance in itself, as the previous finds seem to point to a community of Jews living in Irbid during the first centuries of our era, when the Aramaic script had long given way to the so-called square characters. This circumstance, however, might pass; it would only make it necessary that we revise our dates in connection with this community. But the Aramaic inscription contains nothing but variations of portions of the ordinary Semitic alphabet, first in its regular and secondly in its reverse order; the so-called *abgad*, and its complement the *tashraf*. Even so, we might hesitate to declare ourselves doubters, when we remember the many uses made of the alphabet by mystics of early times and down through the Middle Ages; or, again, our amulet-maker might have belonged to the class of simple-minded and God-fearing men, like the monk in the story of Luther, who told merely the alphabet on their beads, preferring that God himself should put the letters into words pleasing in His sight. Yet, we are led to doubt the simplicity of the simple-minded man in our own case, for he has mixed up Phoenician or Aramaic letters of various epochs and has used some which belong to no epoch at all. Finally, at the end of the first two fields, he has added a line of letters that to all intents and purposes are Samaritan in character.

The examination of the second field confirms us as doubters. The Aramaic inscription in equivocal characters to which is attached a line of Samaritan is bad enough; but when to this is joined an old Babylonian inscription, the climax is certainly reached. For the Babylonian inscription is an old acquaintance found on a mace head of Sargon of Agade, whose name and title it gives.<sup>1</sup>

This much, at least, can be said: the forger of the amulet was a man of no ordinary talent. He certainly had imagin-

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<sup>1</sup> Shar ganni | Shar ali | Shar A-ga-de <sup>ki</sup> | a-na | ilu Shamash | in ilu Ud-Kib- | nun <sup>ki</sup> (=Sippar). See, e. g. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 52; Radau p. 161, note.

ation, and a sense of historical proportion, if historical importance is measured by bigness. He has roamed at will over a space of some three or four thousand years; but we should be thankful to him for this, for it has enabled us the more easily to follow his somewhat tortuous footsteps.

### B. The "Kitāb Dīwān Miṣr".

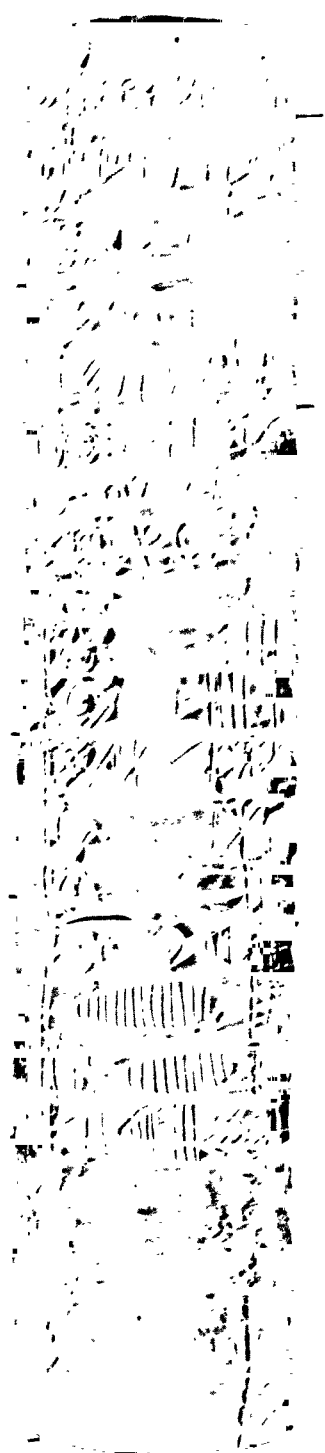
Authentic documents from the early centuries of Mohammedan dominion are of rare occurrence, and therefore are highly prized. It is only of late that the finds of Egyptian papyri have begun to yield of their fulness something in the service of Mohammedan studies. The hand of time and the negligence of man have ruthlessly destroyed the mass of records that must have existed in the chancelleries of the various Moslem empires. I was accordingly much surprised and delighted when, in 1908,<sup>1</sup> I was shown a manuscript (said to have been brought to this country by an Italian sailor) bearing the title "Book of the Dīwān of Egypt".<sup>2</sup> The volume had all the outward marks of great age; even the bookworm had left many traces on the pages. The edges of the codex had been frayed, and each page was set in paper that was very evidently of much later date than the original. My interest was deepened still further by the deciphering of the opening paragraph. The manuscript contained nothing less than a copy of the letters which had come to the Egyptian Caliph Al-Mustanṣir Billāh (1035—1094) from Arab rulers in Sicily and Tunis, and the answers of the Caliph to them; and the copy—it was asserted—had been made at the instance of the Caliph himself in the year of the Hejira 467. Here, indeed, was a find of considerable importance; for the reign of Al-Mustanṣir was long and important.

I had hardly gotten as far as this, when doubts began to be raised in my mind. How did the scribes of al-Mustanṣir come to write in a well-defined Maghrebi script? True, it was not the intertwined and entangled script in which later Maghrebis delight; but it bore all the hall-marks of this extraordinary development of Arabic writing. The manuscript

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<sup>1</sup> The account of this forgery was read at a meeting of this Society in the spring of 1909.

<sup>2</sup> كتاب ديوان مصر.





might indeed be a later copy of an earlier original. But, if the script was intertwined and entangled, what adjectives were fit to qualify the language it expressed? None that I could find. It was quite evidently Arabic—or was intended to be—but it was the most impossible Arabic that I had ever seen. Very soon certain peculiarities which were easily recognized as Maltese and Tunisian came to view, but most of the sentences could not be construed even upon the very liberal basis laid down by Arab grammarians. Through some of them shimmered an Italian construction or an Italian word composition. This was too much even for a willing believer. And the doubt once aroused very quickly entrained others. The thin brown paper was entirely foreign to Arabic manuscripts; the artistic design of the frontispiece was as un-Oriental and as un-Arabic as it could be. But enough! The story is as follows:

In the year 1782, there was in Palermo a certain Giuseppe Vella, a Maltese by birth, a member of the Jerusalem order and afterwards Abbot of St. Pancrace. At the time he was Chaplain at the Abbey of St. Martin, three leagues distant from Palermo. As a Maltese, he was naturally familiar with the local Arabic dialect of his birth-place; but he was ignorant of literary Arabic as well as of Mohammedan history. There happened to be four or five Arabic manuscripts in the library of St. Martin's, and when a certain Mohammed ibn Uthmān came in 1782 as ambassador of Morocco to the court of Naples, he visited St. Martin's near Palermo. Whether because Mohammed ibn Uthmān and Vella could in a measure understand each other's speech, or not, the two formed an acquaintance that was destined to be productive of much evil for students of Arabic. For hardly had the Moroccan delegate left when Vella announced the discovery in St. Martin's of a valuable Arabic manuscript giving the history of the Arabs in the Island of Sicily. A few years later (1786), having kept up by correspondence his connection with the Moroccan delegate, he noised abroad the receipt of another important manuscript found at Fez, containing the correspondence between the Norman princes, Count Roger and Duke Robert Guiscard, and the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir in Egypt. King Ferdinand of Sicily became deeply interested in these discoveries, and even went so far as to send Vella and three

students to Fez upon a mission of enquiry for other manuscripts dealing with the same subject. Patriotic Sicilians joined their king. Among these was Monseignor Airoidi, Archbishop of Heraclea, Judge of the Apostolic Legation and of the Monarchy of Sicily, who paid all the expenses connected with the publication of the volumes and even had Arabic type sent especially from Parma for the purpose. Six volumes of this history appeared between the years 1789 and 1792,<sup>1</sup> Vella hiding his own personality behind that of a suppositious *Mustafa ibn Hānī*. Airoidi had even commenced the publication of these texts in Latin and Italian, in 1788 (48 pp.).<sup>2</sup> Writers on the history of Sicily generally accepted the manuscript as genuine, and Wahl, Rossi, Ferrara, Piazzzi, etc. made use of it in their works. Even so good a scholar as Olaus Gerard Tychsen at Rostock was caught in the trap of the wily Maltese, and republished a small portion in his "*Elementale arabicum*" (Rostock, 1792), and a professor in Stuttgart, P. W. G. Hausleutner, translated the first four volumes into German under the title "*Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien*"<sup>3</sup> (1791—92). The Pope even lent his consideration to the fraud by a profuse letter of thanks, dated 1790. But there were not wanting conscientious students who quickly saw through the very evident fraud. Joseph Hager was called to Palermo in 1794 by the king himself; and in 1796 Monseignor Adami, Bishop of Aleppo, who was on his way from Rome to his own diocese, was bidden to Sicily to examine the precious manuscript. Both men pronounced the manuscript a stupid forgery,<sup>4</sup> the latter even writing a treatise in German which

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<sup>1</sup> *Mustafa ibn Hani, Codice diplomatico di Sicilia sotto il governo degli Arabi, pubblicato per opere e studio di A. Airoidi.* Palermo, 1789—1792. See *Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum*; Graesse, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, 1867, VI, 274; I, 48. Cfr. Amari, *Storia dei Musselmani in Sicilia* I, p. XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Codex diplomaticus Siciliae sub Saracenorum imperio ab anno 827 ad 1072; nunc primum ex Mss. Mauro-occidentalibus depromptus cura et studio A. Airoidi.* Panormi 1788 (pp. 1—48).

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Araber in Sicilien und Siciliens unter der Herrschaft der Araber. In gleichzeitigen Urkunden von diesem Volk selbst. Aus dem Italiänischen. Mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen.* 4 vols. Königsberg 1791—92.

<sup>4</sup> The report of Adami is published, together with a letter by the Chevalier d'Italinsky, in von Hammer's *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. I (1809), pp. 236 sq.

was afterwards published in a French translation.<sup>1</sup> In the meanwhile Vella had gone ahead with the printing of his second manuscript containing the correspondence between the Norman princes and the Egyptian Caliph. This was undertaken by the king himself and gotten out in two editions—one folio and one quarto—in regal style, the Arabic text side by side with the translation.<sup>2</sup> In this edition Guiseppe Vella's name is mentioned as translator with the ornate title, "Capelano del sac. ordine Gerosolimitano, Abate di Sant. Pancragio, Prof. di lingua araba nella reale academia di Palermo e socio nazionale della reale academia della scienze". The first volume, containing no less than 370 pp., appeared in 1793 and the second was in the press when the bubble burst. Vella was arrested and tried before three different tribunals and condemned. But it is evident either that the authorities did not consider the crime to be a serious one, or that strong influence was exerted in his behalf. He was condemned simply to seclusion in a small villa at Mozzo Monreale, a suburb of Palermo.

In such manner was finished the first act of the drama; and it would seem that with the final condemnation of Vella the whole matter could be relegated to the lumber-room or finally classed among the rather numerous forgeries which have been committed at the expense of the Orient. But after the lapse of more than one hundred years, the forgeries of Vella received a new lease of life; and in order that this lease of life may be cut short, or at least not transferred to these shores, I ask the attention of the Society for a few moments longer. About the year 1905 a certain Varvaro read a paper before the "Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria" in Palermo—but which does not appear in its publications—in which he tried to establish the thesis that Vella had not entirely falsified the manuscripts that he brought forward, but that he

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<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to see the German original. The title of the French translation is: *Relation d'une insigne Imposture Littéraire découverte dans un Voyage fait en Sicile en 1794*. Par Mr. le Dr. Hager. Traduit de l'Allemand, Erlangen 1799.

<sup>2</sup> كتاب ديوان مصر *Libro del consiglio de Egitto etc.* Palermo, Reale Stamperia, 1793. Cfr. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I, p. 94. A portion of this was republished in 1794 by the secretary of the Palermo Academy "del Bon Gusto" for use in one of the seminaries.



had based them upon authentic documents of great value which were in his possession, and that Vella's manuscripts might still be of great service in studying the history of Sicily in its relations with various Mohammedan states. The manuscripts to which he referred were not the two sequestered at the time of the arrest of Vella, for these are still, I am reliably informed, in the Archivio di Stato at Palermo. It seems that after Vella had been relegated to the villa in Mozzo Monreale he continued to write Arabic manuscripts. These formed parts of Vella's effects which passed on to his family and were preserved instead of being destroyed. The Varvaros are distantly related to the Vella family, and in course of time have become possessed of the books which (being entirely ignorant of Arabic) they consider to be of great value, and which they now desire to sell. At the meeting referred to, Varvaro brought with him one of the manuscripts. Professor Carlo A. Nallino, an eminent Arabic scholar, formerly of Naples but now connected with the University of Palermo, recognized immediately that it was not a genuine work, and later in the house of the Varvaros he saw two or three more of the manuscripts, one of which was the *Kitāb Diwān Miṣr*.

It is this last volume, evidently a copy of the original corpus delicti, which has at length been sold, and has found its way (together with sundry other Italian things) to this country, in the hope that it may be sold here to some credulous American. Its sole value is a mournful one, and it belongs, by all right, in a Museum of Criminology.

In conclusion, I ought to say that I am indebted to Professor Nallino for the information contained in the second part of this paper.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note, 4/8/13. In his translation of al-Ṣairafī's description of the Egyptian "Foreign Office" at the time of the Fatimides, M. Henri Massé has been led astray by the title, and has classified the "*Kitāb Diwān Miṣr*" among the "recueils de modèles épistolaires à l'usage de la Chancellerie"! See his *Ibn al-Ṣairafī: Code de la Chancellerie d'Égypte; Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale*, Tome XI, Le Caire, 1913, p. 67.

*Mohammedanism in Borneo: Notes for a Study of the Local Modifications of Islam and the Extent of its Influence on the native Tribes.*—By Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE whole question of the nature and history of Mohammedanism in Borneo is much larger than the scope of the present paper. I have some incomplete notes to offer, which I venture to present at this time, because I think that even these have a certain theoretical significance that may be of interest; and because I hope that from this body of scholars intimately familiar with the various manifestations of Mohammedanism I may gain some valuable suggestions for further investigation of its history in Borneo.

In studying the effect of environment upon the religion of a primitive people, such as the jungle tribes of the interior of Borneo, it is of course necessary to take into account the possibility of foreign ideas interrupting the simple interplay of surroundings and sensibilities. Of the foreign elements to be reckoned with in Borneo the chief is Mohammedanism, brought to the coast settlements during several centuries by Arab traders and adventurers. While investigating the influence of the Arabs in Borneo, I became convinced that we have here a striking instance of the manner in which the introduction of a new religion into a country follows certain definite economic laws, similar to those that govern the growth of religions on their native soil.

There has been implied, if not actually stated, in many studies of religions, the theory that a religion develops according to environmental influences only so far as it is not interfered with by the contact of foreign ideas. Some such theories divide a religion into ideas appropriate to the native environment, and ideas that have come from the north, south, east, or west. Having traced the religious elements to their geographical or linguistic sources, the historian leaves the

matter,—and rightly perhaps so far as he is a mere historian. It has been recognized of course that there are local reasons why a new faith sometimes takes hold and sometimes does not. The reasons are usually stated parenthetically in a historical account. For the science of religion, however, to become really scientific, it would seem necessary to go further, to gather up these reasons and formulate them into laws of borrowing corresponding to the now very widely admitted laws of the growth of ideas according to the environment in which they were thought out.

The facts offered in this paper are presented in the hope that they may prove a minor bit of suggestive material for the formulation of a law of contact. They consist of a few notes, necessarily incomplete, on what happened when Indonesian Mohammedanism was brought in touch with Malay Paganism and the typical jungle religion of Borneo.

It was, to begin with, a great economic force that brought Mohammedanism to Borneo. And it was a geographical barrier—the jungle—that stopped it at the coast, and made it after four hundred years still a foreign faith. The sheltered waters, short distances, frequent harbors and favorable monsoons of the Malay Archipelago<sup>1</sup> developed very early a seafaring small-trading population such as the Malays and Bugis about the coasts of many islands. They were all ready to form a link in the chain of commerce when the greater nations, first of Asia, then of Europe discovered and determined to have the spices and dazzling natural wealth of the tropical islands. Emporia were formed at Aceh, Bantam, and elsewhere, where the native traders of the Archipelago brought the collected wares to merchants of larger vessels capable of sailing the open seas.<sup>2</sup> As the predominance of carrying trade in these products of the east shifted westward from China through India to Arabia, the religion of the Arab came to the Eastern Archipelago.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> St. John, Horace R., "*Indian Archipelago*," 2 vols. London 1853. i, pp. 4, 44.

<sup>2</sup> St. John, *Ind. Arch.*, i, pp. 6, 118, 223; Sir Hugh Low, *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and its Productions*, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh 1820, iii, pp. 199—201; Hugh Clifford, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII, p. 474, Article, *Malay Peninsula*. In the second century B. C. the trade with

The first teachers of Mohammedanism in the Archipelago were Arab traders, pirates, and adventurers who came to seek their fortune and made converts only as a secondary task. Later, as the new faith gained headway, the prospect of making money attracted teachers from India, Egypt, Mecca, and Hadramaut.<sup>1</sup> From the 12th to the 20th century, following in the wake of trade, Mohammedanism has been spreading all over the Indian Archipelago.<sup>2</sup> Borneo was not exempt from its influence. The difference in the course of events in Borneo from that in Java, Sumatra, and many of the other centers,

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Ceylon was wholly in the hands of the Arabs; by the middle of the eighth century A. D. there were many Arab traders in Canton; from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, until the coming of the Portuguese, they were the undisputed masters of trade with the East. They were probably early in the Malay Archipelago, but no mention is made of these islands in the work of Arab geographers earlier than the ninth century. G. K. Niemann, *Inleiding tot de kennis an den Islam*, Rotterdam 1861, p. 337, and Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, tome I, p. CCCXXXIX, quoted by T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, London 1896, pp. 293—294.

<sup>1</sup> C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. by O'Sullivan, London 1906, ii, p. 279. Which of these regions sent its missionary-traders to Borneo seems a little vague. They are generally spoken of simply as Arabs. They all claimed and were accorded in Borneo the title of Sheriff. Some of the Mohammedan influence in Borneo came either directly, or via the Javanese and Sumatran merchants who traded there, from the Malabar coast, where the Shafi'ijah sect is predominant to-day as it was in the fourteenth century. *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1843—58, iv, pp. 66, 80, quoted by Arnold p. 294. For the Shi'ah Klings in Borneo cf. below p. 28. The predominant influence to-day, however, is that of Mecca. Besides the annual pilgrims who come to Mecca merely for a short time, there is a permanent colony of Malays in Mecca who keep in constant communication with their fellow countrymen in the Archipelago. And religious books printed in Mecca are carried to all parts of the Archipelago. The number of annual pilgrims to Mecca from Borneo increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century 66% in twelve years. Niemann pp. 406—7, and C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague 1889, ii, pp. xv, 339—393, quoted by Arnold, pp. 329—330.

<sup>2</sup> With the Mohammedan conquest the Perso-Arabic Alphabet was introduced among the Malays. Hugh Clifford, *ibid.* p. 477; Marsden's *Malay Grammar*, London 1812, pp. 1, 2. Crawford, iii, p. 207, gives the following dates for the introduction of Mohammedanism into the Archipelago: 1204 A. D. the Achehnese, 1278 the Malays of Malacca, 1478 the Javanese, 1495 natives of the Spice Islands. Cf. also *ibid.* ii, pp. 304 to 306; and St. John, *ibid.* i, pp. 48—51. cf. also Arnold, *passim*, pp. 296—343.

was that while in the latter practically the whole population became at least nominally Mohammedan, in Borneo the converts were, in spite of zealous propaganda, almost entirely limited to the partially civilized Malays of the sea-coast. So much is this true that in Borneo the terms Malay and Mohammedan have become synonymous and interchangeable. A natural highway of trade brought Mohammedanism to the harbors and rivermouths of the island. A natural barrier, the jungle, stopped it at the coast.

The coastal population of Borneo is composed of colonists of the trading nations mentioned above, the Malays and Bugis and others, from Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula and Celebes. Most of these colonies were, however, formed before the conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism. The Malay kingdom of Brunei was founded in the middle of the thirteenth century, though even before that there were probably some few colonists there. It became Mohammedan not until much later—some time before 1530.<sup>1</sup> Colonists from Java had settlements at Passir, Kotei, and Banjermassin, on the south coast of Borneo, at Sambas, Mampawa, and Landak on the west coast as early as 1360.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of Mohammedanism

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<sup>1</sup> P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, 1854, i, p. 180, quoting van Lijnden, *Aanteekingen over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas*, *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indie*, 1851, p. 587; *ibid.* p. 181, quoting Logan, *Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper*, *Journal of the Ind. Arch. and Eastern Asia*, iii, pp. 513, 514; *ibid.* p. 184 quoting Tobias, *de Westkust van Borneo*, *Nederlandsche Hermes*, 1828, 12, p. 47; Earl, *The Eastern Seas*, p. 241; St. John, i, p. 197; A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, p. 289; Leyden, In Moor's *Notices of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1837, app. p. 95. For origin of the Malay nation cf. *ibid.* p. 3; A. C. Keane, *Eastern Geography*, London 1887, pp. 8, 9; St. John, i, p. 26—41. J. J. de Hollander *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land-en-Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Breda, 1884, p. 61, quoted by Arnold, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 37, 41; Sir T. S. Raffles, *History of Java*, London 1830, ii, p. 171; Low pp. 312, 153; C. Bock, *Head Hunters of Borneo*, London 1881, p. 47; Veth, i, p. 182, quoting Logan, *Antiquity of Chinese Trade with India and the Ind. Archip.*, in *J. I. A.*, iii, pp. 604, 605, also Dulaurier, *Collection des principales Chroniques Malaises*, pp. 107, 109; and *Journal Anatique*, [should this be *Journal Asiatique*?] 1846, pp. 544—571, and Pijnappel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1846, pp. 555 ff.; *ibid.* p. 185, quoting J. Hageman, *Indisch Archief*, Jaarg. i, deel ii, pp. 53 ff. and Brumund, *Indiana*, ii, p. 178. C. P. Rouffaer, *Het Tijdperk van*

into these various settlements, according to different accounts, occurred sometime between 1495 and 1770. Several Malay Sultans on the Kapuas river were converted to Islam as late as 1850. The Malays are Mohammedan, and both the Malays and Mohammedanism came from without, but it was not in the first instance the Malays who brought Mohammedanism to Borneo.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Arabian era Malay traders and pirates were attracted to the mouths of the navigable rivers of Borneo for shelter, and found there opportunities for getting, with slight work, gold and diamonds; by raids on the weak Dyaks, cargoes of slaves; by barter with them, a wealth of rattans, camphor and other saleable jungle produce. They founded towns at the river mouths, later having outposts for trade farther up river. It was long after these communities were established that individual Arab adventurers came to Borneo and preached their faith. Later still, the converts were reinforced in number by Malays from Sumatra or the Peninsula,

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*Godsdienst overgang in den Malayischen Archipel*, p. 113, identifies Tandjoeng Poera, mentioned in the History of the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit as among the conquests of the great monarch of that realm, Hayam Woeroek, who reigned from 1351(?)—1389, as probably Matan, on the southwest coast of Borneo. Basing his evidence largely on a Portuguese report of 1514, published in 1892, and on corroborative notices especially in the *Livro* of 1516 of Duarte Barbosa, he concludes that the kingdom of Madjapahit cannot have succumbed entirely to Mohammedan domination until sometimes between 1516 and 1521. However uncertain may be the date of the colonies in Borneo, they seem at least to have been much earlier than this time. Cf. also Earl, p. 336; Raffles, ii, p. 171. Mohammedanism was introduced into Succadana on the West Coast of Borneo by Arabs from Palembang in Sumatra in 1550. R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, Leiden 1879, p. 386, quoted by Arnold p. 316. Into Banjermassin on the South Coast in the sixteenth century from Dawak, one of the Mohammedan states that rose on the ruins of Madjapahit. J. Hageman, *Beidrage tot de Geschiedenis van Borneo*, *Ts. Ind. t. L. vk.*, Deel vi, 1856, p. 236, quoted by Arnold, p. 316.

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'Oeil general sur les possessions neerlandaises dans l'Inde archipelagique*, Leiden, 1846, p. 176; Leyden, *ibid.* app. p. 97; J. J. K. Enthoven, *Bijdragen tot de Geographie van Borneo's Wester-Af-deeling*, Leiden, 1902, pp. 132, 138, 158, 209; Veth, i, p. 193, following G. M. Muller, *Proeve eener geschiedenis van een gedeelte the Westkust van Borneo*, Indische Bij, p. 124, puts the date of the coming of the first Mohammedan missionaries to Borneo at about 1550.

which had in the mean time become centers of Mohammedan propaganda. On the east coast of Borneo colonies were founded by the similar nation of Bugis, who migrated to Borneo both before and after the coming of Mohammedanism to their home country of Celebes about 1600.<sup>1</sup>

We may take as a typical instance of the turn to Mohammedanism in Borneo the narrative, which comes to us from many sources, and is apparently as reliable as any hundred and fifty year old story of these regions can be, of the founding of one of the chief Mohammedan kingdoms of Borneo, that of Pontianak, the great Malay trading centre of to-day at the mouth of the Kapuas river.

A fortune-hunting Arab, Seriff Hoesein ibn Ahmed al Kadri (I give Veth's Dutch orthography of the name) came to Matan, an ancient Javanese colony on the southwest coast of Borneo, in 1735. He found Mohammedanism already vaguely known there, strengthened it, instructed the people and was highly venerated. After a quarrel with the Sultan of Matan he fled to another Javanese-Malay colony, Mampawa, whose Sultan received him with open arms, built a mosque, gave him large control of his kingdom, and gave his daughter in marriage to the dashing handsome son of the Arab adventurer and a Dyak slave girl. This young half-savage-half-Arab, who nevertheless bore his father's title of Seriff, at the age of twenty-two left his royal bride and started out to seek his fortune on the seas. After a wild career of piracy and audacious foreign trade, during the course of which he married the daughter of another Malay Sultan, engaged in opium trade, captured Chinese, English, French, and Dutch ships, he had amassed great wealth. Gathering about himself a band of Malay and Bugis followers of his own type, he came to the mouth of the Kapuas river and established himself with his retainers on a haunted island in the river, which gave him a

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<sup>1</sup> Rouffaer, p. 111; Earl, p. 310; Low, pp. 7, 18, 20—28; Dalton in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 55—57; Hunt in Keppel's *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido*, 1846, p. 404; Bock, pp. 22—26; England, *Hydrographic Office, Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1890, ii, pp. 7, 296; for description of the up-river trading posts of the Malays, cf. Molengraaf, *Geological Expedition to Borneo*, London, 1902, pp. 149, 150; and Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, Leiden 1900, i, p. 24. Arnold, p. 319, places the general adoption of Mohammedanism by the Bugis of Celebes at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

protected base from which to prey on trading prahus. The island was a shrewdly chosen location, not only for its accessibility to the sea and because its evil ghostly reputation secured him from attack, but it commanded the Kapuas river, the immense navigable artery, by which all the inland wealth of the whole western district of Borneo must come down to the sea. The Seriff Abdoe'r Rahman soon found it more profitable to give up piracy, turn into a respectable and pious Moslem, and become the protector instead of the assassin of traders, gaining his income by a levy on all boats using the river. He built a mosque, established the Mohammedan ritual, and made pious pilgrimages to the grave of his father, who had long before his death repudiated this scape-grace son. Thus was founded the Arab dynasty—racially half-Dyak—of the Malay kingdom of Pontianak.<sup>1</sup>

And thus Mohammedanism came to the Kapuas river. It took it nearly one hundred years to extend its influence 300 kilometers up river to the Malay settlements of the lake region. And the reason for that is again the jungle. It is only in recent years when the Dutch have opened up the country, and made not only more intercommunication between the different parts of the country, but also more contact with the outside world, that Mohammedanism has greatly spread in their provinces.

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<sup>1</sup> W. L. Ritter, *Indische herinneringen*, Amsterdam, 1843, pp. 192, 193, C. L. Hartmann, *Algemeen verslag van de residentie Pontianak over 1823* pp. 2, 3 (unpublished MS.), van Lijnden, p. 601, Muller, p. 346, and Tobias, p. 51, quoted by Veth, i, pp. 249—266; A. Pompe, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Overzeesche Bezittingen*, 2nd ed. Schoonhaven 1872, p. 225; Leyden in Moor's *Notices*, pp. 101, 102. The town was afterwards named for the spectre of the haunted Island. So great was the fear of this place that the Arab founder had to shoot up the woods for two hours before he could persuade his men to land. Leyden gives Pontiana or Pontianak as "the name the Malays give to a spectre of the forests which appears in the form of a winged female," Moor's *Notices*, app. p. 102; according to Veth the pontianaks are ghosts of children who have never seen the light on account of the death of their mothers, or, more usually, the mothers themselves who have died in childbirth, and go about in lonely places naked with loose hair, and moaning (i, p. 14); in the Malay Peninsula the pontianak is the ghost of all still-born child, while the ghost of a woman who dies in childbirth, the ghost that goes around with long floating hair is known as a langsuir. Both of these are supposed by the Peninsular Malays to be embodied in owls. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 325—327.



But to return for a moment to the earlier period. What effect had the establishment of the Malay and Bugis semi-civilized colonies, and their subsequent conversion to Mohammedanism upon the native savages who occupied Borneo previous to the coming of the sea-faring folk? Of the majority it may be said that it simply drove them back into their jungle, where in greater isolation than ever, they continue to live a wild free life of independence with all their old habits of thought and custom.<sup>1</sup> Some were directly enslaved or conquered by the Malays, or remained among them, intermarried with them and adopted their manner of life so as to become almost indistinguishable from them. Between the entirely independent and the entirely subjugated Dyaks are the tribes who are called in Dutch-Malay terminology "*serah-plichtig*" and "*hasil-plichtig*" Dyaks, who, keeping their own political organization and manner of life, pay as "*hasil*" or "*serah*" a certain proportion of their gains in primitive agriculture or jungle life to the Malay Mohammedan prince whom they acknowledge as overlord. The hold on these Dyaks of the Malay prince is very slight and may be repudiated by them entirely simply by going (in the next of their frequent movings of the village) over the boundary of the territory which he theoretically controls. It is of course only among the last two classes of Dyaks, the entirely amal gamated and semi-dependent, that we find any evidence of Mohammedanism at all; and how much influence it has had in any case seems to depend upon the extent to which the Dyaks have adopted the Malay habit of life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "The aborigines, distributed by the geographical character of the region into numerous communities, have been further isolated by foreign rule and colonisation. The superior races have frequently turned their natural eminence into a means of oppression; and instead of drawing the natives forth from their barbarous haunts, have imprisoned them more deeply in their jungles." *St. John*, i, p. 18; cf. also *Temminck*, p. 135. Throughout this paper I have used the word Dyak in the widely-accepted though somewhat inexact sense as denoting all the native jungle tribes, as contrasted with the semi-civilized nations of later immigration. The Dyaks are not racially homogeneous, and probably represent several layers of migrations in the far distant past, but they have a certain cultural uniformity and may be classed as "aboriginal" in contrast with the Malays and Bugis and other comparatively recent colonists.

The population of Borneo is estimated at 1,800,000, of whom only 300,000 represent the Malays and other semi-civilized peoples. All the

I have attempted to analyse separately the Mohammedanism of the Malays, and that of the tribes of native descent who by conquest or commerce have come under Malay influence and given at least a nominal allegiance to Islam. But this is extremely difficult because the race nomenclature has become confused with a cultural one. All people, of whatever nationality, who have adopted the stage of civilization and something of the dress and manner of the typical Malay coast dweller, are called Malays. Even, frequently, the classification is made religious, and since most Malays are Mohammedan, all Mohammedans are called Malays,—including Chinese, Dyaks, Klings, Arabs, Bugis, slaves from Sumbawa and elsewhere, Rayyats from Lingga, and even descendants of negro slaves brought here, as well as various racial mixtures of Malay with Arab,

rest are Dyaks. Holbé, *Revue Anth.*, 1911, p. 435; the Malays are found with a very few exceptions, only along the courses of the great navigable rivers, and most of them are in the trading towns at the river mouths. For typical geographical location of some Malay settlements, cf. Enthoven, pp. 123, 126, 135—137, 148, 153, 176, 185, 189—193; Low, pp. 221, 350 to 371; Bock, pp. 161, 162, 242, 243; Molengraaf, pp. 43, 286—293; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 43, 45, 52, 53; Brooke in Capt. R. N. Mundy, *Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes*, London 1848, i, pp. 193, 369; Sir Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, London 1886, i, pp. 19, 22, 24; Maxwell, quoted by H. L. Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i, p. 1. A very few Malays singly or in small groups are found wandering in the far interior, or living in Dyak villages. They are either individual adventurers who have gone to seek the jungle produce themselves, or fugitives from justice. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions on the physical and psychical development of the population of Central Borneo. Proc. Koninkl. Acad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam*, Mar. 1903, p. 12; *ibid. Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 4. Near the coast where there are gold, diamond and other mines, the Malays have forced the Dyaks to work for them in the mines. Elsewhere they have left the Dyaks to their old occupations and manner of life, contenting themselves with exacting tribute of rice and jungle products, and personal services at certain times, and further gaining from the Dyaks by forced trade at exorbitant prices. Observers agree in noting a marked difference in appearance and welfare between the absolutely free Dyaks of the interior, and those more or less subject to the Malays; cf. Enthoven, pp. 142, 163, 193, 217, 560, 561, 563, 567, 571, 572; Low, p. 17; S. Müller, ii, p. 385, quoted by Roth, i, p. 387 note; Earl, p. 318; Bock, pp. 210—211; Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 16, 26; Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine Zweite Weltreise*, Engl. Transl. New York, 1856, pp. 76, 77, 96.

Dravidian, Dyak, Chinese, and even European. Malay is in Borneo the great amalgam of race, language, and ideas.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless it is possible to make a rough dual classification of the nominal adherents of Islam into those who use entirely the Malay language, dress and manner of living, and those of Dyak or part Dyak descent who keep to a greater or less extent the native economic conditions and manner of life.

In general the faith of the Malays of Borneo represents what has been called "Indonesian Mohammedanism." There has been noted by scholars interested in this part of the world a type of religion extending all over the Malay Archipelago, nominally Mohammedan, which, while varying locally in many details, has enough homogeneity to be easily recognizable. Three influences, in Indonesia, have modified Mohammedanism and turned it into a definite religion of the region. They are:—

1. The environment, which is geographically and economically similar for the coast peoples of many islands.

2. Survivals of early "Indonesian" pre-Mohammedan ideas and customs, so strongly held that the new faith to be successful must either absorb or tolerate them.

3. A generally prevalent mental attitude of primitive superstitiousness.

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<sup>1</sup> Veth, i, p. 179 gives the following striking description of the Malays in Borneo: "In den uitgestrekten zin begrijpt men thans onder dien namen allen, die de Mohammedaansche godsdienst hebben aangenomen: alle belijders van den Profeet van Mekka, al waren zij ook geheel of gedeeltelijk van Dajaksche of Chinesche afkomst, of zelfs uit aangebragte negerslaven geboren, worden, zoowel als de Arabieren van Pontianak, de Boeginezen van de Oostkust van Mampawa, de Javaansche en Klingalesche kolonisten in Succadana en Banjermassin, de slaven van Soembava en alders aangevoerd, en de Orang-laut of Rajats, van Lingga en Blitong herwaarts overgekomen, tot de Maleijers gerekend. Nogtans maken de Maleijers uit het Djohoresche rijk en zijne wijd verspreide volksplantingen afkomstig, over het algemeen het hoofd bestanddeel dezer gemengde bevolking uit, hetwelk op de geheele geamalgameerde massa, waarin slechts de Arabieren en Boeginezen eenige meerdere zelfstandigheid bewaard hebben, zijn stempel gedrukt heeft." Cf. St. John, i, p. 198; Earl, p. 239—240. The so-called "Embahoe Malays" were originally Dyaks who were converted to Islam about 1850. Enthoven, p. 205. The Malay language is the same sort of composite as the people, containing words from Sanskrit, Persian, Singhalais, Tamoul, Arab, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, etc., cf. Holbé, *op. cit.*, p. 431; Marsden, *Malay Grammar*, Introd. p. xviii.

Let us see how these three influences are exemplified in the religion of the Malays of Borneo.

As elsewhere in the Archipelago, Mohammedanism gained its way in Borneo partly by being already suited to the Malays' temperament and manner of life, and partly by cutting or stretching itself to the Procrustean bed where it did not already fit. The Malays of Borneo in the pre-Mohammedan era, like the coast peoples of many other islands, were already sea-faring traders, given to adventure and piracy. They built their own boats and travelled in them from port to port. Some of them were artisans and manufacturers, but the majority engaged in trade. They bartered their manufactures, their sea-products, and their imported goods to the natives for the local articles of value, which they carried in small boats to emporia where they could sell them to European and Asiatic merchants. This trade, which still continues, has sometimes netted the Malays as high as 500 % profit. Before the European policing of the seas they added piracy, openly or secretly, to their sources of revenue.<sup>1</sup>

The Arabs who came to their shores with greater skill as navigators, greater shrewdness as bargainers, and at least as great unscrupulousness as robbers, won for their religion the glory of superiority in the Malays' own characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The general articles of Malay trade past and present are described in Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, London 1865, p. 106; M. Buys, *Twee Maanden op Borneo's Westkust*, Leiden 1892, p. 8; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 56; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 52, 53; Low, pp. 26, 57, 117, 366. For description of the Malay method of trade with the natives; cf. Sir Spenser St. John, *Life in The Forests of the Far East*, London 1863, ii, p. 298; Ada Pryer, *A Decade in Borneo*; Moor's *Notices*, p. 6; Bock, pp. 87, 202, 203; Boyle, pp. 98, 321; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 45, ii, pp. 162, 164; Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, i, pp. 15, 22, 24—26, 120, 129; Earl, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Crawfurd, i, p. 139; Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 430; Raffles, i, p. 259; Crawfurd, i, p. 139, says of the Arabs in the Archipelago, that "the genuine Arabs are spirited, fair and adventurous merchants. The mixed race is of a much less favorable character, and is considered as a supple intriguing, and dishonest class." It was very largely the half-breed Arabs who took the leadership of the Malays in Borneo, and directed piratical exploits. Cf. above p. 318 the account of the founding of the Arab dynasty of Pontianak. For their influence in Sarawak, cf. the Journal of Sir James Brooke in Keppel, pp. 54, 302, 303, also Keppel, pp. 268, 269, and Low, pp. 189—191; for further ana-

With this prejudice in its favor, Mohammedanism easily won converts, especially as there were elements in it favorable to the peculiar local conditions. The confession of faith, undoubtedly, in Borneo as in the Malay Peninsula and Aceh, was regarded less as a creed than a declaration of fealty. The Holy War against the infidel was held to justify their slave-hunting raids on the Dyaks of the interior, as well as piratical attacks on European vessels. The Hadjj across the partially familiar seas, became to this boat-building, sea-faring people immensely popular, giving the Hadjis not only prestige and honour on their return, but opportunities for a wider area of trade. The Hadjj, among the Borneo Malays, as in Aceh, is one of the most faithfully kept of the precepts of Islam. A great portion of the ritual prayers is neglected, as not fitting in well with their life. The laws of trade of the Koran are ignored, as according to Snouck Hurgronje they have had to be in all modern trading communities. Mohammedanism was embraced eagerly just in so far as it fitted in with the habits of their life which had grown from the environment.<sup>1</sup>

But to realise the close relation between the modifications of Mohammedanism and the economic status of the Malays we must differentiate the position and morals of the rich and poor Malays; the large merchants on the one hand, who are chiefly the princes and rulers; and on the other hand the fisherman and mechanics who are of a very different type. It

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lysis of the trade influence of the Arabs in the Archipelago; cf. Reinaud, *Geographie d'Aboulfeda*, Introduction, p. LIII, CCCLXXXIX ff., quoted by Veth, i, p. 246, and Veth, i, pp. 246, 248; St. John, i, pp. 177, 239.

<sup>1</sup> In the Malay Peninsula the "Holy War" was held to justify the kidnapping of Sakai and Samang aborigenes. In Aceh, according to Snouck Hurgronje, it owes its popularity "to its harmonizing with their war-like and predatory pre-Mohammedan customs." In both these places the ritual prayers are very laxly observed. Wilkinson says of the Malay Peninsula that "it is hard for a clerk or mechanic to keep the fast or to find time for the pilgrimage to Mecca." But in Aceh, where voyages are the order of the day, as in the trading ports of Borneo, the Hadjj is popular. It is interesting to note how in different nations and among different classes of society various precepts of Islam are accentuated or ignored as they fit in or clash with local conditions. In Aceh, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, the laws of trade and property are not those of the Koran, but of the Adat (native customary law). Snouck Hurgronje, ii, pp. 279, 304-309, 320, 337; R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, pp. 8, 16, 17; Spenser St. John II, 325.

is the wealthy who exalt the Holy War and become Hadjis. In keeping with their lawless, irresponsible manner of life they are gamblers, opium eaters and hard drinkers. And they ignore the precepts which would interfere with these customs, though as a rule they draw the line at eating pork. It is naturally the powerful princes who have encouraged, if not started, the unorthodox deification of living and dead rulers. The Sultan of Kotei is supposed to have been descended from a god, who in answer to the supplication of a dweller of Kotei, came down to earth and married one of his children. From them descended all the rulers of Kotei. The following curious Chinese account from about the year 1618 shows the divine right of the early officials of Brunei:

"In this country there is a temple in which three men are worshipped as deities, who were superintendents of public works and of the treasury at the time the country was founded; they fell in battle, and were buried together at this spot; a temple was erected over their tomb and when a merchant vessel arrives it must kill a cow or roast fowls, and offer at the same time melati and other flowers; if any man on the ship does not worship he becomes ill. When the people of the country go out trading, they make an offering of flowers, and when they come back, having made profit, they take two cocks, to whose feet they attach knives, and let them fight before the tomb; if one of these fowls is killed, they thank the deities for it, which is certainly very curious."<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that this account was written at least 80 years after the country had become formally Mohammedan. Notice in this story the influence of the proverbial Malay love for cock-fighting. It is only the rich traders and rulers, again, who take advantage of the permission of polygamy, and only this small minority of the Mohammedans in Borneo seclude their women.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources*, Batavia 1879 *Miscellaneous Papers* I, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> "The riches of the country were formerly entirely in the hands of the sultan and other great pangerans," Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 188; Spenser St. John, ii, p. 271; where there are mines, coal, gold or diamonds, these are owned by the princes. Enthoven, p. 165; Pfeiffer, p. 93. For the different classes of society, cf. Low, pp. 117—122; Brooke in

Among the poorer Malays of Borneo, on the other hand, the women go about the streets freely and unveiled. The position of women in many, if not all, places of the Archipelago seems to have been far higher under conditions of life of the pre-Mohammedan "adat". And the Mohammedan law on this point has been adopted only where changed conditions have paved the way for it. On the Lingga river in Borneo, where the Malays live in a village organized very much on the plan of the Dyaks', the chief, as is often the case in a Dyak village, was a woman. Where the conditions remained that led to freedom and prominence of women under the pre-Mohammedan code the orthodox theory of women's position has had little influence.<sup>1</sup>

With the poorer Malays, the artisan, small-trading and fishing class in Borneo, there was less incentive than among the more wealthy traders to adopt foreign customs, and among these people we shall find the chief stronghold of anti-Mohammedan ideas. Their Mohammedanism is a thin layer of verbiage over a mass of native superstition. The rich rulers and merchants of Borneo have lost many of their native ideas through cosmopolitan contact, and have gained a superior intelligence in general as well as more knowledge of the meaning of Mohammedanism, both in their journeyings abroad and

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Keppel, p. 50. In parts of the country where there are fewer opportunities for enrichment there is slighter difference between the ruling class and the subjects; cf. Enthoven, pp. 131, 138, 190—196. We find among different writers very conflicting accounts of the character of the Malays. Probably the apparent conflict is due to the fact that the particular class or social position of the Malays described is not given; cf. Rev. Andrew Horsburgh, *Sketches in Borneo*, 1858, p. 10; Brooke in Keppel, pp. 163, 295; Pfeiffer, p. 108; Low, pp. 127—137. The Mohammedan prince of Sekedau was rough, uncivilized, and a drunkard. In 1867 a sultan of Sekedau died after only a few years' reign from "misuse of opium and strong drink." The prince of Silat who died in 1871 was given to opium. Enthoven, pp. 190, 677, 678. There seems to be no religious scruple against opium among the Malays of Borneo, and the princes, at least, drink wine freely, not always refraining even in public. Low, p. 126, Earl, p. 235. They do, however, seem to refrain from the use of pork. Bock, p. 31, note; Groenevelde, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources, from *Miscellaneous Papers*, Batavia, 1879, i, p. 224.

<sup>1</sup> Ada Pryer, p. 123, probably generalizing from her experience of seeing women on the streets, says that women are never secluded in

in the schools of the Hadjis in Borneo, which are frequented by the wealthy only.<sup>1</sup>

In general we may say that the economic conditions in Borneo, as elsewhere in the Archipelago, gave the Arab missionaries a ready hearing and led to an easy acceptance of at least a partial Mohammedanism. Like many other Indonesians, for economic purposes the Borneo Malays have exalted the Hadj and the Holy War; they have ignored most of the ritual prayers and the prohibitions of their much-loved drink, gambling and opium; and among them the position of women is determined more by local conditions than by Mohammedan theory.

The second factor of Indonesian Mohammedanism—the survival of Indonesian pre-Mohammedan customs—is exemplified in Borneo particularly among the lower class Malays who have a folk-lore and superstitions similar in many respects to those of the Malays in the Peninsula, Aceh, and other parts of Malasia. Characteristic of these are the customs of taboo, the idea of the *semangat* or vital spirit existing in things as

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Borneo, though Mohammedans. Low, p. 141, says that as in all Islamic countries the higher class women are secluded. Other writers agree that the Mohammedan women, not of the nobility, not only go about the streets freely, but do not even wear veils. Pfeifer, p. 47; Boyle, p. 17; Ida Pfeifer probably gets at the heart of the matter when she says that "The wives of persons of the higher class seldom go out; but this is merely from indolence and not to be attributed to any prohibition, for they may receive visitors at home." In other words the seclusion of women is a luxurious foreign fad, ill-adapted to the indigenous life, but practiced by those who can well afford it for the prestige it gives, as being possible only to the wealthy, and in accord with the religious teaching of the superior Arabs. The poorer women are too important factors in the economic life to bother about such things, religion or no religion. All through Malasia Mohammedanism has succeeded in establishing its dicta as to women only as the economic conditions were suitable. In the Malay Peninsula, according to the pre-Mohammedan "*adat*," the position of women was a high one. Mohammedanism reduced it "*in theory*." Wilkinson, p. 17. Even among the ruling class, in the settled semi-agricultural community of Aceh, women were not disqualified. Four female sovereigns in succession have occupied the throne of Aceh. In each case devout champions of Islam have praised them. Snouck Hurgronje, ii, p. 335.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i. p. 38; Bock, pp. 254, 255; Spenser St. John, ii, p. 298; Low, pp. 50, 54, 138, 153, 154, 158, 160.



well as people, and a curious custom of using rice stained yellow with turmeric in various religious festivals.<sup>1</sup>

One of the Malay customs noted by van den Berg as an anti-Mohammedan custom found among the Mohammedans all over the Archipelago including Borneo, and one naturally held to as strongly by the princes as the common people, is the possession of what the Dutch author calls "Rijksieraden," or insignia of office, consisting most often of weapons, the possession of which marks the rightful ruler. They are really fetiches which govern the possession of the throne and the fortunes of the kingdom. They are sometimes carried in war, oaths are sworn by them, and on occasions they are smeared with blood at sacrifices. The regard for these "rijksieraden" among the Borneo Malays is not unlike the feeling of the Dyaks for the head hunting relics, which are placed in front of the chief's door and must be touched only by the chief,

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<sup>1</sup> For instances of the Malay practice of taboo in Borneo, cf. below p. 25. For taboo as practiced in the Malay Peninsula, cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, passim. The Achehnese speak of prohibitions binding on all men as "pamali," the general Malay word for taboo in Borneo and elsewhere. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 274. "The spirit of life—which according to the ancient Indonesian belief existed in all things, even in what we should now consider inanimate objects—is known as the *semen-gat*." Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs*, p. 49.

The yellow rice was used by the Malays of Sarawak in a ceremony performed on the return of chiefs from a successful war expedition, and was supposed to give them equally good luck the next time. The old chief's three wives and female relatives came dressed in their best "Each of the ladies in succession taking a handful of yellow rice, threw it over us, repeating some mystical words, and dilating on our heroic deeds." Keppel, p. 289. Sir Charles Brooke records that a Pangeran (noble) scattered rice over him as thanksgiving for a safe return from a dangerous journey. Brooke, i, p. 197. In the Malay Peninsula rice stained with turmeric is used for scattering over persons to be benefitted or strewn on the house floor. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 76. In Acheh glutinous rice coloured yellow with turmeric is used for offerings at the tombs of saints and is a favorite dish at religious festivals. Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 31; ii, p. 293 (notice how much farther the new religion has advanced in Acheh, the only place of those mentioned where the ceremony is given a Mohammedan interpretation). Two instances I have found of a ceremonial scattering of yellow rice among the Land Dyaks of Borneo. Brooke in Mundy, i, p. 335; Chalmers, O. P., p. 63, quoted by Roth, i, p. 248.

and which, like the "rijksieraden" are regarded as having supernatural qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the survivals of pagan Malay ideas we find also in Borneo relics of other pre-Mohammedan influences, varying in the different localities. In the north there are evidences of a well-authenticated Chinese influence, in such legends as that of Mt. Kinabalu, the "Chinese widow," and other local ideas; also perhaps a trace of Chinese feeling in the fact that here, in contrast with other parts of Borneo where the graves of ancestors are notably neglected, the Mohammedans take great care of ancestral tombs and make pious pilgrimages to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. W. C. Van den Berg. *De Mohammedaansche Vorsten in Nederlandsch-Indie*, pp. 72, 73. The Javanese name for these is Oepâtjâra, the Malay, Kabesaran or Alat Karadjan, the Macassar, Kalompawang, and the Bugis, Aradjang. The Rijksieraden of Sanggau, on the West coast of Borneo consist of a kris, a sword of European make, a lance, a gong and a swivel gun, Bakker, *Het Rijk Sanggau*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1884, p. 374, quoted by van den Berg, p. 79. Those of Kotaringin on the South Coast seem to be very numerous, some of the chief are two ebony chairs, swords and lances, some pieces of iron supposed to come from Madjapahit and a couple of large porcelain jars of Japanese or Chinese make, Pijnappel, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1860, p. 281, quoted by van den Berg, p. 79. These Chinese jars, many of them of great antiquity, are valued at enormously high prices all over Borneo. They are held in reverence by Malays and Dyaks alike, and are supposed to possess supernatural powers. In the Malay kingdom of Semitau, on the Kapuas river in western Borneo, the royal insignia consist of a kris, said to have come from Madjapahit with the original settlers, a "pinggau", or earthen dish, to which four very little dishes, "anak pinggau", belong, and a pinggau half a meter in diameter with three anak pinggau. The pinggaus are kept in the ground except on special occasions when they are shown to the people, and then must not be kept above ground more than one day, or a great hurricane will burst over the country. The little dishes must always be buried on the same side of the mother dish, otherwise they have power to turn themselves around. Enthoven, p. 139. The burying of valuable articles for safety is common all over Borneo especially among the Dyaks. For the Dyak regard for the heads of slain enemies as the insignia of office of the chiefs, possessing supernatural power and to be touched only by certain individuals, cf. Brooke in Keppel, p. 54, and Dr. Wm. Furness, *Home Life of the Head Hunters*, p. 65; for regard of royal regalia in the Malay Penin., cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 23—29.

<sup>2</sup> J. Marrat, *The Land of the Dyaks*, London 1891, p. 8; Dalrymple, p. 41 and Earl, p. 304, quoted by Roth, i, p. 304; Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 284, 332; Earl, p. 317; Low, p. 126.

Another foreign nation, the Hindu-Javan kingdom of Madjapahit has left material and cultural evidences of its former colonies all around the west, south and southeast coasts of Borneo. Strong Hindu-Javan influence can be traced in the Mohammedanism of the Malays in these districts of Borneo to-day.<sup>1</sup>

Of nearly all these survivals of a pre-Mohammedan era, I believe it can be said that they either have some economic reason in the present manner of life of the people, or that at one time there has been an economic reason for them so strong that they have survived by the force of that impetus. A curious instance of the latter case is the taboo on cow's milk in Sarawak, where until a few years ago men still dated events from "the days of the Hindus." The Malays here, like the Dyaks, do not use the milk or butter of the cow. Concerning the Dyak custom Sir Hugh Low says "Their not using the milk and butter of the cow, in which the Hindus delight, has been accounted for by the supposition that at the first introduction of the animal into Java, from whence it came to Borneo, this was a precautionary measure to encourage the breed, by not depriving the calves of their natural sustenance." It may be mentioned that cows are still scarce in Sarawak where the pasture land is limited.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in Borneo the earlier ideas which survive and modify Mohammedanism are, everywhere their wide-spread typical Malay beliefs, with, in certain localities, remnants of influence of Hindu-Javan and Chinese colonies.

Of the third factor producing Indonesian Mohammedanism

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 4 note 2. Traces of Hindu-Javan influence can be found equally prevalent among the Malays and Dyaks of the regions of the former colonies of Madjapahit. Denison, *Jottings of a Tour among the Land Dyaks of Upper Sarawak*, Ch. i, thinks that the Land Dyaks are the descendants of the Madjapahit colonists on the west coast of Borneo who were driven inland by the introduction of Mohammedanism in 1559. While this may possibly be true, there are many considerations which point to its improbability, and I do not believe that the evidence at present justifies us in presuming this origin of the Land Dyaks.

<sup>2</sup> Low, p. 267; In the *Memoirs of a Malayan Family*, a Malay Ms. of cir. 1760, translated and published by Marsden in 1830, a ceremony is described which implies that the Sumatran savage tribes did not drink milk though they had cows. Marsden comments on this that the natives of the Malay Islands neither drink milk nor make butter, p. 10.

—a mentality more primitive than that of the orthodox Arab teachers—we may fairly say that it has had more effect than the actual definite survivals of ancient customs in producing anti-Mohammedan ideas and distortions of Mohammedan customs. The Malays are described as being, with few exceptions, very superstitious and of a lower grade of civilization and intelligence than the Arabs. We have seen that on the whole Mohammedanism has changed their life less than their life has changed Mohammedanism.

Except in the case of a few individuals who have become wealthy and educated the new faith did not bring any revolutionary conditions which would alter the general mentality of the people. Most of the Malays are still in their mental attitude toward the outside world on the stage of animism and magic. The occult powers hold the same sway over their lives as they do over those of the Dyaks.

Comparing Malay magic as found in various parts of Indonesia with the magic of the Borneo Dyaks, it is doubtful whether there is greater similarity in the divination and incantations of the Dyaks and those of the Malays than arises from the fact that both peoples are below the intellectual attainments that show a reign of law and preclude superstitions. We find all over the world certain general forms of sympathetic magic, belief in charms etc. wherever there is a primitive stage of intellect and civilization. As the Malay civilization is wider in scope and more complex than the Dyak, so their magic is a little less naïve and crude. The Malay is perhaps more akin to the folk-lore of early Europe, the Dyak like that of more primitive peoples.

But besides the general practices of magic and taboo, and an animistic theory of nature, there are certain definite ideas and customs of the Borneo Malay Mohammedans which correspond remarkably closely to those of the Dyaks. We must consider these special local modifications of Islam in addition to those characteristic of Indonesian Mohammedanism in general.

In regard to these customs the question of interest is, did the Malays bring them to the Dyaks? or are they of Borneo origin?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Furness in his *Folk-lore in Borneo*, p. 10, says that the Dyaks are "closely akin in every respect to the Malays, and no doubt adopted the

I do not believe that that question can be answered positively in the present state of our knowledge. We can only say this much:—

1. Analysis will show them to be admirably adapted to the Dyak method of life.

2. The more the Malays live like Dyaks, the more of these customs do they have, and the more does their Mohammedanism become merely nominal.

3. They are not found among the Malays who are foreign traders so much as among those whose occupation keeps them close to the local environment.

4. They are not only practiced near the coast, but are customs characteristic also of the Dyak tribes of the far interior least affected by Malay influence.

Some of these customs concern the taking of omens from the cries of animals and the flight of birds; the taboo of the flesh of certain animals, especially deer; harvest taboos similar to those of the Dyaks in the few localities where the Malays practice any agriculture; taboos for illness and in case of death; women sorcerers and "doctors" who under the name of "*Bayoh*" perform the same functions among the Malay Mohammedans of Sarawak that the "*Manangs*" do among the Dyaks. The same sort of objects are used as charms as among the Dyaks. An account is given of a Malay Sultan who permitted in his palace a three day ceremony to "drive away Satan" participated in by Malays and Dyaks together, in which women took the prominent part they customarily hold in Dyak ritual.<sup>1</sup>

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traditions which were rife among the Malays both before and after the latter became converted to Mohammedanism." On the other hand Sir Charles Brooke who spent many years among the Malays and Dyaks of Sarawak says of the Malays that "since their arrival they have been mixed with the Dyak and Malanau populations adopting many of their customs and much of their language," i, p. 45.

<sup>1</sup> Bock, pp. 32, 49, 110—112, 198, 230. "The Malays also have their *manangs*, who are called *Bayoh*, while the ceremony is *Berasik*, but I believe the better instructed Mahometans consider the practice of it altogether inconsistent with the true religion of Islam," Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 19, quoted by Roth, i, p. 282. The *pelandok*, or mouse-deer is an omen animal in Borneo of Malays, Milanaus, Sea Dyaks and Kalamantans, whose warnings must be rigorously heeded. The mouse-deer figures in some of the folk-stories of the Malay Pen-

Some of the Malays, like the Dyaks, place wooden figures outside their houses to keep off evil spirits. The Malays have a custom which they call "Bertapar", corresponding to the Dyak "Nampok", in which a man goes out alone to a mountain and spends the night alone on its summit, coming back with great power from the spirits. Malay parents give feasts to their relations to celebrate the different periods in their sons' education, and for a lesser festival kill a fowl, for a greater one goats, buffalo or deer. This is exactly the way the Dyaks use the ordinarily forbidden animals in festivals, for a lesser occasion fowls, the larger ones for a greater one. The Dyaks use pigs ceremonially, however, where the Mohammedans use goats and buffalo. In both cases the reason is undoubtedly the same, the comparative scarcity of fowls, the greater scarcity of flesh.<sup>1</sup>

When the Malays lead the Dyaks on piratical expeditions, they no less than the head hunters take pride and delight in the captured heads of the enemies. Though Sir Charles Brooke says that "they do not place them in their houses nor attach any superstitious ideas to them," we have evidence that the Malays have a very sincere regard for the "pantaks" or sacred enclosures to which the Dyaks bring the heads after an expedition to perform the first rites over them; and believe with the Dyaks that "whoever does the least damage to any of the

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insula, but I do not find any record of the sort of superstitious regard in which it is held in Borneo; cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 179, 318. Of the Borneo Malays Haddon says, "A Malay told me: if a Sarawak Malay was striking a light in the evening in his house and a *pelandok* made a noise at the same time the whole family would have to leave the house for three days; should they not do so the house would catch fire and be burned down, or sickness or other calamity would overtake them," p. 386. A Kalamantan chief "resolutely refused to proceed on a journey through the jungle when a mouse-deer (*Plandok*) crossed his path, and he will not eat this deer at any time." Hose & McDougall, *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, 1901, p. 193. Of the Sea Dyaks Perham says, "If the cry of a deer, a *pelandok*, or a gazelle be heard, or if a rat crosses the path before you on your way to the farm, a day's rest will be necessary; or you will cut yourself, get ill, or suffer by failure of the crop." Perham, *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10, quoted by Roth, i, p. 193.

<sup>1</sup> Bock, p. 32; Low, pp. 139, 140; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 156, quoted by Roth, i, p. 287; Sir Spenser St. John, i, pp. 143, 144.

wooden figures will be attacked by evil spirits and shortly die."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the Malays tell a story to try to bring their superstitions under the guise of Mohammedan lore. The padi-birds,—those birds of omen which frequent the rice-fields, roost together in large numbers, and are said to build nests in the high jungle not easily found or seen,—figure in a tale which is a typical medley. The Malays say that these birds do not breed like other birds in the jungle, but about the houses of happy invisible beings called Orang Ka-benuar-an, "people of truthfulness", sylvan spirits who care for the seasons of flowers and fruits. The great Mahomet came and all the angels of heaven except the rebel Eblis protected his faith. Eblis went to the Orang Ka-benuar-an and persuaded them to cease being woodland spirits and follow him and he would make them angels. Allah's punishment for listening to the evil angel Eblis was that the Orang Ka-benuar-an must become invisible and no more go among men. But he let them have one bird to live with them and be their messenger to men and they chose the padi-bird. All the omen birds are regarded by the Dyaks as messengers sent by the good spirits to men.<sup>2</sup>

Whenever the Malays do the same things that the Dyaks do, and are subject to the same influences, we find them, without regard to their Mohammedanism, holding the same superstitions as their Dyak companions. In many places, for instance, the Malays living on rivers have become expert canoeists, an activity in which the Dyaks excel, and here they have the same superstition as the Dyaks about the bad luck consequent upon holding the paddle in a certain way.<sup>3</sup>

A few instances may be given also of notions that are purely local and due to the impression of some out-of-the-way experience. On one river the Malays worship the same rocks and hill-spirits as do the neighboring Dyaks. The water of one small river is considered sacred alike by Malays and Dyaks, and healing properties are attributed to it. At a spot on the Sarawak where some Chinese insurgents were fearfully cut up,

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<sup>1</sup> Brooke in Keppel, p. 173; Pfeiffer, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> From a verbal account given by a Malay, Motley, *Contributions to the Natural History of Labuan*, London 1855, pp. 35—38.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Spenser St. John, ii, p. 262; Sir Charles Brooke, ii, p. 2; Haddon, p. 285; Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*, i, p. 23.

twenty years after the event the Malays would not bring their boats at night for fear of ghosts. A purely local custom on the island of Talang-Talang, where the Malays make a living by collecting turtle eggs, is the magic practice resorted to by the Hadji in charge of the place to make the turtles lay. It consists of feasting, decorating the sands with flags, and after this is done tabooing the vicinity to strangers,—a very practical provision this last, as the turtles will not lay if disturbed, and moreover strangers who do not come cannot steal. Dyaks and Malays alike attribute magic power to gold dust, that beautiful, valuable thing which the searcher may with good luck pick up out of some of the river beds. The Dyaks scatter it on their fields to bring good harvests. The Malays shake it in their girls' heads to procure a luxuriant crop of hair. Malays and Dyaks, not far apart in their general mental development, have received similar impressions from their surroundings and incorporated them into their different religions.<sup>1</sup>

The Malay Mohammedans show the same tendency as do the Dyaks to attribute supernatural powers to Europeans who excite their sense of wonder or affect their interests for good or ill. Ida Pfeiffer's immunity from danger in passing through hostile countries, her pedestrian prowess, and her strangeness made the Mohammedan Malays, no less than the Dyaks regard her as a kind of demigod. The Malays of Brunei attributed a cholera epidemic to a phantom Spanish vessel seen in the river the night before the epidemic broke out, a theory which illustrated, according to Sir Spenser St. John, the traditional hatred of the Spaniards with whom in olden times the kingdom of Brunei had constant feuds. The Dyaks deified the friendly Sir James Brooke, and invoked his presence at their harvest feasts; the Malays, when in 1881 a flood stopped just short of his statue, took it for a manifestation of the will of God that they should respect the descendants of Sir James Brooke as the flood respected his statue. In this instance the Moham-

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<sup>1</sup> Gomes, *Gospel Mission*, July 1865, pp. 105—111, quoted by Roth, i, p. 355; Boyle, pp. 49—50; Bock, p. 112; Denison, chapter IV; Sir Spenser St. John, ii, pp. 264, 325; Brooke in Keppel, p. 113; Ibid. in Mundy, i, p. 304; Sir Charles Brooke, i, p. 265; Low, p. 118. The Malays who live in the region of Mt. Tiloeng, which is held very sacred by the Dyaks, even after they have been converted to Mohammedanism, are said to "bestow a certain reverence on it." Molengraaf. p. 47, 62.



medans (of a sophisticated coast town by the way) are less frankly pagan than in some other cases we have been noting, and deification is cloaked under a mere "sign of the will of God."<sup>1</sup>

A higher name or phrase will often cover a multitude of primitive superstitions, which nevertheless retain their own true character. For this reason we cannot regard it as proof of Malay origin that many Dyak customs of the far interior are called by words of the Malay language, such as the taboo, which is known in many parts of Borneo as "pamali" the name applied to taboo by Malays in all parts of the Archipelago. Taboo is too wide-spread an institution to be considered peculiarly Malay. And the special forms of it found in Borneo are, as I have pointed out in previous studies, eminently adapted to the immediate environment. Because the Malay language is easily learned and has spread commercially everywhere Malay names for things and spirits are prevalent in the religious nomenclature of the various native tribes. It does not necessarily follow that Malay ideas have gone with the names. For instance the Dyaks of Kotei believe in a supreme being known as Mahatara, Hatalla, or Allah. From the first name we might infer that the belief had at least a relationship to Hindu ideas, from the second to Arabic. But the belief in a chief god can hardly be proved a foreign acquisition by these names, for the same belief is found among Dyak tribes in many parts of Borneo, and the deity is called by various names not suggestive of either of these foreign influences. The chief god is known in different regions as Juwata (thought to be probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Dewata), Tuppa, Sang Jang, Laki Tenangan, Batara, Totadungan, Balli Penyalong, and Ipu. It seems more than probable that usually when a Malay term appears in the Dyak religion it is merely an application of a foreign word to already existing ideas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer, p. 94; Sir S. Spenser St. John, i, pp. 291, 292; Dr. A. Piton, *Un Voyage à Borneo*, Paris, 1888, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Land Dyaks the terms *pamali* and *porich* seem both to be used for taboo, probably with slightly varying significance. Low, p. 260; Chalmers in Grant's Tour, quoted by Roth, i, p. 388. For the names of the Supreme Being among the different tribes; cf. St. John, i, p. 110; *ibid.* in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society*, ii, p. 242; Bock,

If the likeness of religious customs on the part of nominally Mohammedan Malays and Dyaks is to be explained by the theory that the Malays before their conversion brought these customs to the Dyaks from the Peninsula, we shall have to have some further argument in favor of the supposition than the occasional appearance of a Malay term in the Dyak ritual or pantheon. I think it much more likely that most of the customs, at least, are of native origin and were followed by the Malays because they were in accord with the local atmosphere and method of life which the Malays must to a certain extent adopt.

It is the up-river Malays, settled, unlike most of their nation, in Dyak-like agricultural villages, among whom we find the harvest taboos. The utility of these to the Dyaks I have already discussed in a previous paper.<sup>1</sup> For the taboos on eating the flesh of certain animals there would be the same practical reasons among the Malays as among the Dyaks. In the common experiences of piratical expeditions it is only natural that the Malays should come to have at least a regard for the tokens of prowess—the heads of the slain victims—and share the Dyaks' superstitious attitude toward them. In short when the Malays live like Dyaks they think like Dyaks.

It is hard to tell where the Mohammedan Malays end and the pagan Dyaks begin. They shade into one another like red into yellow. The extremes are easily distinguishable. But where shall we classify the various depths of orange?

There is a legend of an old Dyak chief of mighty strength who left seven sons. The oldest promised to remain Dyak and support his brothers, the youngest followed his father as chief of the Dyaks, while the remaining five became founders of five Malay states. The Malays use this story to explain why they have a right to live at the expense of the Dyaks. It shows to the reader the extreme haziness of race distinctions, even in the minds of the natives themselves, where the two manners of life have amalgamated.<sup>2</sup>

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p. 231; Brooke in Keppel, p. 328; Low, p. 249; De Crespigny, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, v, p. 35, quoted by Roth, i, p. 219; Müller, ii, p. 366, quoted by Roth, i, p. 217 note; Hose and McDougall, *J. A. I.*, 1901, pp. 176, 189.

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. O. S.*, vol. 29, pp. 247 ff.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. van der Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, pp. 671, 672.

The key to understanding the situation is I think best given by the tribes of obviously Dyak origin whose history from the time previous to their conversion to Mohammedanism is well known. One tribe of these on a branch of the Kapuas river is known as the "Embahoe Malays". They are Dyaks who within the last fifty years have been converted to Mohammedanism. They have simply taken the oath of fealty to Allah and Mohammed, at the urgency of their Malay overlord, and added to their old customs some Mohammedan ritual and a few brass cannon. They continue in a unchanged environment and gain a living in all their old Dyaks ways, and they have dropped none of their Dyak festivals and spirit-worship. They are head-hunters and openly eat pork and drink arrack.<sup>1</sup>

The next step in Mohammedanizing is to give up pork. The pig is a potent factor in Dyak life, not to be dispensed with without a change of economy. And we are hardly surprised to learn that the Malay dress and other characteristics distinguished the Dyak converts on the Rejang river who went as far as giving up the festal use of the pig. In British North Borneo the inhabitants of the Kinabatangan river shade from the pagans of the upper river to the Dyak Mohammedans by giving up pork as they get nearer to the coast and to the Malay way of living. Analysis of the customs of the native Mohammedans shows that there is much native and little Mohammedan in the up-river districts, where the conversion has taken place through the agency of isolated missionaries and traders, and where there has been no real change of environment or incentive to adopt the Malay method of life. The more thorough-going adoption of Mohammedan principles occurs only in the villages nearer the coast where the coming of Malay traders and Europeans has changed the natives' real economic environment.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Enthoven, pp. 205—207.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Spenser St. John, i, p. 46; Ada Pryer, p. 80; Low, p. 338; Boyle, pp. 28, 319; Enthoven, pp. 169—171. Cf. also Enthoven's account of the Sintang "Malays" of the Upper Kapuas, of at least partially Dyak origin, who living up-river in an environment like the Dyaks', although Mohammedans keep to most of the Dyak customs, pp. 563 ff. For further accounts of various degrees of conversion and adoption of Malay method of life. cf. Earl, pp. 271, 272; Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i, p. 51;

A description of what one might call this cultural conversion of the natives is given by Holbé in a recent article in the *Revue Anthropologique*. He describes the houses of a "Malay" village between the Kapuas river and Landak as constructed Malay fashion. The people are Mohammedan, have cows and no pigs, but resemble the Dyaks of the region. "Quand un Dyak deserte le kampong paternel, vient à un centre Malayou et prononce le formule: La ila hill' Allah... il devient Malais du coup."<sup>1</sup>

I have taken my instances of Dyak conversion from the tribes of three great rivers, those arteries by which Mohammedanism and the Malays have penetrated at certain points toward the interior of the island. It is important to note that the farther up-river we go, the more closely does the manner of life of both Malays and natives necessarily approach the primitive jungle type, and the more loosely are the precepts of Islam followed by both Malays and native converts. There are far fewer Hadji from among the up-river people, and those who do go to Mecca are little respected on their return.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Malays of the coast towns, however, especially the ports trading constantly with Europe and Asia, where European influence has made the environment more cosmopolitan than Bornean, we find greater power of the generally familiar customs of Islam. There are mosques and prayers; there is verbal knowledge of the Koran, even if it is only used to determine the ceremonial of marriages and burials, or recited

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Cator, p. 57; Sir R. Alcock, *Handbook of British North Borneo*, London, Colonial Exhibition, 1886, p. 37. Among the Milanaus, whose peculiar opportunities for sago trade has made their Malayanisation fairly complete in many localities, an old custom to be given up was that of human sacrifice. This seems also to have prevailed at some time in other parts of Borneo. Spenser St. John, i, p. 46; *Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society*, 10. p. 182, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Low, p. 335, quoted by Roth, i, p. 157; Veth, ii, p. 321.

<sup>1</sup> Holbé, *Revue Anthropologique*, 1911, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Enthoven, p. 567. For descriptions of the Malay and Dyak up-river agricultural communities, cf. Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal Borneo*. i, pp. 19, 20; Bock, p. 49; Enthoven, pp. 131—134, 176—180. Low says of the coast Malays that "they seldom apply themselves to gardening or agriculture, trusting entirely for their supplies of rice and fruits to the industrious Dyaks of the interior, and to the Chinese gardens in the town for the vegetables they require," p. 160.

uncomprehendingly as a charm to keep off evil spirits; there are numerous Hadjis who return to great respect and to be reverently addressed by the title of Tuan-ku; and there is some observance of the month of Ramadhan. In Sarawak, particularly, the competition of Christian missions greatly increased the zeal and strictness of Mohammedanism. There was a noticeable pulling away from superstitions and toning up of the tenets of Islam after the establishment of a Christian mission in 1840.<sup>1</sup>

In the ports, too, the Malays are kept stirred up by the Arabs. These have never come to Borneo in any numbers, but have been individual Hadjis and Mollahs, come to arouse the zeal of the converts, and they have been adventurers inciting, until repressed by Europeans, to plunder by land and sea in the name of the Holy war. They are for the most part found as individuals ruling by force of intellect and leadership over a village of followers and slaves. They all claim and receive the title of Sheriff.<sup>2</sup>

Two classes of Mohammedans in Borneo yet remain to be mentioned, the Chinese, who are included in enumerations of Mohammedans but concerning whose religious customs I have not enough material to speak intelligently; and the Klings, a small number of colonists or merchants from India, who have in Sarawak their separate mosque of the Shiah sect which stands alongside of the Arabian Sunnis' without the usual antagonism. The number and influence of the Klings is so small as not to be, so far as I have been able to find out, a real factor.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Brooke, i, pp. 77, 78, 331, 360; Bock, p. 25; Keppel, p. 266; Boyle, pp. 131, 173; Miss Quigley in *Missionary Review of the World*, June 1907, p. 442, Low, pp. 123, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Holbé, *loc. cit.*, p. 430; Brooke in Mundy, i, pp. 362, 364; Boyle, p. 298; Keppel, p. 269; Veth, i, p. 248; Low says that the sheriffs "have always been held in high consideration. They are always addressed by the title of Tuan-ku, or 'your highness,' and on state days and festivals occupy a position more eminent than that of the highest hereditary nobles," p. 123. For the real intellectual and economic leadership which supports this prestige, cf. accounts of the Arabs above p. 323. In Acheh "Teungku" is the title given to all "who either hold an office in connection with religion or distinguish themselves from the common herd by superior knowledge or more strict observance of religious laws." Snouck Hurgronje, i, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Low, p. 126, 93 ff.

The Malays' purpose in converting the Dyaks, besides their mere religious zeal for converts, was to establish a basis for allegiance on which to build their political overlordship. More often than conquering the natives by force of arms, they would trade with them, convert them to Islam and then take tribute from them. The inducement for the Dyaks was that a man by adopting the Malay religion and manner of life could raise himself to the status of the superior, dominant race. The Malays made conversion easy by requiring nothing of the Dyaks that conflicted with their customs. As we have seen, however, near the coast where surroundings were more favorable to the Malay method of life than the Dyak, the Dyak customs dropped of their own accord.<sup>1</sup>

All this, it must be remembered, applies to a very small portion of the Dyaks,—only those of the navigable rivers frequented by the Malays. The tribes who were protected far in the jungle, or who fled before the coming of the intruders to the tributaries and upper waters beyond the point of easy navigation, have preserved their resources as well as their customs untouched, and have a far better lot than their subject neighbors.

Their seclusion is, however, not likely to be long-lived. Within recent years there has been a rapid opening up of the country by Europeans, both Dutch and English.<sup>2</sup> The result has been a vast increase, even within the last decade of valuable material for knowledge of the people of the interior. Not only has the material increased in mass but there is a steady growth of reliability of observation as well as a more systematic method of presenting the results. Taking the sequence from the mediaeval travellers' tales; through the

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<sup>1</sup> H. W. Mutinghe, *De Bevestiging van het Nederlandsch Gezag op Borneo in Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1850, D. II, p. 164, Crawford, *Malay Grammar*, i, p. LXXXII, van Lijnden, *Aanteekening over de landen van het stroomgebied der Kapoeas in Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1851, pp. 584, 601, quoted by Veth, ii, p. 322; Enthoven, p. 209; van Meulen, quoted by Enthoven, p. 673; Bock, pp. 64, 232.

<sup>2</sup> Nieuwenhuis, *Influence of changed conditions*, etc., p. 5; Buys, p. 139; Bock, writing in 1881 said of some of the up-river tribes of southern Borneo, "They would not even see a Malay, and always remained in the densest part of the forest where it was impossible to track them without a guide," p. 69.

abundance of popular literary generalizations which appeared about 1850 when the dramatic suppression of piracy had caught the attention of Europe; down to the accounts of scientific exploring expeditions of recent years, we find a steady development of completeness and systematic presentation of material, as well as vast increase in the amount of actual knowledge of the country.

Even yet the accounts we have of the Malay and Dyak Mohammedans in Borneo are too fragmentary to make any theoretical analysis of them definitely conclusive. They are sufficiently striking to be very suggestive. Within the next ten or fifteen years, as the material is coming in, it should be possible to make a comparative and schematic analysis of local conditions, which I believe will prove of great theoretic significance.

From the notes I have collected here I have formulated tentatively five principles of borrowing, several of them well recognized by writers on the history of religion, though seldom definitely stated.

A new religion is accepted:—

1. In so far as it fits in with the already existing ideals of the people.

In accord with this principle the Malays accepted that part of Mohammedanism which fit in with the trend of their habits and customs. The especial precepts which they accentuated were the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy War, both of which furthered their ideals of trade and of piracy.

A new religion is accepted:—

2. In so far as it does not enforce precepts which are antagonistic to the peoples' ideals or unsuitable to the economic conditions.

We have seen how the ritual prayers, the prohibitions of drink gambling and opium, and the laws of trade and property of the Koran were ignored by the Borneo Malays when their habits or the local conditions made strongly against them, and how the position of the Malay women was determined more by their economic status than by orthodox Moslim theory.

If, then, it made so little change, why did even the nominal conversion take place? It was because Mohammedanism in

Borneo fulfilled the indispensable condition to the introduction of a foreign faith, our third principle, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

3. When the new ideas offer better prospects than the people's old religion for success and happiness under the existing conditions.

The Hadjj, the Holy War, the comradeship in the bonds of a common allegiance with foreign traders all offered wider scope for the Malays' ambitions.

Our fourth principle is that

A new religion is accepted:—

4. In so far as the forces that bring the foreign faith also bring a change in civilization.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the Arabs coming to Borneo in small numbers did very little to change the real surroundings of the Malays. And no revolution of life has occurred that would lift them out of their old mental attitude of superstition. Therefore the Malays have accepted only certain superficial precepts of Mohammedanism which appealed to them, without changing their whole pagan attitude toward the outside world. The Dyaks have for the most part not accepted Mohammedanism at all, while they remain in their jungle environment, and a few have accepted the superficial Malay Mohammedanism just in so far as they have left the jungle and taken to the Malay manner of life. Mohammedanism has not brought to Borneo any change in civilization that would lead to a thorough-going change of the people's ideas.

It has kept its nominal hold by observing the law of borrowing that I have stated as my fifth principle, one very familiar in the history of religion, viz;—that

A new religion is accepted:—

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting instance of protest against a pre-Mohammedan superstition after the coming first of the Mohammedan traders and then of the Europeans had changed the local conditions is given in the *Sarawak Gazette*, 122, p. 2, quoted by Roth, i, p. 287. During a terrible storm an old and nearly forgotten custom was resorted to—that of damaging trees and property to frustrate the evil spirit of the storm. After the storm had abated the losers of property complained to the government, "allowing that in bygone days it had been a custom, but then, they state, their gardens were of little value; it was different now, as labour was dear and everything was of value in the market."



5. Only if it incorporates into itself or tolerates quietly the old traditions of the people that continue to fit their life.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that the converted Dyaks keep right on with all their savage anti-Mohammedan customs except as some of these have dropped of their own accord when the Dyaks adopt the Malay mode of life. Of the traditions that have survived in the Malay faith, we have seen that these are a medley of pre-Mohammedan Malay ideas with some Hindu-Javan, Chinese or Dyak influences in different localities, holding on because they are useful, or better adapted than the new religion to the state of mind that the environment has produced.

As the result of the working of these principles we have in Borneo, a quasi-Mohammedanism, or rather a new national or class religion, with a certain investiture of Mohammedan names and forms. We see that this resultant in the same country varies from one locality to another, from one class to another as the economic conditions are different.

I believe that our knowledge thus far of Mohammedanism in Borneo goes to support these five "laws of contact," and that further facts will be likely to corroborate them, though probably in a modified form. Of one thing I think we may at least be certain. The parallelism of religious and economic development holds true as rigidly in the borrowing of foreign ideas as in the growth of customs on the native soil. We have not reached in our explanation the full significance of a religious usage when we have traced out the history of its geographical migrations. Aboriginal or imported it has an equally vital relationship to the life of the people.

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<sup>1</sup> Snouck Hurgronje recognizes this principle fully and states it in his general remarks on the spread of Islam. "Side by side with the law and doctrine which has developed in the school during the past 13 centuries, and which is universally admitted to be inspired yet is universally neglected, there exists an entirely different standard of religion law and morality which holds good in practice. This practical teaching is indeed largely coloured by the influence of the theory of the schools, yet to a greater extent it rests on a different basis; therein are expressed the views of life which controlled men's minds in the pre-Mohammedan period and therein do we also find traces of all that has befallen the various peoples since they embraced the creed of Islam," p. 277. "It is of course quite possible to admit the validity of a law without observing its precepts . . . . . Religious teaching, however, must neither admit any elements which are unacceptable to a large part of the community, nor reject things which are indispensable to a great number of the faithful," p. 290.

*A Tammuz Fragment.*—By Professor J. DYNELEY PRINCE,  
Ph. D., Columbia University, N. Y.

The text of the following fragment (K. 3356) was published by Kerr Duncan Macmillan (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, V. p. 679) without translation or explanation. From obv. 1 to rev. 1, we may supply for the broken parts of the lines the general idea "may it (the evil) be conjured"; i. e., "be it conjured 6. by the — — — word of him who is dead, 7. by the name of the spouse, 8. by Nanâ, etc., 9. by the consort who is sadly wailing, etc." The wailing Nanâ, weeping for Tammuz, appears also in CT. XV. obv. 14: *er (AŠI)-ri e-ne-ir xi-mu-un-na-te-(ga)* 'wailing for him let her begin' (Prince, *AJSL.* xxvii. p. 85).

The fragment under discussion is chiefly interesting because it seems to be, not the usual Tammuz-hymn, but an incantation, to remove evil from an afflicted person by adjuring the sorrows of Tammuz and his consort Nanâ. The idea of Tammuz and his grieving mother, as set forth by this text, seems to imply that their divine sorrows had a certain theological value; in other words, that they constituted a vicarious suffering to which men might look as a compensation for physical ailments. In this respect, the poem is a really striking prototype of modern Christian litanies, which adjure the Deity by the sorrows of the Incarnate God and His Mother to have mercy on mankind.

### Text and Translation

#### Obverse

- |    |              |
|----|--------------|
| 1. | -ta          |
| 2. | -ta          |
| 3. | -ge (KIT)-ta |
| 4. | -ge (KIT)-ta |
| 5. | -ge (KIT)-ta |

6. -KA *dig* (BAD)-*gá-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —  
by the — — word of him who is dead — — — —
7. *mu mu-ud-na-zu-ta* — — — —  
by the name of thy spouse — — — —
8. *Nin-ri dam sib-ba-ta* — — — —  
by Nanâ the consort of the shepherd — — — —
9. *dam-ma iš-gig-ga-ab-ta* — — — —  
by the consort who is sadly wailing — — — —
10. <sup>a</sup>*Dumu* (AN-TUR) *Ci-ir-tur-ra-ge* (KIT)-*ta* — — — —  
by the divine child of Cirturra — — — —
11. XU-SI *ci-ib-ba-ta ga* (GA-ṬU) *ci-ib-ba* — — — —  
by the excellent magnate; the excellent lofty one — — — —
12. LAX-BA (*siba*) XU-SI *eri* (= *âlu*) *ib-ba-ge* (KIT) *ga*  
(?) DU (?) -DU (?) -*da* — — — —  
(by) the shepherd, the magnate of the lower city; the lofty one, when he goes — — — —
13. *u me-a am* <sup>a</sup>*Dumu-zi, ag-gad* (RAM-ŠU) *dug* (KA)-*ga, lax* (DU)-*lax* (DU)-*ga gud* — — — —  
(by) him who is the wild bull Tammuz, who speaks love, when he shines (may) the bull — — — —
14. LAX-BA (*siba*) *ag* (RAM)-*ta im ga* (GA-ṬU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the shepherd of love, by the exalted lord — — — —
15. <sup>a</sup>*Dumu-zi-ta im ga* (GA-ṬU)-*a-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by Tammuz, by the exalted lord — — — —
16. XU-SI *ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a* XU-SI *la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the exalted magnate who is abased, the magnate of fulness who is slain — — — —
17. *ga ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a ga la* (LAL) *ba-da-gaz-ta-šu* (KU) — — — —  
by the exalted one who is abased, by the lofty one of fulness who is slain — — — —

### Reverse

1. *im ga* (GA-ṬU) *šub* (RU)-*a im-ga* (GA-ṬU) — — — —  
by the exalted lord who is abased, the exalted lord — — — —
2. *gud-gim si-ni-šu* (KU) *š(ub)=RU* — — — —  
(by him who) like a bull with respect to his horns (is abased — — — —

3. *e-ci-gim qin* — — — —  
 (by him who) like sheep (?) — — — —  
 4. *tûr-gim (ab-)* — — — —  
 (by him who) like a pasture — — — —  
 5. *alim-ma* — — — —  
 the mighty one — — — —  
 6. *bar-šu* (KU) — — — —  
 on one side (may the curse stand)  
 7. *bar* — — — —  
 on one side (may the curse stand)  
 (a number of lines may follow.)

### Commentary

- 1—5. *-ta* preceded by genitive must mean: by the — — — —  
 of; cf. 6—10.  
 6. Some adjective qualifying KA 'word' is omitted. For  
*-ta* in adjuration, cf. Gud. 4, 2: *û<sup>a</sup> Nina-ta* 'by the might  
 of Nina'. Note that *-ta* always reverts to the first word  
 of the phrase.  
 7. *mu-ud-na*=*xâiru* 'spouse', Br. 1304.  
 8. Apparently *sib* is correct, as LAX-BA 'shepherd'=*siba*  
 occurs line 12.  
 9. The *-ma* in *dam-ma* is simply prolongation and not the  
 oblique 1 p. The *is* = *eš* = A-ŠI 'weeping' (cf. AJSL.  
 XXVII. p. 85; Prince).  
 10. *Ci-ir-tur-ra*; cf. *Ci-ir-tur* | BU-DA | *ama<sup>a</sup> Dumu-zi-ge*  
 (KIT) 'mother of Tammuz', Br. 4206.  
 11. XU-SI, I render, 'magnate' as the chief meaning of  
 XU-SI (cf. M. 1198 ff.) seems to denote eminence; cf.  
 M. 1221: = *šaġû* 'high' (M. 1220: = *šadû* 'mountain').  
 XU-SI is also parallel here with *ga* (GA-ṬU).

Note the Eme-Sal form *ci-ib-ba*, for Eme-Ku *dug-ga* 'good,  
 excellent'.

12. *ib-ba*, I render, 'lower' as *ib-ta* = *šapliš*, IV. 21, 13b.  
 13. *ag-gad* (RAM-ŠU) 'love'; cf. 14: *ag* (RAM) *ta*.  
 14—15. *im* = *bêlûtu*, IV. 21, 27b.  
 16—17. *šub* (RU) = *maqâtu*, Br. 1432; *nadû*, Br. 1434. *la*  
 (LAL) = *lalû* 'fulness', Br. 984. In 16, *gaz* = *dâku* 'slay',  
 MSL. 130.

Note that *-ta-su* (KU), the double postposition, is not un-

common in contracts; cf. William M. Nesbit, *Tablets from Drehem* (Thesis, Columbia University), Tablet 12 obv. 2: *mu é-a-ni-ta-su* (KU) 'for the name of (for) his house'.

#### Reverse—

2. This evidently refers to the abased condition of Tammuz whose horns are brought low. The same strain of lament probably runs through Rev. 3—5.
3. *e-ci* = *cênu* 'sheep', M. 4166.
4. *túr* = *tarbacu* (*passim*).
5. *alim* = the enclosed *xal-a-lim* (ŠI).
- 6—7. Evidently the conjuration: *ina axâti lizziz* 'on one side may the curse stand' = sum. *bar-ku xe-im-ta-gub* (DU); *passim*.

*The name of the Erythraean Sea.*—By WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The origin of geographical names is often beyond explanation: they arise by accident, pass from mouth to mouth and from age to age, taking on new meanings and new locations, until they become mere arbitrary words, and imagination must come in to explain them. So it is with the name of the Erythraean Sea. And while no man may surely say, here arose that word, yet as Sir Thomas Browne observed, "what song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, although puzzling questions, are not beyond *all* conjecture".

A recent paper in the J. A. O. S. (April, 1912) by Miss Sarah F. Hoyt of Johns Hopkins, has embodied much interesting information concerning this ancient name, and explains its origin, with the approval of no less an authority than our much-respected fellow-member Professor Haupt, as derived from the microscopic algae *Trichodesmium erythraeum* occasionally found in quantity on the surface of the Red Sea, to which they impart a reddish or yellowish tinge; the decomposition of which may have caused the first Egyptian plague (Exod. 7, 17--21).

Now it is true that from Roman times onward *Mare Rubrum*, Red Sea, meant the long gulf that separates Egypt from Arabia; and it is equally true that under certain conditions of wind and climate a reddish vegetable scum forms on its almost stagnant waters, from which the name "Red" might have been suggested. But this explanation impresses me as a little too simple, too obvious. The presence of algae in sufficient quantity to color the surface over a large area would be an exceptional occurrence, not likely to lend a name to the sea. This suggestion was made by Lobo more than a

century ago; he preferring, however, to derive the name from a dye, "sufu", which he said was produced by the *suph* or bulrushes, that gave the Hebrew name to these waters. That too seems improbable because the dye, if so produced, was not of commercial importance sufficient to characterize that sea. Another suggestion connected the name with Edom, meaning red, and would have made Erythraean a mere translation of Idumean.

The name Erythraean is Greek: *Θάλασσα ἐρυθρά*, or *ἐρυθραία*. It is not derived from any Semitic or Egyptian name, and it was not applied to the body of water which we know as the Red Sea. The Greeks knew that as the "Arabian Gulf", the natural Egyptian name. Consequently any explanation derived from the peoples of that region must be arbitrary and without foundation.

The early Greek literature conceived the habitable earth as a circular plane surrounded by the Ocean Stream. Little by little as the mental horizon of the Greeks was pushed outward it was seen that this scheme must be modified, and that the surrounding ocean here and there penetrated into the solid earth. Such irregularities were noted in the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea, supposed to communicate with the ocean stream; such also was our Red Sea, known to the Greeks as the Arabian Gulf. Of the navigation of the outer ocean the early Greeks knew very little. Vague stories came to them of Phoenician and Carthaginian trading beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and of a circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician ships in the service of Egypt. Of the eastern ocean they had no knowledge until they were brought into contact with the great empire of the Persians, which had overthrown that of the Chaldaeans, and under both of which there had been sea-trading since time immemorial between the Euphrates and Western India. That was the sea-route which they meant by the word Erythraean, which came to them from Persia. It is through that connection that its origin and meaning must be sought.

*Ἐρυθρός* in Greek means red, *ἐρυθραίνω* to dye red, and *ἐρυθθαίνω* to blush; there is a Greek personal name *Ἐρυθρᾶς* that has some connection with these meanings, and a Greek city *Ἐρυθραί* in Boeotia, whose oracles made the name familiar on Greek lips, as one readily to be extended to some new-

found region. Possibly all these facts may have had their share in the application of Erythraean to the waters between Babylonia and India, and later by a reasonable extension to the whole Indian Ocean and all the gulfs that communicate with it.

Hecataeus, the first of the Greek geographers, knows nothing of an Erythraean Sea. The first writers that give us the name are Herodotus, as quoted below, and Pindar (*P.* 4, 448), the latter in one passage only. From Herodotus, however, we have sufficient information clearly to explain the meaning of the name as current in his time, which referred to Persian and not Egyptian waters. He speaks, (1, 180) of the Euphrates flowing from Armenia through Babylon and falling into the Erythraean Sea. Again (4, 37) he says:

"The Persian settlements extend to the southern sea, called the Erythraean; above them to the north are the Medes; above the Medes, the Saspire; and above the Saspire, the Colchians who reach to the northern sea, into which the river Phasis discharges itself. These four nations occupy the space from sea to sea . . .

"Another tract beginning at Persia, reaches to the Erythraean Sea; it comprises Persia, and after that Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; it terminates (terminating only by custom) at the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius carried a canal from the Nile . . .

"Beyond the Persians, Medes, Saspire, and Colchians, toward the east and rising sun, extends the Erythraean Sea, and on the north the Caspian Sea and the river Araxes, which flows toward the rising sun. Asia is inhabited as far as India; but beyond this it is all desert toward the east, nor is any one able to describe what it is. Such and so great is Asia."<sup>1</sup>

The first Greek record of navigation in the Erythraean Sea is likewise found in Herodotus (4, 4):

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could

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<sup>1</sup> Quotations are from Cary's translation.



rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspapyrus and the country of Pactyice<sup>1</sup> sailed down the river toward the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward they arrived in the thirtieth month (τρηκοστῇ μηνί) at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail around Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea. Thus the other parts of Asia, except toward the rising sun, are found to exhibit things similar to Libya".

The truth of this story in Herodotus has been seriously questioned in voluminous arguments which are now so much waste paper, as we have written records of Hindu trade with Babylon, which they called Baveru,<sup>2</sup> more than a century before that time, and we have the discovery of teak logs in buildings at the ancient Ur reconstructed by Nabonidus. These logs came from western India, from the Cambay region; and in the *Periplus* of the first century, we have a written record of the same trade still existing.

That the Persian Gulf was almost an inland lake was not fully understood by Herodotus, and it is clear that by the name Erythraean he meant the surrounding ocean to the south and east of the Eurasian continent. The eastern extension of that continent was quite unknown to him, as he supposed Europe to be larger than Asia, and imagined western India to be the eastern boundary of Asia. That Erythraean

<sup>1</sup> Caspapyrus, Sanscrit Kasyapapura. This was the Indus valley in the neighborhood of the confluence of the Kabul river, more or less the Peshāwar district. Hecataeus mentions this place as a city of the Gandharians. Pactyice, or the Pactyan land, was the upper course of the Kabul valley; or more generally the territory in which Pukhtu was spoken—southeastern Afghanistan. See Lassen, 1, 142—2, 631. Vincent Smith, *Early History*, 2nd edition p. 35; Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 42, 189.

<sup>2</sup> See Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* p. 104. *Jātakas* 3, 126—189. As to the reconstruction of Ur by Nabonidus see Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires* pp. 626—7. Inscriptions of Nabonidus are quoted in Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* 157—171. As to the teak trade from India see Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* pp. 36, 152, 201. See also Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, p. 74.

to his mind meant the southern and eastern surrounding ocean is clearly shown in 1, 203:

"The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no communication with any other sea; for the whole of that which the Grecians navigate, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, and the Erythraean Sea are all one."

And that the name Erythraean in the mind of Herodotus did not specifically refer to the body of water we now call Red Sea is clearly shown by the following (2, 10):

"There is also in the Arabian territory, not far from Egypt, branching from the Erythraean Sea, a bay of the sea, of the length and width I shall here describe. The length of the voyage, beginning from the innermost part of this bay to the broad sea, occupied forty days for a vessel with oars; and the width where the bay is widest, half a day's passage, and in it an ebb and flow takes place daily; and I am of opinion that Egypt was formerly a similar bay, this stretching from the Northern Sea toward Ethiopia; and the Arabian Bay, which I am describing, from the south toward Syria; and that they almost perforated their recesses so as to meet each other, overlapping to some small extent. Now, if the Nile were to turn its stream into the Arabian Gulf, what would hinder it from being filled with soil by the river within twenty thousand years? For my part I think it would be filled within ten thousand."

The same topography is followed by Strabo (16, 3. 1) where he says, describing Arabia, "The northern side of this tract is formed by the desert, the eastern by the Persian Gulf, the western by the Arabian Gulf, and the southern by the Great Sea lying outside of both gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea".

This is confirmed by Arrian in his *Indika* (19), E. J. Chinock's translation (Bohn Ed.), in the following passage:

"This narrative is a description of the voyage which Nearchus made with the fleet starting from the outlet to the Indus through the Great Sea as far as the Persian Gulf, which some call the Erythraean Sea." Again (40):

"The land of Persia has been divided into three parts in regard to climate. The part of it situated near the Erythraean Sea is sandy and barren, on account of the heat; the part from this toward the north enjoys a more temperate climate, the country is grassy and the meadows moist...

Still further to the north the country is wintry and snowy." Again (43):

"The country on the right of the Erythraean Sea beyond Babylonia is Arabia, most of it; part of this extends as far as the sea of Phoenicia and Palestine-Syria; but toward the west in the direction of the inner sea, the Egyptians border on Arabia. . . .

„Alexander despatched men from Babylon to sail as far as possible on the right of the Erythraean Sea, and to discover the places there."

The first attempt to assemble and discriminate between the various explanations of the name Erythraean (*Ἐρυθρὰ* or *Ἐρυθραία*) is found in the book of Agatharchides on the Erythraean Sea, which may be dated about 120 B. C. Agatharchides was certainly in a position to know his subject; occupying a prominent official position in Egypt under the Ptolemies, he was fully acquainted with the southern incense trade and gives us the first detailed account of the power and wealth of the kingdoms of South Arabia, and of the way in which that rich trade was monopolized. His criticisms are therefore worthy of consideration. He says, first, that the name is derived by some from the color of the sea, arising from reflection of the sun which is vertical, or from the mountains which are red from being scorched with intense heat. This suggestion he dismisses as quite inadequate. The tremendous heat on the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf is noted by many writers. Arrian in his account of the voyage of Alexander's captain Nearchus speaks of the possibility of sailing from Babylon around Arabia to Egypt, but says, quite incorrectly, "No man has ever made this voyage on account of the heat and desolateness of the country. During the day one cannot keep cut under the open sky because of the heat."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Centuries later, the Persian traveler 'Abd-ar-Razzāk writes of the climate of Oman (Hakluyt Society's publications, vol. 22 p. 9):

"Although it was at that time spring, in the season in which the nights and days are of equal length, the heat of the sun was so intense that it burned the ruby in the wine and the marrow in the bones, the sword in its scabbard melted like wax, and the gems which adorned the handle of the khandjar were reduced to coal.

Thus while Agatharchides admits that we might explain the name Erythraean, red, from the fact that the sea is, as it were, red hot, we should still be away from the truth.

Another explanation, which Strabo (6, 4 20) quotes from Ctesias of Cnidus through Artemidorus, ascribes the name to a spring which discharges into the sea a red and ochrous water. This is certainly an inadequate explanation, and, as Agatharchides observes, a false one, "for the sea is not red". Yet this was the explanation adopted by Strabo and thence by the Roman geographers, and more recently by Professor Haupt. But Agatharchides is quite right in saying that mere color of the water is no guide to the name. The mediaeval Chinese writer Chau-Ju-Kua calls this same body of water the "Green Sea".<sup>1</sup>

Agatharchides then offers his final explanation (§ 5) in a story which he quotes from a Persian named Boxus whom he had met in Athens, and this story, the full importance of which has not been understood, I venture to translate entire.

"The Persian account is after this manner. There was a man famous for his valor and wealth, by name Erythras, a Persian by birth, son of Myozaeus. His home was by the sea, facing towards islands which are not now desert, but were so at the time of the empire of the Medes, where Erythras lived. In the winter time he used to go to Pasargadae,

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"Soon as the sun shone forth from the height of heaven,  
The heart of stone grew hot beneath its orb:  
The horizon was so much scorched up by its rays,  
That the heart of stone became soft like wax:  
The bodies of the fishes, at the bottom of the fish-ponds,  
Burned like the silk which is exposed to the fire;  
Both the water and the air gave out so burning a heat,  
That the fish went away to seek refuge in the fire;  
In the plains the chase became a matter of perfect ease,  
For the desert was filled with roasted gazelles.

"The extreme heat of the atmosphere gave one the idea of the fire of hell."

<sup>1</sup> Chau-Ju-Kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*: Translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill: St. Petersburg, 1911.

(See map at end: also page 12. The name Green Sea is of Arabic origin, carried into Chinese records. Kia Tan speaks of Malabar as the "eastern shore of the Green Sea".)

making the journey at his own cost; and he indulged in these changes of scene now for profit and now for some pleasure of his own life. On a time the lions charged into a large flock of his mares and some were slain; while the rest, unharmed and terror-stricken at what they had seen, fled to the sea. A strong wind was blowing from the land, and as they plunged into the waves in their terror, they were carried beyond their footing; and their fear continuing, they swam through the sea and came out on the shore of the island opposite. With them went one of the herdsmen, a youth of marked bravery, who thus reached the shore by clinging to the shoulders of a mare. Now Erythras looked for his mares, and not seeing them, first put together a raft of small size, but secure in the strength of its building; and happening on a favourable wind, he pushed off into the strait, across which he was swiftly carried by the waves, and so found his mares and found their keeper also. And then, being pleased with the island, he built a stronghold at a place well chosen by the shore, and brought thither from the mainland opposite such as were dissatisfied with their life there, and subsequently settled all the other uninhabited islands with a numerous population; and such was the glory ascribed to him by the popular voice because of these his deeds, that even down to our own time they have called that sea, infinite in extent, Erythraean. And so for the reason here set forth, it is to be well distinguished (for to say Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλαττα, Sea of Erythras, is a very different thing from Θάλαττα ἐρυθρὰ, Red Sea); for the one commemorates the most illustrious man of that sea, while the other refers to the color of the water. Now the one explanation of the name, as due to the color, is false (for the sea is not red), but the other, ascribing it to the man who ruled there, is the true one, as the Persian story testifies.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The origin of these names, Erythras and Myozaeus, is a matter of conjecture. One suspects a loan to the Persians from some earlier race. Myozaeus dimly suggests Māhya, the moon (perhaps Māhāzād, “known to the Moon” (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*); while Erythras might represent Arezwā or Arezrāspa, two high priests from the north (cf. *Dinkart* V. and IX); or have we here Aresh, the demon of envy, whom Zarathushtra called “most deceitful of demons” (*Dinkart* IX).—some divinity of an earlier race adopted by the Persians as their arch-devil?

Arrian likewise refers to this story (*Indika* 37) in his mention of the island Oaracta-(Kish).<sup>1</sup> "In this island they said that the tomb of the first king of this country was shown. They said that his name was Erythras, from whom this sea is called Erythraean." Of Kish he also says (*Indika* 37): "It produces plenty of vines, palm trees and corn, and is full 800 stadia in length. In this island the sepulchre of the first monarch thereof is said still to remain, and his name was Erythras, and from him the sea was called the Erythraean Sea."

Strabo, in the passage already quoted (16, 3, 1) in describing Arabia bounds it on the east by the Persian Gulf, on the west by the Arabian Gulf, and on the south "by the great sea lying outside both the gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythraean Sea." Strabo likewise, though in one passage (Hamilton & Falconer's translation, Bohn Ed.) he adopts the color theory of the origin of the name, admits the story of Erythras as follows (16, 3. 1.):

"Nearchus and Orthagoras relate that an island Ogyris lies to the south, in the open sea, at the distance of 2000 stadia from Carmania. In this island is shown the sepulchre of Erythras, a large mound planted with wild palms. He was king of the country, and the sea received its name from him. It is said that Mithropastes, the son of Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, pointed out these things to them. Mithropastes was banished by Darius, and resides in the island; he joined himself to those who had come down to the Persian Gulf and hoped through their means to have an opportunity of returning to his own country . . . .

"Nearchus says that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes, who was governor of one of the islands, called Oaracta, in the Persian Gulf; that Mithropastes after his retreat from Ogyris, took refuge there, and was hospitably received; and that he had an interview with Mazenes, for the purpose of being recommended to the Macedonians, in the fleet of which Mazenes was the guide."

In this Persian story of Erythras may be found remnants of very early legend. We are introduced to a settlement in southern Persia on the lowlands bordering the gulf. Their

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<sup>1</sup> Vorochtha-Vroct-Kismis-Kish.

chief went regularly to the Persian capital "at his own expense," presumably to offer tribute. During his absence, shall we say because the tribute was insufficient, a lion attacked and scattered his mares, driving them across to uninhabited islands accessible from the shore. The highland of Persia is still the "land of the lion and the sun". The lion is particularly a symbol of Persia; and have we not here the kernel of a story of attack by Persian forces upon a coast people of another race who were forced across to the islands of Ormus and Kish, and thence probably to the coast of Oman and southern Arabia? The opposition of the lion to the mare is the aggression of powerful Persia against helpless Arabia. The story is placed by Agatharchides under the empire of the Medes. I believe, however, that it may be given a much earlier origin, and that we may possibly have here an echo of the ancient conflict between the highland and the plain which characterizes the history of early Chaldaea.

The tomb of king Erythras, of which Arrian speaks, which was evidently a type of structure mentioned by modern travelers as still found in that region, seems to apply to a pre-Semitic race settled in the Persian Gulf and carrying on sea trade there. The remnants of that commercial system which Goetz, (*Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels* p. 38), has aptly entitled "Turanian-Hamitic", may be traced through Makran and Baluchistan to Dravidian India on the one hand, and through Oman and southern Arabia, the ancient Ḥabash to modern Abyssinia on the other. There is some significance in the mediaeval Arabic name for this sea (e. g. Mas'ūdī), "Sea of Ḥabash". Had we the evidence, I believe we might find the name Erythraean to have sprung originally from some name of that race, possibly even a semi-totemic color handed down through the legends of the adjacent highlands, first Elamitic and later Persian.

Other meanings suggest themselves from the Persian connection. Firstly, of course Erythraean means oriental, eastern, pure and simple. As Herodotus observes, it is the sea "that looks toward the rising sun", from Persia; the eastern and southern segments of the encircling ocean as distinguished from the western and northern, to which he gives the name Atlantic; and so, poetically, we may call it the sea of the blushing morn—the sea of the rising sun. Especially in this

combination of the sun, and the color red or golden red, in accord with Persian beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

How beautifully Tennyson in the hymn at the end of his "Akbar's Dream" has given expression to this ancient Persian ritual:

"Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see  
thee rise,  
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts  
and eyes.

Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down be-  
fore thee,  
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless in thine ever-chang-  
ing skies.

"Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to  
clime,  
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their wood-  
land rhyme.

Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dome  
of azure,  
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures  
Time!"

While there are earlier connotations in the name of that ancient so-called king Erythras, the sun and the color red carry us to the very core of the Zarathushtrian faith.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With the earlier practices of sun-worship, Semitic or pre-Semitic, we need not concern ourselves. There are relics of this worship still on the island of Haftalu, the Astola of the Greeks, off the shore of Makran, that magic island of the Arab voyagers which magnetically attracted nearby ships to their destruction so that the use of iron in shipbuilding was made impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Darmesteter in his work on the Zend Avesta (vol. 3, p. lxxvi. note); and while he finally accepts Burnouf's interpretations of "man with gold colored (tawny, or red) camels", the color still remains.

Zarathushtra was said to have been born of the mingling of his guardian spirit with a ray of heavenly glory during a sacrifice, and the sun worship was centered in Mithra, one of the great spirits of the Mazdean faith—"who first of the celestial Yazatas soared above Mount Hara before the immortal sun with his swift steeds, who first in golden splendor passes over the beautiful mountains and casts his glance benign on the dwellings of the Aryans".



The great Persian king Cyrus was by name "the sun of the morning". King Erythras himself, "the king of the rosy morn", we might also connect with Cyrus, save that his tomb was then too recent for its location to have been moved by legend from the mountains to the island of Kish.

Yet I believe that the story of Erythras ante-dates the Persian faith or the very existence of Persians on that coast.

So much, then, for Erythraean as the Sea of the East, the rising sun and the blushing morn.

Another meaning I think the name includes, derived from the purple-fisheries which were among its earliest commercial assets. *Ἐρυθραῖω* is to dye red, and the treasured dye of that hue running from bright red to dark purple, according to method of treatment, was a product of the shell-fish *murex*; later cultivated on the Phoenician coast of Syria, but in earlier ages probably in the shallow, almost tideless, waters of the Persian Gulf. We have the word in Homer, not then as referring to a commercial dye, but as a shade varying from light red to dark purple and including the idea of brightness—glittering—gleaming. It is this impression of "gleaming darkly" that is connected with the very root of the word *πορφύρεος*. Aristotle (*Color.* 2, 4; also *Probl.* 38, 2) describes the color as the "reflected gleam on the shadow side of a wave", and it was that meaning which was carried to the shell-fish dye when first brought to Mediterranean lands by the people we call Phoenicians, whose legend connected them in earlier times with the Persian Gulf. Pliny speaks of that double tint as the most treasured of the shades of the purple (9, 60—63, Bohn translation):

"To produce the Tyrian hue the wool is soaked in the juice of the *pelagiae* while the mixture is in an uncooked and raw state; after which its tint is changed by being dipped in the juice of the *buccinum*. It is considered of the best quality when it has the color of clotted blood and is of a blackish hue to the sight, but of a shining appearance when held up

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Hara is Haraberezaiti, or Elburz, "over which the sun rises, around which many a star revolves, where there is neither light nor darkness, no wind of cold or heat, no sickness leading to a thousand kinds of death, nor infection caused by the Daevas, and whose summit is never reached by the clouds" (Yasht 12, 23. Darmesteter iii, 496).

to the light; hence it is that we find Homer speaking of purple blood" (Iliad E 83, P. 360). And he goes on to quote from Cornelius Nepos: "Violet purple was in favor, a pound of which used to sell at 100 denarii; not long after the Tarentine red was all the fashion. This last was succeeded by the Tyrian *dibapha* (double dyed) which could not be bought for even 1000 denarii per pound."

The eastern origin of the Phoenicians is stated by Herodotus (7, 89): "The Phoenicians, as they themselves say, anciently dwelt on the *Erythraean Sea*; and having crossed over from thence, they settled on the sea coast of Syria"; like Abraham the patriarch, they came from the land of Ur of the Chaldees, the center of sun-worship and of eastern trade.

Finally we may quote from Strabo (1, 2. 35) who refers to the belief that the Sidonians were "a colony from the people whom they describe as located on the shores of the (Indian) Ocean, and who, they say, were called Phoenician from the color of the Erythraean Sea."

Was it the natural color of the sea that gave it the name, or was it the legend and faith of the people living around its shores and the artificial color of the dye which they drew from its waters? I believe we may attach to Erythraean that meaning also, "sea of the dark red dye people", and that in that sense it may be synonymous with purple, *πορφύρα*, and Phoenician, *φοινίξ*; the sea on which the Phoenician race, who first brought purple to the Mediterranean lands, had before that time established their cities and industries and maritime commerce.

Whether there was anything more than an accidental connection with the name of the Greek city Erythrae in Boeotia we cannot tell. The likelihood is not great, but it might possibly be urged by some that Dorian Greeks were settled in many parts of that land before the Persian invasions of Greece. Alexander found Greek colonies at the gates of India that claimed a descent prior to the Greek companies exiled to the east by Darius, and at the Christian Era we find an archaic Dorian character appearing in the Greek lettering on the coins of Mesene at the head of the Persian Gulf, and on those of the Kushan kings. While certainly not a cause for the name, this might have given it familiarity in Greek ears.

We need not too sharply distinguish between these various meanings, and possibly the general acceptance of the name was due to the fact of its applicability from so many points of view. Purple Sea would hardly have suggested the sun; Phoenician Sea would have been a confusing name, while Erythraean Sea, as practically a synonymous word embracing all these meanings, made an ideally acceptable name.

In conclusion we may say that looking out of Greece through Persia to the ancient East, we may gather from the name Erythraean several meanings, all of them reasonable. "Sea of the East, the Orient, or the rising sun"; "Sea where the sun was worshipped"; "Sea whence came the people who brought the purple or Erythraean dye", and finally, "Sea of King Erythras" typifying the ancient pre-Semitic Akkadian-Dravidian trade. Certainly with these vistas of the past opened through that name, we cannot rest satisfied with an interpretation that would limit it to a temporary accumulation of vegetable matter localized at a point to which the name was not originally applied.

*The Cock.*—By Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, New York City

In 1888 I read, before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, a paper on Leviticus I., in which I sought to prove, from the animals there mentioned as sacrificial, and particularly from the non-appearance of the cock, that, before the time of the Babylonian captivity "the *torah* of animal sacrifice had completed the creative and reached the legal or unchangeable period." In the preparation of that paper I depended for my facts about the cock on Hehn's *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*.<sup>1</sup> Since that time I have made an independent investigation of the history of that bird with results differing from or supplementing Hehn to such an extent that I have been led to formulate this new material in a second paper, commencing, however, as before, with Hebrew and Biblical use.

The first six chapters of Leviticus constitute a sacrificial code, which evidently, in its present form, is both a compilation and a growth. The final compilation is presumably post-exilic, but I fancy that the code itself represents pretty well the sacrificial practice of the Jerusalem Temple before the captivity, while parts of it go back in essence to a much older period. The rule with regard to sacrifice among the Hebrews was that the sacrificial animal must be both comestible and domesticated. Wild animals might not be sacrificed. Now in actual practice only oxen, sheep and goats were permitted to be eaten by the Hebrews in sacrifice. In the *torah* of the whole burnt sacrifices, however, contained in Chapter I., besides these three animals the dove, in two varieties, יונה and חר, was permitted to be offered. This permission is added like a sort of codicil at the end of Leviticus I. It gives the

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<sup>1</sup> The last, posthumous, 8th edition, by O. Schrader, adds nothing to the material in Hehn's original volume, in spite of the additional monumental material now accessible. A note by Schrader purports to give later Assyrian-Babylonian material, but is quite valueless and sadly misleading.

impression of an afterthought, as though of later origin. For trespass and sin offerings, where the flesh was not to be eaten, provided for in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and for some other offerings, like the purification offering (Chap. 12), a similar provision was made. The use in sacrifice of the three animals mentioned and the two forms of dove can be traced back to the earliest Hebrew writings. Indeed, we may say that the sacrifice of oxen, sheep and goats long antedates Hebrew origins, and that the sacrifice of the dove was practised by the Hebrews certainly as early as 900 B. C.<sup>1</sup> The domestication of oxen, sheep and goats extends into a hoary antiquity, antedating both the Babylonian and the Egyptian civilizations. The dove also was domesticated at a very early period in Babylonia, in Syria, and in general, apparently, over the whole of hither Asia. It is noticeable that our own barnyard fowl, which is today found practically everywhere throughout the world, in cold countries and hot, as a part even of the household equipment of wandering Bedawin Arabs, does not appear in the sacrificial codes.

Outside of the dove, there is no mention of domesticated fowl in the Old Testament, with three possible exceptions. One of these is 1 Kings 5: 3, the account of the provision for Solomon's table. This was to be supplied with ten oxen, fatted, gazelles, roebucks, and ברברים אבוסים, rendered in the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Yahawist, Gen. 15: 9f. In the Marseilles sacrificial tariff and in the similar tariff found at Carthage by Nathan Davis in 1858, commonly known as the Davis Phoenician Inscription, we have the same quadrupeds mentioned for sacrifice as in the Levitical sacrificial list, namely, the ox, goat and sheep. We also have two birds mentioned, connected together as one whole, as in the Levitical code. The words used for these birds, צִי, אֲנָן, are elsewhere unknown. The close resemblance of the code, as a whole, to the Hebrew suggests that the birds here used are the same as those in the Hebrew code. Ball (*Light from the East*) calls attention to the fact that in the Samaritan Targum the word צִי appears to mean "young pigeon", being the translation of נוֹל of Genesis 15: 9. Of course if צִי be pigeon, then it follows of itself that אֲנָן is dove. These two tablets, while themselves not very old (somewhere, probably, between 300 and 500 B. C.), give us, presumably, the old Phoenician custom of sacrifice. If the translation suggested above be correct, then the old Phoenician code was practically identical with the Hebrew; and the natural conclusion would be that the Hebrew code was borrowed from a pre-Hebraic Canaanite source, considerably antedating, therefore, 900 B. C.

English version "fatted fowl," following the Septuagint and Vulgate. The Briggs-Brown-Driver Gesenius suggests that these were geese. This would seem, on the whole, the most plausible conjecture, and, if correct, the passage would indicate that the Hebrews, at or after Solomon's period, did have access to one variety at least of domestic fowl, whether they raised them themselves or obtained them from others. It would appear, however, that these fowl were certainly not common. They did not constitute an ordinary article of food. They are mentioned nowhere else. Even if known within the creative period of the sacrificial *torah*, they never came to play such a part as articles of food as to lead to their adoption into the sacrificial code, either for general or for special sacrifices.

The goose and the duck were elsewhere domesticated at a very early date. We find evidence of this in ancient Egyptian and Babylonian monuments; and Greek and Roman literature and tradition represent the goose as early domesticated there also. Palestine was a land naturally ill adapted for the domestication of either geese or ducks, and while such domestication was possible on the low lands, in the regions regularly occupied by either Judah or Israel there was very little chance for such domestication and little temptation to it. It is natural, therefore, that we should not find any mention of geese or ducks in the Old Testament, in or out of the sacrificial code, with the possible exception of the passage alluded to; which would seem to show that they were known only as a luxury, procurable by one in Solomon's position, but not by the ordinary man.

The second exception is the peacock (תכיים), mentioned in 1 Kings 10: 22, and 2 Chron. 9: 21, as imported by Solomon. As the name was imported with the bird, there is in this case no doubt as to its identification or its origin;<sup>1</sup> which only shows, however, that at the time this passage was written, and traditionally since Solomon's time, the peacock was known to the Jews as a wonder bird, fit possession of great kings, and that it came originally from India, reaching the Mediterranean lands by way of the Red Sea.

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<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew and the Greek, like the Sanskrit, borrowed the name of the bird from the Tamul *togei*.

The third possible exception is the cock, our domestic barnyard fowl, which, it is claimed, is mentioned under three different names in three different passages: Is. 22: 17, Job 38: 36, and Prov. 30: 31. In the first case the word used is נָבֵר, the common Hebrew word for *male*, then *man*, then *person* or *each*. Jerome was advised by his Hebrew instructor, apparently, that the word in this passage, and nowhere else in the Old Testament, meant *cock*, and he so translated it. *Dominus asportari te faciet, sicut asportatur gallus gallinaceus*. The word did in fact come to have this meaning in post-biblical Hebrew.<sup>1</sup> The method of translation of sense seems to be indicated by the use of נָבֵר as a euphemism for *membrum virile*. It was the salacity of the cock which led to his designation as נָבֵר, *male*. The passage under consideration, as it stands in the Hebrew, is difficult. The LXX translators botched it badly. Their rendering, however, makes it plain that נָבֵר did not mean cock in their day, but only man. After it had come to mean cock, by the transition noted above, it was natural to read that meaning into this passage as a promising way of gaining an immediate sense. This seems to be what was done by later Jewish scholars, and by Jerome following them. His translation, however, ruins the passage as a whole, and today all commentators agree that נָבֵר does not either here or elsewhere mean cock.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> נָבֵר appears as the name of the cock in the language of Mishnah as early as about 60 A. D. (Yoma I. 8). Eusebius in his commentary on Isaiah mentions the Rabbinical interpretation of נָבֵר in Is. 22: 17 as cock.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty in this passage has, I think, been caused by a play on the words קָבֵר and נָבֵר. In v. 16 Isaiah had reproached Shebna with his ostentatious pomp in cutting himself a tomb, קָבֵר, in the rock. In v. 17 he predicts his violent removal into captivity in Mesopotamia. "Behold, Yahaweh casteth thee out with a casting, (נָבֵר) man". The word *man* (נָבֵר) is used because it sounds, in common pronunciation, almost exactly like the word for tomb (קָבֵר). This diverts Isaiah for a moment from the direct line of his annunciation of Shebna's captivity into burial figures: "Wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding." The resemblance in letters of צָנָף and סָדָף made the puzzled Greek translators translate τὸν στέφανόν σου τὸν ἐνδοξον—"thy glorious crown," which Jerome has still further twisted into *coronans coronabit te tribulatione* (evidently neither LXX nor Jerome could make much out of the passage). Then he takes up again his annunciation of Shebna's coming captivity and proceeds: "Like a ball into a land broad

In the next passage, Job 38: 36, the word rendered cock is not נָכָר but שָׁכִי. According to R. Hash. in "the district of K. N." the cock was called שָׁכִי (*sekhvi*). Y. Ber. says that in Rome also it was so called; and Lev. R. that in Arabia the hen was called *sikhvaya* (שָׁכִיָּא).<sup>1</sup> In classical Hebrew this word is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, occurring only in this passage. The LXX has translated the verse: τίς δὲ ἔδωκεν γυναικὶ ὑφάσματος σοφίαν καὶ ποικιλικτὴν ἐπιστήμην, "Who gave woman wisdom of web and embroidery experience?" It is impossible to connect this with the Hebrew text, and its lack of relation to the context evinces its error. Jerome apparently learned from his *Hebraeus* the late Jewish tradition regarding שָׁכִי and translated accordingly: "Quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam vel quis dedit gallo intelligentiam", which makes good enough sense in itself, but has no relation whatever to the context (The same treatment of the Bible as texts without context which we saw in Is. 22: 17). This is part of a long passage, put in the mouth of Yahaweh, telling of His wonderful creation of the earth and the sea (1-11), the morning, the deep and the light (12-21), the snow, wind, lightning and rain (22-30), the stars and sky (31-33), the clouds (34-38); then the beasts, lions (39-4), wild goats (39: 1-4), ass (5-8) &c. Our verse falls in the creation of the clouds:

"Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds,  
That abundance of waters may cover thee?  
Canst thou send forth lightnings, that they may go,  
And say unto thee, Here are we?  
Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts?  
Or who hath given understanding to the שָׁכִי?  
Who can number the clouds by wisdom,  
Or who can pour out the waters of heaven;  
When the dust runneth into a mass,  
And the clouds cleave fast together?"

Evidently there is no mention of the cock in this passage.

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on both hands, &c." Perhaps the idea of the passage might be rendered thus: "Behold, Yahaweh casteth thee out with a casting, man ([נָכָר *man*, playing on קָבַר tomb], wrapping thee with a wrapping, winding he windeth thee with a winding), like a ball into a land broad on both hands; and there are the chariots of thy glory, shame of thy lord's house".

<sup>1</sup> Always in some other region; never in Palestine.



The context shows that the שְׁכִי must mean something in the inner side of the clouds. The Peshitto and the Targum to this passage both support this by their very misunderstanding of the passage, the מַחֵת and שְׁכִי being supposed to be, not the secret parts and hidden things within the clouds, but the reins and heart of man. A comment upon this verse in the Targum<sup>1</sup> shows, however, that at a fairly early post-biblical period it was connected with the cock, and there is no doubt that the word שְׁכִי in Neo-Hebrew does actually mean cock; but the context shows that, whatever its later meaning, in this passage (if indeed the text be correct) the word cannot have had that meaning.

There remains the passage, Prov. 30: 31, where the word rendered cock is זִרְיִר. This occurs in one of the number riddles, in threes and fours. "There are three which march well, and four which walk well": (1) the lion; (2) זִרְיִר; (3) the he-goat; and (4) the king. Beginning with (2) the Hebrew text is manifestly corrupt, and quite incapable of translation. It contains impossible words; and it is also defective, lacking the descriptive phrases which should accompany the names. The Greek, the Peshitto and the Aramaic Targum agree in giving a fuller and an intelligible text. Using in general that text, the answer to the riddle is as follows: (1) "The young lion, mightiest of beasts, which retreateth before none; (2) The cock, which gallantly treadeth the hens; (3) The he-goat, leader of the flock; (4) And the king, boasting himself over the people."

Jerome evidently had the same corrupt text which we have, but in his time the tradition still lingered that the second member was the cock. Accordingly he translates זִרְיִר מַתְנִים as *gallus succinctus lumbos*. Modern scholars have in general followed his rendering, omitting the *gallus*; and, as the creature most girded up in the loins is the greyhound, זִרְיִר מַתְנִים has been commonly translated *greyhound*. Now in reality the Hebrew text confirms the Greek and Syriac versions both here and in (4). The impossible אֱלִקִים of the Hebrew con-

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<sup>1</sup> Lagarde, *Hagiographa chaldaice*. The earliest Talmudic testimony to the interpretation of *sekwi* as cock is a blessing in Berachoth, 60 f. Possibly it was the meteorological function of the cock, as announcing the day, there referred to, which led to the interpretation of *sekwi* as cock. More probably a false etymology, suggested by the Persian name, Parodarsh, *foreseer*, by which שְׁכִי was derived from סָכָה to *see*, *foresee*.

tains the קים of the Targum and Peshitto, translated by the *δημυγορῶν* of the Greek. Similarly the מתנים of the Hebrew suggests the hithpoel participle מתרנל. The passage seemed to some scribe indecent, and he drew a line through it. All that survived his elision was the names of the creatures and the fragmentary confusion of letters which constitutes our present text. Jerome had before him, as already stated, this emended text, but with the tradition that the second member was the cock.

But while the evidence of the versions, supported by the sense of the passage, requires the translation of זוריר by cock, it must be said that in Neo-Hebrew the word means *starling*, and that the same word has the same meaning in Syriac and Arabic. The word is to an extent onomatopoeic, as are cock and cuckoo. These latter were in fact originally one, applied to both cock and cuckoo, but ultimately differentiated to apply each to one specific bird. Somewhat similarly, I fancy, זוריר, as a word supposed to represent a bird sound, was applied to this half-known bird, the cock, as well as to the starling. Later the loan word, תרנל, was appropriated to the cock, and זוריר became the name of the starling only.

The 30th chapter of Proverbs, in which this passage occurs, is by general consent the latest part of that book, and is ordinarily supposed to have at least a half foreign tone. Toy, in his commentary in the International series, represents the extreme late date theory, placing it in the second century B. C. The reference to the cock in this passage probably involves an earlier date. At the time when this riddle was composed, the cock was known much as the goose and the peacock were known at the time of writing of the passages referring to those birds in Kings. Certain of its peculiar habits were matters of fairly common knowledge, and it was evidently being introduced among the Jews, or was domesticated among some of their neighbors. It was not yet, however, in ordinary use, and was still so much of a rarity that it had not achieved a real, permanent name. I think this riddle must be dated certainly earlier than 200 B. C.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up: While both the words גבר and שכוי appear in neo-Hebrew for cock, it is clear that they do not have that

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, of course, this riddle may have originated among the Jews in Egypt or elsewhere, and been imported into Palestine; which does not, however, affect the question of its date in Palestine.

sense in Biblical Hebrew. How the word *גבר*, *male*, came to be an appellation of the bird is clear; why *שכוי* was so translated is not equally clear. The cock began to become known to the Jews in Palestine as early as the third century, and is mentioned in Proverbs 30: 31, but by a name, *זרזיר*, which we find elsewhere, and in kindred languages, applied to the starling, or sometimes to the raven. The regular Talmudic name for *cock*, which appears also in the Targums, was *תרנגול* or *תרנגול*, a loan word from the Aramaic, of uncertain, plainly not Semitic origin. The linguistic evidence would go to show that the cock was domesticated in Palestine some time between the close of the Canon and the commencement of the Mishnic period.

From what source was he borrowed? In the later Apocryphal literature of the Jews the cock plays a part which is evidently borrowed from the Persians. So in the Greek Baruch Apocalypse, in the description of the third heaven (6, 7), the rustling of the wings of the Phenix, the forerunner of the sun, wakes the cocks, who then by their crowing proclaim the coming of the dawn. Similarly in Persian Sraosha, the heavenly watcher, awaked by Atar, the fire, in his turn awakes the cock. With this may be compared further the Slavonic Enoch (xvi. 1), according to which, when the angels get the sun ready for his daily journey, the cocks crow.

Both the New Testament and the Talmud mention the cock. He was clearly a familiar creature in Palestine at that period. The former gives us the picture of a use and knowledge of the bird similar to our own. His crow, ushering in the dawn, was a sound so familiar to all that cock-crow had come to be a designation of time (cf. Mark 13: 35). About 70 A. D. the Talmud (Gittin 57 a) mentions a custom prevailing in Palestine of having a cock and hen present at the wedding ceremony. Evidently they were fertility emblems, appropriate to a wedding for somewhat the same reason which led to the exclusion of the cock from the text of Prov. 30: 31.

Beside his function as a marriage bird, in Talmudic use the cock was also apotropaic. It is perhaps this characteristic which led to the blessing enjoined to be pronounced when the cock is heard to crow: (Berakhoth 60b):<sup>1</sup> "Praised be thou,

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<sup>1</sup> Already referred to on p. 368 of this paper, note. The passage suggests Persian influence.

O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night."

On the other hand we find evidences that the cock was not domesticated in Palestine without opposition. So Baba Kam. 82b notes that the breeding of cocks was forbidden while the temple was in existence, because they scratch the ground and pick up and disseminate objects levitically unclean.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere the sale of white fowls is forbidden, apparently because they were used for sacrifice by the heathen.

Today the cock is used sacrificially among the Jews, both Sephardim and Ashkenazim, in connection with Yom Kippur, as an atonement<sup>2</sup> offering (*Kapparah*)—a cock by the man, a hen by the woman—being swung three times around the head of the offerer, with the right hand upon the head of the victim, somewhat as in the sin and atonement offerings ordered in the Old Testament. The creature is killed, but is not burned; as seems to have been the rule with doves, when used as offerings, according to the old temple ritual. Its flesh may be given to the poor to eat or it may be eaten by those sacrificing, the money value being given to the poor. This sacrifice is mentioned for the first time by Natronai Gaon, head of the Academy of Sura in Babylonia, in 853 A. D., who describes it as a custom of the Babylonian Jews. It is also mentioned as a custom of the Persian Jews at an early date. The cock also has been, or is now used among Jews in various places for special sacrificial purposes of the purification or sin type (*Kapparah*),<sup>3</sup> also for apotropaic sacrificial purposes.<sup>4</sup>

The Jew has evidently felt the same influence toward using the cock in sacrifice which all other peoples and religions have experienced; and so strong has that influence been that, in

<sup>1</sup> Jewish Enc., art. cock.

<sup>2</sup> Among Sephardic Jews, at least, always white.

<sup>3</sup> So when a man is sick, a cock is killed. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion* (p. 203), notes the same use in a Mohammedan village. Apparently there, and among the Nusairieh also, a *Kapparah* sacrifice of the sort described above was in use, a sheep being used by the wealthy, a cock by the common folk.

<sup>4</sup> For the woman enciente two hens and one cock are offered. For references and verification in Jewish Literature and practice, I am especially indebted to Pres. Adler and Profs. Ginzberg, Gottheil and Jastrow.

spite of the fact that theoretically sacrifice ended with the destruction of the temple, practically, as stated, the cock, not included in the old *torah* of sacrifice, is today the one sacrificial animal of the Jews. Indeed, the cock may be said to be a natural sacrificial animal, its use for these purposes being almost universal. Its omission from the sacrificial codes contained in the Old Testament is due evidently only to the fact that it was quite unknown to the Jews at the time of the crystalization of the sacrificial *torah*.

Whence, when and how did the cock come into Palestine?

The ancestor of our common domestic fowl is the wild Red Junglefowl (*Gallus gallus*),<sup>1</sup> whose habitat extends from Kashmir eastward along the southern slopes of the Himalayas, through Eastern India, Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and some of the East India islands. This wild bird often associates with the domestic fowls in the villages of the natives, and frequently crosses with them. There are three other species of wild Junglefowl, living respectively in central and southern India, Ceylon, and Java, but they had no part in the direct ancestry of our domestic fowl. It is barely possible but improbable that the Buff Cochins-China fowls are descended from some unknown, perhaps extinct wild Junglefowl, but with this possible exception, all varieties of domestic fowl are descended from the wild Red Junglefowl. The semi-tropical and tropical zone which the Red Junglefowl inhabits would seem to indicate that for many thousands of years its range has differed but slightly from its present distribution.

There are a number of reasons, derived from the study of comparative ornithology, which indicate that the original home of the Red Junglefowl, or at least the most anciently inhabited part of its present range, lies to the East and South, in the Burmese-Malayan portion of its present habitat, rather than to the West in the Indian region. Distributional study of other birds, as the Kaleege Pheasants, makes it certain that these originated in Burma and have since migrated westward along an elongated, sub-Himalayan finger, stretching as far as Kashmir. The same holds true of a number of other forms of life both mammalian and avian. There is no doubt that the Red Junglefowl is of tropical or sub-tropical origin. Neither

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<sup>1</sup> *Phasianus gallus* of Linnaeus; *Gallus bankiva* of Temminck; also *Gallus ferrugineus*.

it, nor its domesticated descendants can bear extreme cold; and the elaborately specialized, exposed comb and wattles could have been evolved only in a warm country. The three other species of Junglefowl are all tropical and the affinities of the group among the other pheasants are altogether with south Chinese and Malayan genera.<sup>1</sup>

Newton<sup>2</sup> says: "Several circumstances seem to render it likely that fowls were first domesticated in Burma or the countries adjacent thereto." Those circumstances are, I presume, the facts stated above, and it may be safely assumed that the Burmese region was the original site of domestication of the fowl; but from that region we have neither literature nor monuments to support this conclusion. The two centers of primitive civilization near the fowl's original habitat about which we have early information are China and India.

### China.

In China we find very early traces of the domestication of the cock, such domestication being traceable according to tradition at least as early as 1400 B. C.; but here, even more than in India, it is extremely difficult to determine accurately early dates. There are no monumental records of any sort which carry us back to such a very early period, and the dating of literary records is extremely uncertain. We can really do little more than say that there is abundant evidence of the domestication of the cock in China at a very early period.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. William Beebe, Curator of Ornithology, New York Zoological Park. The line of migration of the domestic fowl, as traced by archaeological and linguistic evidence, also suggests that its original home may have been rather the more easterly and southerly portion of its present habitat, from which it traveled westward up and against the line of Aryan invasion into Kashmir.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds*; see also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article "Fowl".

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor Friedrich Hirth of Columbia for the following note: The present word for the domestic fowl including its male, the cock or rooster, as the head of the family, is *ki* or *kai*, the latter being the Cantonese, as being probably the nearest approach to the ancient sound. This word can be traced with tolerable safety to the times of the Chóu Dynasty (1122—249 B. C. ?). The *Shuo-wón*, a Chinese dictionary, published in 100 A. D., defines the term as meaning "The domestic animal which knows the time"; and since the construction of the character of *ki* with *niao* (bird) as radical excludes quadrupeds,

It would appear that the Chinese were the first to breed the bird for utilitarian economic purposes, producing the Buff Cochon China fowl, a variety so firmly established and exhibiting such unique characteristics as to suggest, as pointed out above, the possibility of a separate species. Elsewhere the bird retains its primitive appearance as the Red Junglefowl, of which our ordinary game cock is perhaps the most nearly typical form, prized for its fighting qualities. Outside of China the breeding for more utilitarian qualities, which has produced our modern varieties, is of very recent date;<sup>1</sup> and those varieties apparently all owe much to crossing with the already well established Chinese breeds.

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and since pigeons, ducks and geese are not in the habit of indicating time, I think we are pretty safe in assuming that the word in those days and probably centuries before had the present meaning of domestic fowl or cock. But these are comparatively recent times. The most ancient source for the occurrence of words throwing light on Chinese culture are the hieroglyphic inscriptions on bells and sacrificial vessels of the Shang Dynasty, placed by that probably fictitious Chinese chronology between the years 1766—1122 B. C. The names of birds are very poorly represented in it and the domestic fowl is not mentioned at all. But this may be purely accidental, since the material now on record probably represents merely a portion of the words then in use, and a very small portion too. You will see that oxen, sheep and other domestic animals, which might have been used for sacrificial purposes, are not mentioned either, although the word for sacrifice itself occurs. I have in vain looked for the word in those most ancient classics, *Chi-king*, *Shu-king* and, *Ch'un-ts'iu*. To make up for this I can refer you to the *Ch'ou-li*, regarding which work see my *Ancient history of China*, page 107 seqq., which may or may not have originated in the eleventh century B. C., and according to which the cock was used as a victim in the sacrifice (cf. "*Le Tcheou-li*", translated by E. Biot, Paris 1851, page 42 of Index: "Ki-jin, officier de coqs; il présente les coqs que l'on sacrifie"). The word *ki* occurs also in that most ancient Chinese Glossary, the *Ir-ya*, which may possibly date from the time of Confucius himself (fifth century B. C.). The cock also appears in the names of certain constellations; the astronomical nomenclature would thus raise a side question, quite apart from the legendary matter which trespasses on historical ground, e. g. the Emperor Huang-ti (twenty-seventh century B. C.) ascending a hill called Ki-t'ou, i. e. Cock's Head (E. Chavannes, *Les Memoires Historiques de Se-ma-Ts'ien*, Vol. I, p. 30, note 3), which, like many other stories of the kind, is clearly a late fabrication, which does not deserve any notice in serious research.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks bred the bird for fighting purposes, continually drawing fresh blood from Media, as we do for horses from Arabia. See Hehn.

### Central Asia.

There are, in Russian Turkestan, numerous remains of an extremely ancient civilization, ruin mounds indicating the existence of a large population inhabiting cities during a long period of time, in the now desert region southward of the Aral Sea. Some of these mounds were explored by Raphael Pumpelly, and large quantities of remains, including bones, collected and examined. The indications were that these ruins were flourishing cities from a period antedating 3000 B. C. to the commencement of our era. Among the bones found there were no chicken bones, evidence to that extent that the cock was not known to that civilization, and that the cock did not originally make his way to the west from China by way of Turkestan. Probably, however, it was from China that the cock passed to the Turks and later was brought westward with them, at a time when it had already long been domesticated in the West. Professor Gottheil calls my attention to the evidence from Nestorian gravestones found in Semirjetshie, near China, that the old Turks had a "cock-year", according to which they counted. The old Turkish name for cock was *tagaku*, Uigur *tagu*, Mongolian *taugak*, Kirgiz *aigyr-tauk*), the root used today from China to Turkey and Hungary.

### India.

From India we have no monumental evidence of early date with regard to the domestication of the cock, for we have indeed no early monuments of any sort. We are compelled, therefore, to trust to literary evidence as far as that goes. In the earliest stratum of Indian literature, belonging to the Indus period of the Aryan invasion, the Rig Veda, there is no mention of the cock. On the other hand he appears in the Atharva and the Yajur Vedas, which belong to the Ganges period of the Aryan occupation, the earliest mention going back to 900 B. C.,<sup>1</sup> or somewhat earlier. From that period onward he is mentioned with increasing frequency both in the pre-Buddhistic and in the Buddhistic literature belonging to

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<sup>1</sup> I have taken this date from the most conservative scholars. A date at least 200 years earlier would seem to accord better with my other evidence about the cock.



this same general region, the Ganges northward and eastward.<sup>1</sup> All these notices, moreover, clearly indicate both a condition of domestication and also the important part which the cock played in the life and thought of the people.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Chas. R. Lanman for the following interesting note, from which I derive the statements contained in the text.

The White Yajur Veda (*Vāja Saneyi-sāmhita*, i, 16) says:

Thou art a cock (*kukkūṭa*) whose tongue is sweet with honey,  
Call to us hither sap and manly vigor.

May we with thee in every fight be victors.

(It is interesting to observe the three characteristics of the cock here mentioned: Crowing, salacity, fighting.)

The first two chapters of this text are the liturgical formulae which accompany the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices. This particular verse is address, not to a cock, but to a sacrificial implement with which the press stones are beaten, and *which is likened to a cock on account of the noise it makes*. (Cf. *Sacred books of the East*, XII. 30 and notes.)

This is the oldest occurrence that I know, except in so far as a replica of this formula is found also (according to Bloomfield's Concordance) in several other closely related texts (*Concordance*, p. 328a, *kukkūṭo'si and kuṭarur asi*). We may date this text at 900 B. C. or earlier.

In the Atharva-Veda, V. 31, 2, we read (Whitney's version, *Harvard Oriental Series*. VII. 279):

What (witchcraft) they have made for thee in a cock (*kṛka-vāku*), or what in a *kurīva*-wearing goat; in a ewe what witchcraft they have made — — — I take that back again (I make it to revert upon its maker).

This is a passage which may be as old as the Yajur Veda passage, or possibly older.

In the Mahābhārata (iii. 228. 33) a cock is the emblem on the chariot banner of Skanda, given by his father, god Agni.

A verse attributed to Chāṇakya (about 320 B. C.; minister to Chandragupta, *Σαρδοκώρρος*) says you may learn four things from a cock:

1. to fight.
2. to get up early.
3. to eat with your family.
4. to protect your spouse when she gets into trouble.

In the Mānavan Laws, *Metrical Code*, Dharma-śāstra (Laws of Manu), dated by Bühler 100 ±, we read:

iii. 239: A Chāṇḍāla, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look at Brahmans while they eat.

(240: If they see a burnt-oblation, the oblation becomes useless — — — Because)

241: A boar makes (the rite) useless by inhaling the smell (of the offerings);

a cock by the wind that he sets in motion by the flapping of his wings; &c.

From this it would appear that the Aryans did not find the bird in the Indus valley, but met him first when they occupied the Ganges valley, about the 10th century B. C. (or 12th, see note), either themselves domesticating him, or more probably finding him already domesticated by the previous inhabitants. This fits in on the one side with the theory of the ornithologists as to the native habitat of the bird; and on the other side with the fact that the cock was not imported by sea by the Phoenicians operating with Solomon. The latter found the peacock in the India which they reached by sea, he being a native of that part of the country, but not the cock, which belonged to another region remote from that coast. In point of fact the cock is entirely lacking in just the region westward which touched India by the water route. He made his way westward by land from Kashmir through Bactria.

### Bactria and Persia.

If the cock moved northward and westward up and against the line of the Aryan invasion, he should have reached Bactria

In XI—156 we read: The atonement for partaking of (the meat of) carnivorous animals, of pigs, of camels, of cocks, of crows, of donkeys, and of human flesh, is a *Tapta-kṛchva* penance.

This last verse against "eating crow" &c. goes back to a *much older* prose-text, the *Dharma-sūtra* of Gāutama (see J. B. E. ii. 284); and the prohibition is found in *Vasiṣṭh's Dharma-sūtra* also (see J. B. E. xiv. 121).

Eating the flesh of the "village cock" is prohibited with that of the goose, Brahman duck, sparrow, crane, woodpecker and parrot in *Manu* (V. 12, J. B. E. XXV. 171: cf. p. 172, verse 19).

In the Buddhist books the cock is mentioned in the early part of one of the very oldest, the first dialog of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (text, vol. I, page 9: see David's transl. p. 19, rendered "fowls"). This book may date from about the time of Buddha, say 475 B. C. or thereabouts.

In the *Questions of Milinda* (about the 1st century of our era) is a whole chapter about the cock (text, p. 366, line 12, to page 368 line 1).

Five (ways) qualities of the cock you should imitate:

1. Monk should retire early for meditation: as the cock retires early to roost.

2. Rises early.

3. Cock is unremittingly busy scratching for food: monk should be unremittingly in pursuit of higher life.

4. Cock is blind by night: monk should be blind to delights and seductions of senses.

5. Cock will not desert his home: monk should never desert his "mindfulness" which is *his* home.

at a very early date. Bactria and the region westward, from the Caspian Sea to Farsistan, was the home of the religion of Zoroaster; and it is to the Zoroastrian sacred literature that we are indebted for such knowledge as we possess of the domestic animals, as of the civilization development in general of that region at that period. The date of Zoroaster is uncertain, but is quite certainly earlier than 600 B. C.<sup>1</sup> There are no monumental remains which go back to this period. The name of the cock does not appear in the very earliest stratum of Zoroastrian religious literature, the Gāthās, but the character of that material is such that one would scarcely expect to find it there in any case. The cock is, however, abundantly represented in what we may call the second stratum of Zoroastrian literature. The earliest mention is presumably in Vendidad, Fargard XVIII. In the early morning the cock lifts up his voice against the mighty after-midnight darkness (Ushah): "Arise, oh men, recite the Ashem Yad-va hisitem that smites down the Daēvas".<sup>2</sup> From this onward he is frequently mentioned, and indeed he played a role of great importance in the Persian religion and literature. Besides his common name, Halka, and his onomatapoetic name Kahrkatās (equivalent to cock-adoodle-doo), he had also a religious name, Parōdarsh, *foreseer* (i. e. of the dawn). Numerous passages in the Vendidad, Būndehishn and later literature set forth his sacred character. He was created by God to fight the demon of idleness. By his crowing he puts to flight the demons. He is the bird of light and hence of righteousness, scattering darkness and repelling the hosts of evil that dwell in darkness. He was also the symbol of the resurrection. Carrying out the idea of the sacred character of the cock, in curious contrast with the utilitarian economic breeding of the Chinese, it was counted an act of piety to possess and to raise domestic fowl;

<sup>1</sup> Jackson gives the year 660 for the birth of Zoroaster. (Cf. *Persia Past and Present*.) Basing their conclusions on the appearance of Mazda in Median proper names in Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon, 715 B. C., Ed. Meyer and others date Zoroaster somewhere from 800 back to 1000 B. C. If the readings of the Assyrian inscriptions are positively assured, admitting no alternative, and if it can be proved that Zoroaster did in fact invent the word Mazda and did not borrow it from already existing use, local or otherwise, an earlier date than 660 would be proved beyond question.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vd. 18. 15, 16=23, 24; also Yasht 22. 41, 42.

but after he began to crow the cock might not be eaten. The part which the cock plays in Persian religion and mythology, and the manner of reference to him in Zoroastrian literature, seem to prove satisfactorily that he antedates that religion, and that he was domesticated in Bactria and westward among the Medes and Persians before the time of the founding or reformation of the Persian religion by Zoroaster. Zoroaster was, it must be remembered, a reformer, protesting against the superstition, the idolatry and the materialism of the religion of his age and people. The Gāthās represent that protest and present the reformed religion in its most primitive and purest form. But, as always has been the case, in its second stage Zoroastrianism had to reckon with the religion it undertook to reform, and above all with the great underlying folk cult of that religion, compromising with its forms and practises and superstitions. That second stage is represented by the Vendīdād and Bundahishn, and precisely such material as the cock cult or reverence in those books may be taken as evidence of the existence and importance of that cult, and hence as evidence of the domestication of the cock, before the time of Zoroaster.<sup>1</sup> More than that we cannot say from Persian sources. From the fact that there is no name for cock common to Indians and Iranians, it is clear that he was not known before the separation of these two Aryan stocks.<sup>2</sup> Comparing, however, what we have learned from Persian and

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<sup>1</sup> For further information about the cock among the Persians, cf. Jackson A. O. S. vol. xiii p. 15. I am also indebted personally to Prof. Jackson for much assistance in this research, and especially for pointing out to me that the cock is evidently pre-Zoroastrian among the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly this statement should be somewhat modified. Prof. Jackson calls my attention to the fact that *Kahrka*, which appears in composition in Avestan *Kahrkatāt*, the popular onomatopoeticon for cock, and in *Kahrkāsa*, the name for the vulture, apparently as "chicken-eater", may be equated with the Sanskrit *krka* (also onomatopoetic) in *krka-vāku*, also a folk name for cock. With these, (following P. Horn, *Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie*, p. 189) he also compares the Pahlavi *Kark*. Kurdish *Kurka*, Ossetish *Kharkh*, hen. The suggestion is that there was an onomatopoetic root name for cock common to Indian and Iranian, which did not, however, by itself become the name of the cock in either Sanskrit or Avestan, altho found in the later Iranian dialects. It should be said that the particular sound contained in this onomatopoeticon belongs to other birds than chickens. So in Aramean *kurkya*, the same sound, means crane.

Indian sources, it would appear that the cock was derived from India and domesticated among the Iranians somewhere probably between the 11th and the 8th centuries.

### Greece and Asia Minor.

Hehn in his *Kulturpflanzen* places the appearance of the cock among the Greeks after contact with the Persians, in the latter half of the 6th century B. C. The cock is first mentioned in Greek literature by Theognis, 525 B. C., and later writers frequently designate him as the Persian bird (occasionally also the Median bird). In fact, however, the cock is abundantly represented on monumental remains a century or even two centuries earlier. Hogarth found him on coins from the earliest stratum of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, circa 700 B. C., and he appears on the very earliest Ionian coins found in Asia Minor, especially in the north, along the Dardanelles, as early as the 7th century.<sup>1</sup> In southern Asia Minor, on the harpy tomb at Xanthus in Lycia, circa 600 B. C., there is a remarkably fine representation of a cock, used as a sacrificial bird, having the characteristic game cock appearance of the Red Junglefowl. In Crete the cock appears on the Melian gems about 700 B. C.<sup>2</sup> On the Greek main land we have numerous representations going back to the 7th century. Of these perhaps the earliest is a relief found in Sparta in 1880, representing the offering of a cock, apparently in connection with ancestor worship. Of almost the same age is a proto-Attic vase, figured in *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1897. A Corinthian Alabastron, with a representation of a cock, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, is dated 650—600 B. C. An oinochoe from the same place, showing an owl between cocks, is dated 600—550; and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Head, *Historia Numorum*. One coin ascribed to Dardanus (p. 544), however, an electrum stater with a cock on one side, seems to belong to Chios. This is "one of a series of primitive types, among which are found bulls, lions, and fantastic winged animals." (Miss Agnes Baldwin).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Evans thought that he had found the cock on one of the early Minoan monuments at Knossos, which would place his appearance in Greece as early as the third millennium (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* xiv. 1894, p. 342, fig. 65a, also *Scripta Minoa*, p. 133, fig. 74a). This is a very rude representation of a bird, lacking all the characteristic features of the cock, resembling representations of unidentifiable birds found on the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

a Chalcidonian amphora, representing a man between two cocks, is assigned to the same date. Indeed, any well equipped museum at the present time contains abundant evidence that the cock was known to the Greeks long before they came in contact with either Persians or Medes. The term Persian bird seems to have been given to the cock by Greek writers, after contact with the Persians, chiefly because of his great importance and his religious use among the Persians, which made him par excellence their bird; partly, perhaps, because of the tradition of his derivation from the East, the land from which the Persians also came.

After the commencement of the Persian era, the representation of the cock on coins, vases and monuments becomes more frequent. Both before and after that time the characteristic of the cock which seems to have appealed most strongly to the Greek imagination was his fighting qualities. To them he was primarily a game cock, and the cock fight is the most familiar and frequent representation on coins of the Greek period from India westward.<sup>1</sup> On this account he was sacred to Ares. That he was also associated with Hermes, presumably for his mantic qualities, is apparent from his representation with the caduceus.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it was thru Persian use that he became sacred to Apollo, as herald of the sun. In that connection also he appears attached to the triskele on Pamphylian and Lycian coins.<sup>3</sup> Further, as a derivation probably from his relation to the sun, reasoning from awakening to health, he was sacrificed to Asclepius. In this relation, also, he became the chthonic bird, and is used on tombs, as emblematic of the hope of a reawakening to life. He was a bird of good omen among the Greeks as among the Romans, and used sacrificially to avert evil.

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<sup>1</sup> The usual type of autonomous coins in Asia Minor, going back to about 700 B. C., is a cock or a cock fight (viz. *Pollux* IX. 84, Hogarth, *Archaic Artemisia*, 1908, p. 89). A cock fight is also the commonest representation of the fowl on Attic vases. For a typical specimen cf. Attic Kylix in Metropolitan Museum, New York, 550—500 B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, coins of Sophytes, prince of the Panjab, 316—306 B. C.: obverse, head of Sophytes or Athena; reverse, cock and caduceus, Head, p. 835.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Migration des Symboles*, pp. 76, 222; also Hunter, *Numorum veterum descriptio*, pl. VII. nos. 15, 16; Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, pl. III. fig. 135.

Thruout the whole Greek world, then, from 700 B. C. onward, the cock, always represented most unmistakeably on monuments and coins, reproducing the game cock characteristics which belong to the original breed, was a familiar and omnipresent bird, sacrificial to a number of gods, representing an accumulation of sacred ideals and traditions, and popular for sporting purposes. On the other hand, the bird does not belong to the earliest stratum of Greek civilization. He plays no part in Greek mythology. There are no legends or folklore which attach themselves to him, as to the dove, the swan, the eagle, &c. He came in after the Greeks had passed that stage of their existence. The name by which he was known, ἀλεκτρών or ἀλέκτωρ, is not Greek.<sup>1</sup> He is not mentioned in Hesiod or Homer, in one or both of which it seems that he must have played a part, had he been known. The latter mentions, among domestic animals, the horse, ass, mule, ox, goat, sheep, pig and dog, and among domestic fowl the goose, but nowhere the cock.<sup>2</sup> The Homeric poems, do, however, I think, give us a clue to the date and the origin of the cock among the Greeks. As already pointed out, the Greek word for cock, ἀλεκτρών, fem. ἀλεκτρναίνα,<sup>3</sup> (poetic ἀλέκτωρ, fem. ἀλεκτορίς) is foreign. If we could trace its origin we should presumably find the source of the cock for the Greeks. One turns naturally toward Asia Minor. The remains found in the interior of Asia Minor, both the Hittite and the proto-Armenian monuments, show no trace of the cock. Partly they are too early; partly, as I think will appear from what follows, they were not in the line of transmission or migration of the cock. While, as already stated, the cock is not mentioned in Homer, the word for cock does appear twice as a proper name. Δῆμος, an Argonaut and commander of the Boeotians, was the son

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<sup>1</sup> Leo Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie*, I. p. 296, derives ἀλέκτωρ from ἀλέξω, citing the analogy of ἀλάστωρ. He would make it mean "*Abwehrer*, wie der kampflustige Hahn gewiß leicht benannt werden konnte".

<sup>2</sup> The pigeon is commonly included in the list, but, according to Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, the pigeon, whi lewell known to Homer, was a wild, not a domesticated bird.

<sup>3</sup> The feminine formations are uncertain and variable, evidence of foreign origin.

of Alektryon (Ἀλεκτρυόνης Il. XVII. 602).<sup>1</sup> Appearing in connection with a man connected in early Grecian story with the exploration of the Euxine to its remotest eastern shores, the name suggests the possibility that the Greeks came in contact with the cock at the extreme eastern limit of the Euxine, and brought him thence to the Greek cities of Asia Minor and so to Greece itself.<sup>2</sup> The Homeric passages, however, would show that the bird was not as yet possessed by the Greeks, but only just beginning to be known by name. The importation of the bird by sea along the Euxine would parallel, it may be observed, the early importation of the peacock by sea from India, and of the guinea fowl, in the time of Sophocles, from tropical Africa by way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

### Italy.

From Greece the cock spread with the early Greek colonies to Italy, where the monumental remains on which he appears are almost as early as those of Greece itself. The cock appears on the earliest coinage of Himera, a Chalcidic colony on the north coast of Sicily, founded about the middle of the 7th century.<sup>3</sup> The coinage of Selinos, the most westerly Greek colony in Sicily, represents on one side Apollo and Artemis, standing together on a quadriga, and on the other side the river god Selinos, with a phiale and a lustral branch, before an altar, in front of which is a cock, behind on a stand a bull, and above it a Selinon leaf. Here the cock is evidently sacrificial and connected apparently with the sun.<sup>4</sup> In Etruria

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<sup>1</sup> Leitus is also mentioned by Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias. His tomb was shown at Plataea. According to these later authorities the wife of Alektryon or Alektor, his father, was Cleobule. It will be noted also that the Ἀλεκτρυών of Homer becomes Ἀλέκτωρ in later writers, according to the dictionary the poetic form of the word. The latter is in Od. IV. 10 the name of a Spartan: *νίει δὲ Σπάρτηθεν Ἀλέκτορος ἤρετο κούρη.*

<sup>2</sup> This would date the cock among the Iranians of the Euxine region at or before 1000 B. C., harmonizing with the earlier dates suggested in the preceding pages, rather than with the later dates. If Hehn's facts and conclusions are correct the pheasant was brought to Greece somewhat later by this same route, i. e. from the eastern end of the Euxine by sea to the Greek cities.

<sup>3</sup> The coins themselves may not be older than the commencement of the 5th century. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Do.* 168.



the cock appears on top of sepulchral vases (chthonic use) of the *Bucchero* type as early as the middle of the 6th, perhaps even of the 7th century, and on wall paintings of Etruscan tombs, belonging, it is supposed, to the period when the Greeks had begun to influence Etruscan art. In Latium the cock appears on top of early hut urns (also chthonic) of about the same date as the Etruscan sepulchral vases. The cock is also a frequent emblem on the coins of Samnium and Latium in the 3rd century, and indeed he is almost, if not quite, as common on the coinage of Italian cities as on those of Grecian Asia Minor. A typical coin of the Samnian and Latin cities is that of Cales:<sup>1</sup> obverse a head, reverse crowing cock and legend Caleno.

It is generally assumed that the cock was introduced into Italy by the Greeks, and spread gradually from south to north. But the coins of Samnium and Latium, just described, with the figure of the crowing cock, resemble rather the cock of Gaul than that of Greece; and indeed the name of the cock in Latin, Gallus, or the Gallic bird, suggests a similar origin. The cock may, it is true, have been called *gallus* by the Romans for the same reason that he was called the Persian bird among the Greeks. Even this would show that he was at an early period very common and very important among the Gauls. But it seems to me that the use for the name of the bird of the word Gallus goes further, and indicates that the Italians actually received him from the Gauls. In that case he was domesticated in Central Italy before the coming of the Greeks.

Now we know from other sources that the cock played a part of great importance among the Gauls before the Roman conquest. Caesar so testifies. He tells us also of the religious significance of the cock among the Gauls in language that reminds us of Persian practice. Part of the Gallic race, he says, while raising fowls, yet regarded it as a sacrilege to eat them. The cock, we learn further, was associated with the great god of the Gauls, whom Caesar identifies with Mercury. From Gallic times, also, we have various clay and other representations of the cock, found in various places.<sup>2</sup> Certain

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<sup>1</sup> Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> So Arthur Maury, *Le Coq Gaulois*, who refers especially to the collections in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye (p. 54.)

it is that after the Roman conquest he appears on coins from various parts of the country,<sup>1</sup> and that from that time to this he has played a part in France which fairly entitles him to be called the national bird of France. As already noted the French bird is the cock in his form as chanticleer, the crower, or singer, the herald of dawn.

But how did the cock reach Gaul? From the Greek colonies on the coast, or by an independent route thru the interior of Europe? I am inclined to think by the latter route. The Romans found him not only in Gaul, but also in England and among the Germans. Evidently he was in the first century before our era pretty widely distributed as a domestic fowl, and also as a distinctly sacred bird, over western and central Europe. He was not a native. No chicken bones have been found among the shell heaps of Denmark or the lake dwellings of Switzerland, Italy or Hungary. His advent belongs to a later period. The linguistic evidence shows that he was not common property of the Indo-European peoples, nor even of the European peoples before their separation. Celt, Teuton, Lett and Slav know him by no common name. On the other hand, all peoples of Teutonic stock possess a common name for the domestic fowl, and that name, *hahn* or *hen*, *the singer*, connects him rather with the Persian foreteller of the dawn than with the Grecian fighting bird. Everywhere he has a religious character, and apparently the superstitions and religious usages connected with him among the Germans, as among the Gauls, point in the same direction.<sup>2</sup> The evidence is far from conclusive, but I am inclined to

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<sup>1</sup> Maury cites also funerary stones of the first century, bearing cock on ensign, from Strasbourg and Narbonne (pp. 61f.).

<sup>2</sup> For the linguistic evidence cf. Hehn. He shows, among other things, that the Germans must have constituted one whole, dwelling together in one relatively small region, separate from other peoples, when they applied the name *hana* to the domestic fowl; that the Germans must have been immediate neighbors of the Finns, and presumably not contiguous to the Lithuanians; that the Slavs and Lithuanians must have been already separate when the cock was introduced among them, and the Slavs themselves divided into two divisions. He attempts to show further, by the linguistic evidence, that at the time of the introduction of the cock the Slavs, already separated from the Lithuanians, must have been in close contact with Medo-Persian peoples, Scythians, Sauromatians and the like.

think that at the same time that the cock traveled from the eastern end of the Euxine thru the Dardanelles to the Aegean, he also traveled up the line of the Iranian emigration into Scythia, and so to the Teutons and the Celts; the two lines of migration ultimately meeting in central Italy.

### Cyprus.

From Asia Minor and Greece the cock traveled southward to Cyprus. The earliest appearance is on the sarcophagus from Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, circa 500 B. C., where his use is evidently chthonic. After that date he is quite common and in several sculptures he is represented as a sacrificial bird.<sup>1</sup>

### Syria.

Syriac literature is too late to be of any service in this investigation, and there is a curious lack of representations of the cock on monuments, coins, gems and the like from Syria. On some old Syrian gems there are representations of birds, but in no case a characteristic representation of the cock. The earliest representations of the cock which I can find is in a tomb at Marissa,<sup>2</sup> dating from about 200 B. C. This tomb belonged to a Sidonian colony settled in an Edomite city. The language used in the inscriptions was Greek; the animals depicted in the interior of the tomb showed distinct Egyptian influence. The cock himself is on the outer face of the door posts of the inner main chamber. He seems about to crow. In form, coloring and feathering he is still the Red Junglefowl. As already stated, the only mention of the cock in the Old Testament is in Prov. 30: 31, perhaps about or after 300 B. C. He has no fixed name in Hebrew, and at that period seems to have been known to the Jews as a bird possessed by neighboring peoples, but not domesticated in Palestine. When finally domesticated among them (between 200 B. C. and the commencement of our era) he was called by an Aramaic name, *turnegal*, which itself is not Aramaean,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., for instance, 1211 and 1222 in the Cypriote collections of the Metropolitan Museum, Temple-boy holding a cock.

<sup>2</sup> "Painted Tombs of Marissa", Peters and Thiersch, *Memoir of Palestine Exploration Fund*.

but borrowed from some other people, from whom presumably the Aramaeans derived the bird. The data are meager and any deductions from such meager data must be viewed with caution. The suggestions from the data, such as they are, seem to be that, having reached Cyprus thru Greek influence, the cock was transmitted thence to Phoenicia, but did not become common until after the Greek conquest. The Jews, coming in contact with him as early as 300, thru the Phoenicians or other neighboring people, refused him admission because of the religious and sacrificial character which he possessed among heathen peoples; the same ground on which their ancestors had classed the swine, the hare, &c. as unclean in the dietary laws of Deuteronomy and Leviticus. In the mean time the Aramaeans had received the cock, with the name *turnegal*, from some other source. Thru their influence the bird and his name became common good of all Syria, and so he and his name finally found their way thru the wall of Jewish prejudice into Jerusalem.

### Arabia.

From Arabia we have no monumental evidence of the cock, confirmatory evidence, so far as it goes, that his route from India was not by sea but by land. Arabic literature is too late to be of any value for our purposes. It may be worth noting, however, that the cock does appear, altho rarely, in old Arabic poetry, but only in connection with settled habitations. From whatever source the domestic fowl was brought into Arabia the Arabs seem not to have borrowed the name with the bird, but to have invented a name of their own, not onomatopoetic however, but apparently depending on a characteristic not elsewhere similarly noted, viz. *dujāj* or *dajāj*, which Arabic lexicographers explain as given "because of his frequent coming and going (*dajja*)."<sup>1</sup> This is the common designation of both male and female. The cock as such, however, is called *dik*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Is this borrowed from the Turkish? Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil. Cf. also Jacob, *Studien in Arabischen Dichtern*, Heft III, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 84. The name of the cock is in itself an interesting study, which has not yet received the attention it deserves. In general each people uses popularly an onomatopoetic name, an attempted reproduction of the sound made by the cock (less

### Egypt.

Earlier Egyptian scholars were inclined to find the cock in some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, or in some of the bird forms on the monuments, apparently arguing from the present universal use of the bird that it must of course have been familiar among the old Egyptians. In point of fact these are all either uncharacterized pictures of birds, or identifiable with birds of quite a different character, such as the bustard or the quail.<sup>1</sup> Egyptologists without exception are now agreed, I believe, that the cock is not found on Egyptian monuments before the Roman period, and that no word or sign for cock appears in the language. The argument from silence in this case is practically equivalent to a proof that the fowl was not known in ancient or even Ptolemaic (before the Roman period) Egypt, because the wall paintings in the tombs give us such minute and accurate representations of Egyptian life, domestic utensils and animals, creatures used for food and the like, that the cock, if in use, could not have been omitted. Why this was the case is another question. Had the cock been known in Babylonia or Syria or Asia Minor and the Aegean as early as 1400 or perhaps even 1000 B. C., it would pretty surely have been imported into Egypt. After that the Egypt-

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often the hen), of the cockadoodledoo type. These names differ slightly from place to place, but are evidently not borrowed from one or more common forms, but invented by each locality for itself. Almost equally frequent are the semi-onomatopoeic names, which do not imitate but merely suggest the sound made (not sound pictures but sound hieroglyphs), and which often are or may be equally applicable to other birds, like cock (cuckoo) and kuru (crow). There is a great deal of similarity between names of this class over considerable areas, apparently due, however, as in the former case, not to borrowing, but to the necessary similarity of all attempts to translate or indicate the bird's own utterance. Then there are the names given to indicate some characteristic of the bird, like the French *Chantecler*, the German *Hahn*, the Persian *Parō-darsh* and probably Arabic *dajāj*. Lastly there are names indicating a foreign origin, like Latin *Gallus*, or simply borrowed from a foreign tongue, presumably with the bird, like Greek *ἀλεκτρούς* and Aramaic *turnegal*. There is no name common to any large linguistic group, with the exception of the Mongolian-Turkish *tawuk* and the Teutonic-Scandinavian *Hahn*.

<sup>1</sup> A good illustration of the older method is found, by the way, in a recent article in the *Zoologist* for Jan. 1912, entitled "The Prehistoric Origin of the Common Fowl", by Frederick J. Stubbs and A. J. Rowe.

ians were less inclined, I should judge, to borrow from outside sources religious ideas or articles of diet, the two being closely connected. In view of the importance of the cock among the Greeks one is, however, inclined to wonder that the Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus and some of his successors, who pervaded Egypt, scribbling their names in temples of the upper Nile, and building in the Delta cities to dwell in, did not bring the cock with them for sacrificial purposes or for the sport of cock fighting. Or the Persians? Or Alexander and the Ptolemies? The silence of the monuments for precisely these periods seems conclusive, puzzling as the fact is. In answer to the question this silence raises, I can merely call attention in general to the apparent slow progress of the bird southward from the Aegean regions, in contrast with his rapid and triumphant passage westward and northward; to the religious prejudices, which would have been particularly strong against a Persian sacred bird, in view of Egyptian experience with the mad Cambyses; and perhaps also to the largely aquatic conditions of Egyptian domestic economy, better adapted to geese and ducks and cranes and herons than to chickens.

### Assyria and Babylonia.

In the earlier editions of his *Kulturpflanzen und Haustihere*, Hehn states that the cock was unknown in Assyria and Babylonia before the Persian period. In the last posthumous eighth edition, O. Schrader, the editor, adds a note, in which he asserts that the cock is mentioned in the list of offerings of Gudea, 2700 B. C.; that he appears in Assyrian times often as offered to the gods; and that he was especially common in neo-Babylonia, where he was kept in the neighborhood of temples. It is also stated that the cock was called in Assyrian by the name *kurku*, and in Sumerian *kurgi*; and that he was also further known in Sumerian as *Tar-lugallu*, supposed to be the source of the Aramaean *Tarnegul* or *Tarnegal*. The idea that the cock is mentioned in the offering lists of Gudea is apparently connected with the identification of a bird on the Gudean monuments as the cock or hen, and also with the appearance of the word *Kurgi* in a sacrificial list of that period. The bird depicted on the Gudean monuments is one of those uncharacteristic and unidentifiable birds which are found on a number of early monuments in various countries.

The cock is singularly easy to represent by some characteristic peculiarities. His peculiar characteristics are so striking that they seize the fancy of the most inexperienced on-looker and, rude as his art may be, he generally contrives in some way to give the impression of the cock. It is owing to this fact that archeologists are practically agreed not to recognize as cocks the unidentifiable, uncharacterized birds which are found, as stated, on monuments of various countries. Anyone who has followed pictorial representations of the cock will see the reason for this. Such birds may be almost any thing else, but they are not cocks.

As to the supposed identification of *kurgi* in the Gudean sacrificial list as cock, it may be said that Assyrian scholars have translated various words in the Babylonian-Assyrian word lists as cock. According to their transliterations and translations, he appears in Sumerian as *tarlu-gallu*, *kukuranu*, and *kurgi*, and in Semitic as *kurku* or *karaku* or *kuraku*. Of these supposed words for cock the one read *ku-ku-ra-nu* appears in a trilingual list, so far untranslated, of the object or character of which we know nothing, except that it does mention birds. *Kukuranu* would undoubtedly be a good onomatopoeic name for the cock, if the reading were certain, but the characters so transliterated might, so far as our present knowledge goes, equally well be transliterated *kudurranu* — or rather<sup>1</sup> from analogy this would be the natural transliteration — and still other transliterations are quite possible. But further, in the word list in which this word appears it is given as the equation of *tarlugallu*, which has been equated with the Aramaic *tarnegul* or *turnegal*, cock.<sup>2</sup> Now so far as our present information goes, Sumerian was a dead language many centuries before the Aramaeans reached Babylonia or parts adjacent.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, rather startling to have an Ar-

<sup>1</sup> So Prof. Clay calls my attention to a feminine proper name, *ku-dur* (*ku*)-*ra-ni-tum*, in the Cassite period; as also to the fact that the signs read *ku-ku* in the supposed *ku-ku-ra-nu* are a common way of writing the *ku-dur* of Nebuchadrezzar and of Kudurenlii.

<sup>2</sup> This identification was first suggested by Oppert, *Zeitschr. Assyriol.* VII. 339; and has since been adopted by a number of Assyrian and Syrian scholars.

<sup>3</sup> As a curiosity it may be noted that Brockelmann in his *Lexicon Syriacum* gives the word ܐܕܝܐ (*akdaya*) as cock, with a note from Jensen, "Accadius".

amaean word derived from Sumerian. If such a derivation occurred we should expect it to be mediately thru the Semitic Babylonian, not immediately from the Sumerian. Moreover, whether the word transliterated *tarlugallu* was ever actually thus pronounced remains, as in so many Sumerian transliterations, subject to some doubt. If the transliteration be correct it would appear to mean *tarru-king*. *Tar* (or *tarru*) is interpreted in a trilingual list as *bur-ru-um-tu*="variegated" (Cf. XIV. 4, 6), and the entire combination is apparently equated later (l. 11) in the same text by the *kukuranu* or *kudurranu* already noted.<sup>1</sup> The argument then is that a certain otherwise unknown Sumerian word in a trilingual list dealing with birds may be transliterated *tarlugallu*, which sounds strikingly like the word for cock, *tarnegul* or *tarnegal*, used by the Aramaeans, who many centuries after Sumerian had become a dead language occupied or were in contact with the region where Sumerian had been spoken and where, in the Aramaean period, it still lingered as a church language; that in this trilingual list<sup>2</sup> the word *tarlugallu* is translated by another unknown Sumerian word, the characters of which might be transliterated *ku-ku-ra-nu*, which sounds like an onomatopoeic name for the cock; and that one element of the word transliterated *tarlugallu* is actually translated in a bilingual list by the Assyrian (Semitic) word *burrumtu* "variegated", a description which might be applicable to the chicken as a bird of variegated color. As an argument by itself to prove acquaintance with the cock in Babylonia in the Sumerian period (2000 B. C.), it can scarcely be accepted as possessing validity.

There are also in the Sumerian word-lists some fifteen forms

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<sup>1</sup> On this Prof. Prince writes me that the word does occur in the passage cited, "but in the full form—*edin-dar* (tar)-XU=Assyr. *burrumtu*, 'variegated'; also in loc. cit. L. 11 *ku-ku-ra-nu*-XU=Assyr. *dar* (tar) *lugallum*.—*Dar* (tar) in Sumerian does mean variegated in color, and *edin-dar*-XU means literally 'the variegated bird of the field'." *Kuku-ra-nu*-XU=Assyr. *dar-lugallum*, which Assyrian word is a Sumerian loan-word, meaning "the variegated king of birds". He suggests that the word would apply to the cock-pheasant or the peacock better than to the cock, for which he adds other reasons. As to the proposed identification of *tarnegal* with *tar* (or *dar*) *lugallu*, it may be further noted that the initial letters are not the same.

<sup>2</sup> So far as this word is concerned, the list has two, not three columns.



of *kurgi*, mentioned with other objects of food for sacrifice, all, or practically, all being as yet unidentified. *Kurgi* also has been interpreted as an onomatopoëticon, either borrowed from the "Avestan (old Bactrian) *Kahrka*",<sup>1</sup> or formed in the same manner, and meaning cock. *Kurgi* is interpreted in Semitic as *kurku* and the Semitic *kurku*,<sup>2</sup> *kurukku* and *karakku* have similarly been supposed to be onomatopoetic names for the cock. Accepting the transliterations given, which always, it must be remembered, are somewhat uncertain, the various names proposed for the cock might equally well indicate some other bird.<sup>3</sup> They are mere guesses. Up to the present time we do not know the name of the cock in Assyrian-Babylonian. As Prof. Sayce writes: "There is no certain name for the cock or fowl in Assyrian. As you know, the identification of such words is always doubtful unless they are accompanied by pictorial representations."

It is in fact to these pictorial representations that we must turn to determine the date and character of the appearance of the cock in Babylonia and Assyria. Fortunately, as in the case of Egypt, pictorial representations of birds and animals begin early in Babylonia and are abundant, and hence the argument from silence is peculiarly significant. Beginning at an early date, we have unmistakeable representations of ducks, geese, swans, hawks, eagles, and later ostriches, together with various fantastic and monstrous birds. Besides these clearly defined and characteristic representations of birds we have also from various periods birds not clearly defined, sometimes of the bustard type, sometimes waterfowl, sometimes of a small bird type. None of these, for reasons already stated, can we identify with the cock. The earliest monument on which a cock has been discovered is on the finials of two bow heads on a *bas relief* from the palace of Sennacherib, but ascribed to Ashurbanipal,<sup>4</sup> that is, about the middle of the 7th cent.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what has already been said about the date of the cock in Bactria, the names used, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pinches, in a very kind and painstaking correspondence, has suggested other possible identifications from other undeciphered lists, none of which, however, are even approximately onomatopoetic.

<sup>3</sup> The Semitic *kurku* certainly sounds more like the Aramaic *kurkya*, crane.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Room XXVIII, slab 14. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures in the Palace of Sennacherib*, pl. 58. 1913.

B. C. Nothing further identifiable with the cock is found before the late neo-Babylonian period, the time of Nabonidus, circa 550 B. C. To this period belong a couple of illustrations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon* of an engraved gem (p. 538), representing a cock on a stand like those used frequently on the boundary stones in connection with the emblems of the Gods. Before this emblem stands a winged figure, with cone and basket, while above is the crescent moon. The other is taken from a cylinder in the British Museum (p. 539), and represents the figure with the cone and basket standing before an altar, behind which altar are two stands bearing, the first the moon symbol, and the second the cock. Here the cock, like the moon, is plainly the emblem of a god. It is on these figures, I fancy, that Schrader bases his statement that the cock often appears in Assyria as offered to the gods. Neither of them in fact represents the sacrifice of the cock, nor have we anything in Assyrian or Babylonian art representing such a sacrifice. Both of them represent the worship of a god symbolized by the cock.<sup>1</sup> Who that god was we do not know.<sup>2</sup> There are similar representations of the cock on neo-Babylonian seals pictured by Ward.<sup>3</sup> In general it may be said that

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<sup>1</sup> In view of the relation of the cock to Persia, one is inclined to ask whether these two representations, attesting the introduction of the sacred bird of Persia into Babylonian mythology as a god emblem, do not belong rather to the Persian than to the neo-Babylonian period.

<sup>2</sup> The frequent connection of the cock with the sun, added to the combination of the cock emblem with that of the moon, suggests that the cock here also represents the sun in some form or phase. Layard calls attention to the supposition of Jewish commentators that the *nergal*, made by the men of Cutha (II Kings 17: 30), was the cock, and suggests that the *Melek Taus* of the Yezidis may also have been a cock, not a peacock. The identification of the cock as the emblem of Nergal seems not improbably correct.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*; especially p. 421 and figs. 554, 556, 1126, 1254. Dr. Ward kindly made a special investigation at my request into alleged representations of the cock (or hen) on the ancient Sumerian Gudea monuments and the Kassite boundary (*Kudurru*) stones. He writes: "Certainly the Gula-Bau bird is not the cock. You will observe in *S. C. W. A.* figs. 230—235 it is represented with the goddess, and it is a long-necked bird. See also the stork, p. 420. I have been all over the *kudurrus* and I do not believe that the cock is on them. The tail of the cock nowhere appears. I have suspected the lesser or larger bustard, and yet the bird on the plow, or apart from the plow, might be a sparrow, or some such bird that follows the

Ionians received the fowl from Media and Persia, where he had been known since a period ante-dating 1000; but he did not become common in Babylonia until the Persian conquest, in the latter half of the 6th century. Whence the Aramaeans derived the bird, we do not certainly know, but it was thru their agency, as the general medium of intercourse, that he was finally introduced to the Jews in Palestine, somewhere about or a little after 200 B. C., reaching Egypt only in the Roman period, 150 years later.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Besides those mentioned in the notes, I also owe my thanks to the Smithsonian Institution and to Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Prof. Jas. R. Wheeler and Prof. Egbert of Columbia for helping me "hunt chickens". After this article was in print my attention was called to the Arabic *سرسر* (*sarṣar* or *širšir*), an onomatopoeticon for cock of the same type as the Hebrew *טוֹרֵר* of Prov. 30, 31.

*Dialectic Differences between Assyrian and Babylonian,  
and some Problems they Present.* — By S. C. YLVIS-  
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The proof of the existence of the two quite distinct dialects, the Assyrian and the Babylonian, has been arduous but also gratifying. The texts upon which the proof is based, the collection of letters from the period of the Sargonide kings, edited by Prof. Harper, fall naturally into two groups: the letters written in the Assyrian script and those written in the Babylonian. Even a hasty comparison of the letters in the Assyrian script with those in the Babylonian cannot but reveal certain peculiarities in the one group which are not found in the other, and a more detailed and thorough study makes it apparent that these differences are of five kinds, such as concern phonetic laws, inflection, syntax, the use of words, and style. Permit me to make brief mention of the main differences under these five heads.

I. As regards phonetic laws, the Assyrian makes a sharp distinction between the palatals, the Babylonian does not—Assyrian: *iktibi*, Babylonian: *iktabi*. The Assyrian pronounces the *š* as *s* and the combination *št* regularly becomes *s* or *ss*; the Babylonian has retained the *š* and before a dental this regularly becomes *l*—Assyrian: *asakan*=*aštakan*, Babylonian: *altakan*. The Assyrian frequently assimilates an *m* to a following *t*, the Babylonian softens the pronunciation of *k* or *t* after *m* or *n* to *g* or *d*—Assyrian: *attahar*=*amtahar*, Babylonian: *amdahar*. The Assyrian experiences no difficulty in the pronunciation of a double sonant, the Babylonian resolves the combination and simplifies the pronunciation by means of an *n*—Assyrian: *imagur*=*imaggur*, Babylonian: *imangur*. In the Assyrian two neighboring vowels are frequently assimilated to each other—*iḥabbutu*=*iḥabbatu*, while vowel contraction is a prominent characteristic of the Babylonian.

in Babylonia the cock begins to appear on gems and seals first after the Persian influence has begun to make itself felt, but there is nothing to indicate any special reference to temples, such as Schrader asserts, beyond the fact that the cock was, as pointed out, a god emblem.

For Babylonia and Assyria, then, the linguistic evidence is unsatisfactory. If the name of the bird appears at all, it is in word lists of as yet unidentified creatures and objects. It is not found in any inscription or record with accompanying statements or qualifying words which would ensure or facilitate identification. The first representation of the cock yet discovered on any monuments, gems, cylinders, &c. is, for Assyria, from the middle of the 7th century B. C., a period of active contact with the Medes; and for Babylonia, a century later, when the Persians had begun to come into immediate relations with Babylon. The representations from this period show the cock as a sacred bird, the emblem of a god.

The question arises: why, if the Persians and Medes had the bird and if it past further to the westward at an earlier date, it did not also enter Assyria and Babylonia. I have already suggested that the cock past up the line of Iranian migration; and that he reached the Greeks thru the Euxine, not thru Asia Minor. Between the Medes and Persians, on the one side, and the Assyrians and Babylonians, on the other, lay a mountain region occupied by semi-barbarous tribes, never thoroly subdued by the Assyrians or Babylonians, and always more or less hostile to them. These formed for a long time a sort of buffer state between Medes and Persians and Assyrians and Babylonians, a barrier to communication and hence also to the transmission of such a creature as the cock, they themselves, from their hostile attitude and uncivilized condition, neither receiving nor imparting such gifts. Ultimately the barrier was worn away, and in Ashurbanipal's time a more direct relation established between the Assyrians and the Medes. A century later the barrier between Persians and Babylonians was broken down, and with the access of Persian

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plow." For completeness' sake I may add that in the excavations at Nippur our earliest evidence of acquaintance with the domestic fowl was a rattle in the form of a hen. This could not, judging from its stratum, have been earlier than the Persian period, and I should be inclined to place it even later.

influence the cock invaded the Babylonian plain.<sup>1</sup> Why, when the cock had once been adopted in Babylonia, it did not follow up the line of the Euphrates into Syria more rapidly than it seems to have done, I cannot conjecture, unless it be something to do with its religious character and use; for, as already shown, the cock, once admitted into Babylonia, became a sacred bird, the special emblem of a god.

And now, in conclusion, I judge the history of the cock to have been this: The original home and probably the original place of domestication, Burma and its neighborhood, from which it spread into China at an early date, traditionally 1400 B. C., there to be bred into the Cochinchina fowl. It did not pass from China westward thru the Turks until a late date. When the Iranians entered the Ganges valley, in the second stage of their conquest of India, they came in contact with the domesticated fowl on its western limits. This was at a period not later than 900, and I suspect in reality more nearly 1200 B. C.

The cock past up the line of the Iranian invasion into Bactria, Persia and Media and so on into Scythia and Europe, stretching across finally to the British Isles, and spreading down from Gaul into Central Italy. The Greeks first came in contact with the cock in their expeditions to the extreme eastern end of the Euxine in the Homeric period, perhaps circa 1000 B. C., and later carried him from there to the coasts and islands of the Aegæan, where we find the cock a well known and domesticated bird on the earliest coins and monuments, from 700 B. C. onward. Spreading westward, the Greeks brought him into Sicily, whence he traveled up the line of Greek colonization into Italy, meeting the cock of the more northerly line of migration in Central Italy—Etruria, Latium and the regions thereabout. Somewhat more slowly the Greeks carried the cock southward into Cyprus; whence it was brought to the Phœnician cities, not becoming, however, well-established as a domestic fowl on the Syrian mainland until a late date.

Beginning in the 7th century B. C. the Assyrians and Baby-

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly a further reason for the relative tardiness of the cock in Babylonia was the nature of the country, the rivers, canals and marshes so admirable adapted to geese and ducks may have constituted a barrier to the domestication of the fowl in that region.

II. Inflectional differences there are many of, but referring to the summary on page 73 of my monograph entitled "Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik", I shall mention only a few more important ones. In regard to the inflection of nouns it is to be noted that the Assyrian regularly has *u* as the ending of the nominative and accusative singular, *i* as that of the genitive, while the Babylonian by its irregular use of the case-endings would seem to show that these were no longer in use. In regard to the verb, the Assyrian forms the Piel and Šafel Imperatives and Permansives by means of *a* in the first syllable, the Babylonian has the usual forms. So the Assyrian *šabbīt*, Babylonian *šubbit*; Assyrian *gammur*, Babylonian *gummur*; Assyrian *šebil*, Babylonian *šubil*, etc. But the difference appears in minor matters as well, as f. inst. in the treatment of certain verbs. The Assyrian present of *nadānu* is *iddan*, the Babylonian *inamdan* or *inamdin*; the Assyrian preterite is *iddin*, the Babylonian *iddan* or *iddin*; the Assyrian imperative is *din*, the Babylonian *idin*. The first t-form of *nazāzu* in Assyrian is *ititiz*, in Babylonian *ittašiz*. The Assyrian treats the verb *idū* "to know" as a ʾD verb, the Babylonian as ʾD. And so on.

III. The syntactical differences are also quite marked, the use of the enclitic *nī* in dependent clauses being characteristic of the Assyrian, the use of the overhanging vowel in dependent clauses and of the enclitic *ma* characteristic of the Babylonian. Here there are also minor points of difference such as the idiomatic use of prepositions, etc.

IV. Closely connected with the syntactical differences are those involving the use of words. It cannot be by mere chance that the following words are used only in the Assyrian letters: the pronouns *ammu*, *mēmēnu*, *īamutu*; the verbs *našū* and the defective verb *laššu*; the prepositions *issi*, *battibatti*, *battatai*; the adverbs *udini la*, *ulā*, *umā*, *ammaka*, *annaka*, *annurig*, *arḥiṣ*, *issuri*, *atā*, *bādi*, *basi*, *ḥaramme*, *kallamāri*, *kittu*. *lidiṣ*, *mā*, *muk* and *nuk*, *šāri*, *šaddagdiṣ*, *timāli*, *tūra*, and the following only in the Babylonian: the pronoun *agā*; the defective verb *īanu*; the prepositions *alla*, *itti*, *ultu*; and the adverbs *adū*, *ul*, *umma*, *arkaniṣ*, *arkišu*, *bani*, *ḥantiṣ*, *madē*, *mindēma*, *minamma*, *šaddagiṣ*. In the case of some of these words the subject-matter may, of course, have had more to do than is at present apparent.

V. All of these peculiarities taken together and coupled again with the individuality of the writer in each case would undoubtedly help us to explain the difference in style which one cannot but notice in the letters. But they would hardly explain all, and I think we would be justified in distinguishing between an Assyrian and a Babylonian style as well. However, this question of difference in style is intimately associated with a detailed study and comparison of syntactical constructions in the two dialects, and in this field very much still remains to be accomplished.

To summarize: If we could have heard the two dialects, Assyrian and Babylonian, spoken, I do not doubt that we would have noticed a difference more marked than that which exists among the various dialects in Germany. We would undoubtedly do better in choosing the sister languages Norwegian and Swedish for comparison: the Swedish, soft and musical, representing the Babylonian, the harsher and more strongly accented Norwegian representing the Assyrian.

In itself the knowledge of these dialectic differences between Assyrian and Babylonian is interesting enough to the philologist, it is important also in several respects: 1) it furnishes a very necessary key to the understanding of the epistolary literature; 2) it explains to our entire satisfaction difficulties of Assyrian grammar which otherwise would cause much trouble. As I have said before, there is much left to be done, both as regards the material already at hand, and what is steadily being published; but even at this stage we have a right to say that the importance of our knowledge of these dialectic differences will extend beyond the points I have mentioned. It shows us the need of more painstaking and detailed study of the language from a purely grammatical point of view, also the need of a more complete grammar which treats the language with strict regard for historic development and resulting changes. The difficulties which would present themselves to one undertaking such a task we can as yet realize only in part. For instance, the correct application of the rules thus far laid down for the language of the letters is difficult enough and too much care cannot be exercised in their mastery in order to avoid what might become serious mistakes. Thus the specific rules for the Assyrian do not apply and must be carefully excluded in the translation of a



Babylonian text, and vice versa. But it becomes still more difficult to decide how far these rules, which are so rigidly observed in the language of the letters, are to be applied and taken into consideration outside this class of texts. In explaining a difficult form in a hymn, for instance, is, or is not, this or that phenomenon in the language of the letters to be compared as analogous and made to solve the problem for us? The question is really pertinent, as I have a definite instance in mind where in my opinion a rule taken from the language of the letters was wrongly made to apply in a text not of this class. It may be tempting enough to try to explain a form by every known means; it is another question if this be always permissible, for it is evident at the outset that not the same rules would apply for the language of the Hammurapi period in Babylonia and for that of the Ašurbanipal period in Assyria.

But on this very point I think we have one of the most difficult problems before us, this difficulty, namely, that the character and approximate date of a text should be known before it can be successfully worked out. In other words a certain amount of textual criticism will become necessary to determine which rules can be made to apply and which not. I do not claim that we as yet are in a position to cope successfully with the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian, but it is my conviction that it must be taken up sooner or later and that the letter literature in this very particular will prove an invaluable aid and provide a sure basis for further work.

But the letters, picturing as they do the language of their time in Assyria and Babylonia both consistently and in detail, put other texts from the same period in a strange light, and we are immediately confronted by the peculiar difficulties which the problem of textual criticism in Assyrian would present. I shall refer briefly to the historical inscriptions of the later kings to illustrate.

Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1115—1100) has in his inscriptions side by side *ištu* (a form hardly in use any more at his time), *altakan*, *lultakširu*, *ultallitu*, *multašpiru* (specifically Babylonian forms), and *madatta*, *epāš*, *laššu* (Assyrian).

Tukulti-NIN. IB. II (889—885) has likewise side by side *aštamdū* (old form), *ulteziz* (Babylonian), *asapar*, *asakan*, *attahar*, *laššu*, *battubatte* (Assyrian).

Ašurnāširpal II (884—860) has *itti* (Babylonian) and *issi* (Assyrian), *ištananuma* (old form), *altakan* (Babylonian), *asakan*, *asarap*, *usišib*, *attaḥar* (Assyrian).

Šalmaneser II (859—825) has *amdaḥḥiṣ* (Babylonian) and *madatu* (Assyrian).

The Sargonide kings have in their historical inscriptions been more successful in fixing what we might call a classic language, but even here we meet with strange inconsistencies. Sennacherib has *aštakan* (old form) and *ultu* (Babylonian). Ašurbanipal has *ušteššera*, *aštakanu*, *išten'ā* (old forms), *multarḥu*, *ultu*, *mundalṣē*, *mandattu* (Babylonian), and *madattu* (Assyrian).

The inscriptions of the Babylonian kings present similar difficulties. Nebuchadnezzar I (1152—1124) has *ištu*, *ištakan* (old forms), *ulteshir*, *iltaknu*, *iltatru*, *mundalṣāti* (later Babylonian). Nebukadnezzar II (604—562) uses a language which seems to show none of the later Babylonian peculiarities, but which might very well have been used at least 1000 years earlier.

Intimate acquaintance with the language of the epistolary literature, where the most beautiful consistency prevails throughout, causes us to wonder all the more at the strange mixture of old and late, Assyrian and Babylonian, forms in the other branches of the literature. Hence the question of textual criticism in the Assyrian presents peculiar problems of which I have only mentioned a few. In closing I would ask one question: what bearing would this condition of things in the language of texts, where we cannot doubt that we have the originals, have on textual criticism in other languages, for instance the problem of the different dialects in the language of Homer?

*The Animal DUN in the Sumerian Inscriptions.*—By  
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Lists of animals that came down from the period of the supremacy of the cities of Ur and Lagash contain among them one whose identity is still a matter of doubt. I have gathered up the facts known about this animal as a possible aid in determining its identity.

The inscriptions from the period of Lagash (2500—2400 B. C.) give us most of our data. De Genouillac in his *Tablettes Sumeriennes Archaïques* has indicated some of the facts regarding this animal; others may be found in Gudea Cylinder B, and in Hussey's *Sumerian Tablets in Harvard Museum*.

De Genouillac after putting together the facts which he collected (T. S. A. p. XLIII f.) concluded that there must have been two kinds of DUN, (1) a wild DUN of the swamps (*DUN-giš-gi*) and (2) a DUN of the plains (*DUN-ú*). The former DUN seems to be referred to in Gudea Cyl. B, XV, 12—14, where it is listed with work cattle, and worked with some kind of an instrument, that corresponded to the yoke of the ox or the packsaddle of the ass. The words used to describe the instrument would indicate that it was made of metal (*DUN-e urudu<sup>u</sup>ha [ ]-mah*; cf. *ha-zi zabar R. T. C.*, 22).

In Gudea Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, the DUN seems to be associated with the ass, or was a kind of ass, in such expressions as (16) *anšu DUN úr-bi* — — — — (18) *anšu-sig-a anšu-Erida<sup>ki</sup>* (19) *anšu DUN-da*. Whether this may have been some species of mule, or some cross between the *anšu* and another animal is not apparent in the passage. On Cyl. B, IX, 16, we find exactly the same phrase as on Cyl. A, VII, 20, except that *anšu* is omitted in the latter case, which would seem to indicate that, here, at least, *anšu DUN* and *DUN* alone are synonymous, for in both cases the same animal is referred to, viz., the animal called *ug-kaš*. On Cyl. B, IX, 16—19, as referred to above, we find the young ass, and the

ass of Eridu, but what could have been *anšu-DUN*? Was it merely a full-grown *anšu* or some other animal? Or—could it have been some species of wild ass or bison which roamed in herds in the swamps or lowlands of Babylonia, as the wild asses do today in the steppes of Tibet? We know that the Assyrians hunted them in the chase as pictured on the monuments. M. J. E. Gautier in his excavations at Susa has shown that the bison has been in existence from a very remote antiquity.

When we turn to the numerous lists of large animals we discover the DUN classified with asses. De Genouillac cites numerous cases: In *R. T. C.*, 49, we find one list of 17 she-asses, 10 female and 4 male DUN, and all totaled as 30 (31) asses. Another case gives credence to this proposition, where a deal consists of a purchase of 4 she-asses and 2 DUN, which is called an "affair of the asses". When the money value of each is set side by side it is noteworthy that the less value is attached to the DUN. In one inscription (*R. T. C.* 50) the cash value of the DUN was 4 to 6 shekels while that of the ass was 20 shekels.

Again, the service of a DUN of a year or less old by the month was 50 to 70 *qa*, for a DUN of two years 80 to 100 *qa* for an adult DUN 300 *qa*, probably designating a large animal.

Another little hint of especial interest is the fact that the DUN yielded butter or cream, *iā-DUN* (*R. T. C.* 18, 62, 63). Is this to be compared with the same product supplied by the cow or the goat?

An examination of the *Sumerian Tablets of Harvard Museum* reveals some additional facts. Of the 224 women mentioned on the 54 tablets published in Part I, I find 20 were *gim DUN-nig-kū-a*, that is, a title indicating "care-taker of the DUN to be eaten". This title is mentioned 55 times, and shows that the DUN mentioned on those tablets were of a sufficiently docile nature to be managed by women. One man, mentioned 23 times in these inscriptions, named *Lugal-pa-ud-du* is called *sib-DUN*, shepherd of the DUN, or rather DUN-herd. He is also named several times in de Genouillac, *T. S. A.* (10 Rev. V, 18, 19; 11 Rev. IV; 12 Rev. V).

Another man, *Nimgir-eš-a-gub*, was a *gab-ra DUN-ú* (23 Rev. VII, 16), evidently an overseer of the DUN. One woman

*Šag-tar* held the same office as attested in *S. T.* 22 Rev. V, 7 and *T. S. A.* (de Genouillac).

One woman's name has incorporated in it this element, though it may not have had anything to do with the animal: *Nin-DUN-ama-mu* (23 Obv. I, 11).

Pinches found in the Amherst Tablets (36, III, 9) the name of a farmer whose chief business seems to have been that of raising the DUN or asses, or both: *Šur dingir DUN-sig-ēa*.

The DUN mentioned in these inscriptions of Harvard Museum seems to have been an animal similar to the goat, docile, yielding milk, having a hide of value, and a ruminant, living of the fields. In all the 54 tablets published in Hussey's *S. T.* only two men are mentioned as bearing any relation to the care of the DUN, while women are named in 55 passages as care-takers.

On the other hand, the DUN described alongside the ass and oxen is always cared for by men, and is classified with asses or oxen in the totals, as a beast of burden, and seems to have thriven in swamps or forests. Its value was less than that of the ass, and it required less food for its maintenance.

What were these two species of DUN?<sup>1</sup> Have we the modern equivalent of either of them?

It is now almost a question for the zoologist.

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<sup>1</sup> Allotte de la Fuyé, in Hilprecht's Anniversary Volume, p. 126, N. 2, Thureau-Dangin in *R. A.* VI p. 137, and again Thureau-Dangin in *Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello*, I, p. 27, Note 3, offer suggestions for the solution of the problem, which do not quite satisfy the requirements of the cases, especially in the Gudea Cylinders and Hussey's *S. T.*

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